THE PRESENT volume (Vol. VII, Part One) follows the plan and structure of the previous volumes in *The Cultural Heritage of India* series of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. The contributors include the stalwarts who were responsible for laying the foundation of the discipline of art history as distinct from both archaeology and social and political history.

BESIDES INTRODUCTION the other forty articles grouped under four sections—Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy and Numismatics, and Indian Art and the East—encompass different facets of each genre. Among these are seminal contributions by scholars such as Nirmal Kumar Bose, O.C. Gangoly, Stella Kramrisch, D.C. Sircar and of course, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who raised theoretical issues of great significance which continue to be relevant. This is clear from the contributions of younger scholars included in this volume.

IN THE last analyses, it is the spirit and experience manifested in this art, which is perennial and not time-bound. This is the reason why the varied artistic traditions of India engage us today. This art, in essence, reflects the states of being beyond specificities transcending the boundaries of time and space.

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THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

VOLUME VII

THE ARTS

PART ONE



THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

VOLUME VII

THE ARTS

PART ONE

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE ON THE PAPERBACK EDITION

FOR the popular demand of *The Cultural Heritage of India* series and with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Culture, Government of India, we had already published a paperback edition (Vols. I-VI) of the same and distributed it at a low price. It has already gained popularity. Now as the Volume VII (Part One) has been published we are bringing out its paperback edition also. It is a reprint of the deluxe edition. We hope it will also draw public interest as before.

22 September 2006 Swami Prabhananda

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

IN 1938, in the wake of Sri Ramakrishna's Birth Centenary celebrations, the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture was established in a humble way. It was then vested with the entire rights of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, which had first been published in 1937 in three volumes. This edition was well received and sold out within a few years. In response to the demand for enlarging the scope of the work, plans were made to publish an enlarged and revised second edition. In 1953 the third volume of the new edition was published; in 1956, the fourth; in 1958, the first; and in 1962, the second. On 26 June 1962 the Institute made plans for bringing out a fifth volume on 'Science, Literature and Arts'. Then on 26 November 1963 a sixth volume was planned on 'Literature and Science', as also a seventh volume on 'The Modern Renaissance Period'. Two editorial boards were then appointed. Subsequently, on 21 July 1972 the Institute decided that volume five should be divided into two independent volumes—one on 'Language and Literature' and the other, which would become volume six, on 'Science and Technology'. Thereafter it was decided to extend further the scope of the work, and plans were laid out for a series comprising eight independent volumes. Accordingly, the fifth and sixth volumes were published in 1978 and 1986 respectively. Now, at long last, the seventh volume of this series, devoted to 'The Arts' (Part One), is being published. We sincerely regret this delay, which was caused by unavoidable circumstances.

Work on this volume was started about thirty years ago with Professor S. K. Saraswati, Bageswari Professor of the University of Calcutta, as the chief editor. After his death on 22 September 1980, work on the volume was set back. Later, Professor Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta took up the work, but he passed away in 1996. He was succeeded by Professor Kalyan Kumar Ganguly, who died on 6 November 1997. In 1999 we approached Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, and she kindly agreed to edit Volume VII. The most difficult part of editing this volume was that after so many years the illustrations as well as some of the manuscripts could not be found. To locate illustrations for those old articles, as also to acquire them, was an uphill struggle. However, we are fortunate that Dr. Vatsyayan could bring all her knowledge and experience to bear on this work to maintain the standard of this valuable series.

Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee, formerly Professor of Jadavpur University, also extended a helping hand with the editorial work, and we are very grateful to him. His unexpected death on 1 July 2002 was a great loss.

At Dr. Vatsyayan's suggestion, the Institute decided to allow the early articles already received, written by renowned scholars, to remain as they are. For these articles stand on their own merit and reflect the state of scholarship at the time they were written. Since then there may have been developments in certain areas, but we decided to leave the texts of these articles undisturbed. These articles acquire a historical importance as they reflect the perception of a generation of pioneers in the field.

In presenting this seventh volume of the second edition of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, we should perhaps also explain why it has been split into two parts. While working on this volume we found that the number of pages, including illustrations, had increased so much that the articles could not be contained in one volume, so it was decided to publish it in two parts. Part one of Volume VII—that is, the present publication—deals with Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy and Numismatics, as well as Indian Art and the East. Part two, which will be published shortly, covers Painting, Music, Dance and Theatre, as also Rural and Applied Arts and Crafts. The plan of the volume was changed by regrouping the topics, while new articles by contemporary scholars were added to fill in some gaps.

Some of the writers included in this volume had contributed articles on the same subjects in the first edition (1937) of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III. It was considered appropriate to reprint them in this volume. They are : K. R. Pisharoti—'Choosing a Site'; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy—'Art in Indian Life'; O. C. Gangoly—'Indian Sculpture: Essence and Form'. So also was the case in respect of writers like Gopilal Amar—'Jaina Architectural Traditions and Canons'; Debala Mitra—'Early Jaina Sculpture (300 B. C.-300 A. D.): East India'; U. P. Shah—'Early Jaina Sculpture (300 B. C.-300 A. D.): West India'; V. P. Dwivedi—'Late Jaina Wood-carvings'.Their articles first appeared in *Jaina Art and Architecture* published by Bharatiya Jñanpith, New Delhi. J. N. Banerjea was a great scholar on Buddhist Iconography. It is appropriate here to reproduce his article on Buddhist Iconography from *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai. *Maurya and Suṅga Art*, written in 1945 by N. R. Ray, remains a classic in its field. With the help of Dr. Amita Ray a condensed version of his book has been included. Besides these, a few articles—such as 'The Spirit of Tibetan Architecture' by Lama Anagarika Govinda and 'South-east Asian Art' by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy—have been taken from the authors' published writings as these writers represent an earlier generation who brought a unique perspective to the field. Two articles from the published works of Stella Kramrisch have

also been included. She was the first professor of Art History at the University of Calcutta, teaching in the 1920s and early 30s. These articles were necessary to fill in the gaps.

Again, in order to help readers locate recent research on these subjects, we have given select/extended bibliographies. We believe the readers will find in these bibliographies ample material to stimulate their interest for further study.

Where words of non-English origin are used, diacritical marks have been given following the style of the previous volumes of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, with minor changes. However, in the case of Urdu words and words of Arabic and Persian origin it has not been possible to follow the practice strictly.

In the preparation of this volume, help has been received from many sources. We offer first of all our heartfelt thanks to Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan. In spite of her heavy schedule, she found time to edit this volume and write the excellent Preface. She rendered gratuitous services with an attitude of *sevā*. We are extremely grateful for the unstinting labour she has put into this volume. We also acknowledge the help and assistance of Dr. Subhash C. Malik in editing some of the articles.

We express our special gratitude to the contributors for the trouble they have taken to write these articles. We are also grateful to Dr. Pradeep Mehendiratta of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon; Dr. Prabhakar Shrotriya, Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi; Rama P. Coomaraswamy, U.S.A.; and Dr. Ramanuj Bhattacharya, Ex-Director, Rammohan Library and National Library, Kolkata, for helping us with this volume. We also received invaluable help of Sri N. H. Ramachandran and extend our thanks to him.

Many institutions gave us help in this work, particularly the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, which generously provided photographs. We also received help from the Archaeological Survey of India, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat, and The Indian Museum, Kolkata, in this regard. We are grateful to all of them. We are also grateful to Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai; Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi; The Indian Society of Oriental Art, Kolkata and The University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia for giving us permission to reproduce articles from their published volumes.

The generous cooperation we received from the Printer, Binder, Paper Mill, is also appreciated. Finally, we acknowledge the services rendered by all those friends who helped us with this volume in any way whatsoever, particularly in acquiring the photographs.

We hope this volume of *The Cultural Heritage of India* will contribute in some measure to the appreciation of Indian cultural values.

19 July 2006 Swami Prabhananda

CONTENTS

SCULPTURE

INDIAN ART AND THE EAST

BIODATA

Editor

VATSYAYAN, KAPILA: Art Historian, dancer, ethnographer, educationist, cultural policy maker, organizer, administrator and institution builder. Formerly, Secretary, Department of Arts, Ministry of HRD and Academic Director, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. Author of over 15 books and many research papers. Her seminal work is 7 volumes on Gita Govinda and the Indian artistic traditions. Major publications : *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*; *The Square and the Circle of the Indian Arts* and *Bharata and the Natya Sastra*. Edited *Concepts of Space and Concepts of time* and several other volumes.

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SHAH, U. P.: Formerly Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Known for his work on different facets of Jaina art. He has written extensively on the subject. Was responsible for bringing many hitherto unknown Jaina documents to light. His discovery of the Akota Bronzes is worth mentioning.

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HINTS ON PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING OF SANSKRIT WORDS

	stands	for	अ	and	sounds	like	*o*	in	come
			आ	,,	,,	,,	*a*	,,	f*a*r
			इ	,,	,,	,,	*i*	,,	b*i*t
			ई	,,	,,	,,	*ee*	,,	f*ee*l
u			उ	,,	,,	,,	*u*	,,	f*u*ll
ū			ऊ	,,	,,	,,	*oo*	,,	c*oo*l
ṛ			ऋ	,,				,,	*ri*ng
e			ए	,,	sounds	like	*a*	,,	c*a*ke
ai			ऐ	,,	,,	,,	*i*	,,	m*i*te
o			ओ	,,	,,	,,	*o*	,,	n*o*te
au			औ	,,	,,	,,	*ou*	,,	c*ou*nt
ṁ			. (*anusvara*)	and sounds		,,	*m*	,,	so*m*e
ḥ			(*visarga*)	,,		,,	*h*	,,	s*h*ort

' (apostrophe) stands for *s* (elided अ).

ṅ stands for ङ, ñ for ञ, and ṇ for ण; the first is to be pronounced like English *ng* in si*ng*, or *n* in ba*n*k; the second like the *n* in English si*n*ge (a palatal *n*); and the third, the cerebral ṇ, is made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.

c	stands	for	च्	and	sounds	like	*ch*	in	chur*ch*
ch	,,	,,	छ्	,,	,,	,,	*chh*	,,	chur*ch-h*ill
ṭ	,,	,,	ट्	,,	,,	,,	*t*	,,	cur*t*
ṭh	,,	,,	ठ्	,,	,,	,,	*th*	,,	por*t-h*ole
ḍ	,,	,,	ड्	,,	,,	,,	*d*	,,	bir*d*
ḍh	,,	,,	ढ्	,,	,,	,,	*dh*	,,	bir*d-h*ouse
t	,,	,,	त्	,,	,,	,,	*t*	,,	pa*t* (Italian *t*)
th	,,	,,	थ्	,,	,,	,,	*th*	,,	hi*t-h*ard
d	,,	,,	द्	,,	,,	,,	*d*	,,	ha*d* (Italian *d*)
dh	,,	,,	ध्	,,	,,	,,	*dh*	,,	ma*d-h*ouse
v	,,	,,	व्	,,	,,	,,	*v or w*	,,	le*v*y, *w*ater
ś	,,	,,	श्	,,	,,	,,	*sh*	,,	*sh*ip
ṣ	,,	,,	ष	,,	,,	,,	*sh*	,,	*sh*ould

In connection with the hints on pronunciation and spelling, the following points should also be noted:

(1) All Sanskrit words, except when they are proper nouns, or have come into common use in English, or represent a class of literature, philosophical system, or school of thought, are italicized.

(2) Current geographical names and all modern names from the commencement of the nineteenth century are given in their usual spelling and without diacritical marks.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. A. K.	*Arts et Archéologie Khmèrs, Paris*
A. A. S.	*Artibus Asiae,* Ascona
Ait. Brāh	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
A. S. C. A. R.	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*
A. S. I. A. R.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
B. C. A. I.	*Bulletin, de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-China, Paris*
B. E. F. É. O.	*Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Éxtreme-Orient, Hanoi*
B. M. G. M.	*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*
B. P. W. M.	*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*
Bṛh. Up.	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
Chānd. Up.	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica*
I. A.	*Indian Antiquary*
I. H. Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
Jahrb. as. Kunst	*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst, Leipzig*
J. A.O. S.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
J. A. S. B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
J. B. O. R. S.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
J. B. R. S.	*Journal of the Burma Research Society*
J. C. B. R. A. S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*
J. I. S. O. A.	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
J. N. S. I.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
J. O. I.	*Journal of the Oriental Institute*
J. O. R. M.	*Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras*
J. R. A. S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London*
J. S. S.	*Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok*
J. U. P. H. S.	*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*
M. A. S. B.	*Memoirs of Asiatic Society, Bengal*
M. A. S. I.	*Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*
M. F. A. Bull	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston*
O. D. Rapp.	*Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-- Indié:Rapporten, Batavia*
Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma	*Report, Archaeological Survey of Burma*

ILLUSTRATIONS*

ARTICLES | BETWEEN PAGES

* Besides these illustrations there are many line drawings in a number of articles.

PREFACE

BENGAL is known for its *Kānthā* work. The editing of this volume has been analogous, although the net result may not match the exquisite beauty and dexterity of a woman's needle work in putting together precious fragments. The long and chequered history of the publication of the volume has been elucidated by Swami Prabhananda, the present Secretary of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. My task at the command of the revered late Swami Ranganathananda was to retrieve the articles submitted earlier and to give some measure of coherence to the volume without departing in spirit and approach of the total enterprise of *The Cultural Heritage of India* series of the Institute of Culture.

This was not an easy task. The articles spanned a period of fifty years or more. There were some gaps. While some articles had illustrations, in most other cases while the text was available the illustrations were missing. In a few cases, while there was reference to footnotes, the footnotes were missing. Bibliographies were scanty, if not absent.

The first task of the editorial team was to re-check text, reconstruct and re-check footnotes and references, locate appropriate illustrations, and to add extended bibliographies, specially of books and articles written on the subject after the writing of the article. All this laborious painstaking task has been competently accomplished by the team of research scholars (who also kept changing) under the guidance of Swami Prabhananda, Shri Pradyut Kumar Ganguli and the late Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee who suddenly passed away in 2002. It would appear that for some mysterious reasons, the successive editors and assistant editors of the volume were snatched away before completing their task. This includes the late Professor S. K. Saraswati, who originally conceived the volume, Professor Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta and Professor Kalyan Kumar Ganguli.

With the institution's editorial decision to include what was originally submitted and to fill in the gaps, the few authors who are happily still with us were asked to revise and update their articles. Most others, alas, were not here. They are the pioneers in their respective fields, pathfinders and luminaries of their time. This includes many of the contributors included in the volume, e.g., A. K. Coomaraswamy, N. K. Bose, O. C. Gangoly, U. P. Shah, Nihar Ranjan Ray, Stella Kramrisch, C. C. Dasgupta, Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, R. C. Majumdar, C. Sivaramamurti, K. R. Srinivasan, K. R. Pisharoti, J. N. Banerjea, D. C. Sircar, Z. A. Desai. These are names to be reckoned with in their respective spheres. It was a formidable task to review their writings and edit it to the minimum, with a view to retaining not only the original content, but

also the distinctive flavour and style of writing. Hopefully this has been done without doing injustice to them. Occasionally it became necessary to readjust paragraphs or break up sentences. This has been restricted to the absolute minimum, even if it sometimes makes difficult reading.

Obviously some original articles were beyond retrieval on account of either an incomplete manuscript or misplacement. In a few cases, some authors did not give renewed permission to publish articles submitted many decades ago.

The original plan of the volume conceived by S. K. Saraswati was carefully examined. It was decided to adhere to the original plan and the groupings. However, it was decided to request for fresh articles to fill the gaps, so that the 'volume' could encompass various periods and facets of architecture, sculpture, epigraphy and numismatics to the extent possible. It was also decided to include the articles originally submitted and to solicit fresh articles on the interface of Indian and South-East Asian art from a select number of authors. The selection of the authors was largely determined from the point of view of those who continue to follow in some measure (with important differences, no doubt) the approach of the earlier writers.

The last observation is relevant, because Indian art history has taken many other innovative and divergent paths since the writings of these pioneers and those others who continue to subscribe to the validity of the earlier approach. This was necessary in order to maintain a measure of continuity and an overall 'unity'. Hopefully it has been possible to place together the writings of a generation of scholars who laid the foundations of art history, as distinct from Indian archaeology.

The volume as it stands today is thus the result of weaving together writings of the last seven decades on seminal issues of chronology, genre, form, style, iconography and relations with South-East Asia and Central Asia. The articles written in the third and fourth decades of the last century obviously are based on the evidence available at that time. Later evidence has in some cases called for revisions; nevertheless their articles are important and of continuing relevance more on account of perceptions and insights rather than micro studies on fresh archaeological data, or discoveries of sculptures at new sites.

The volume has also to be viewed within the overall schema of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture for *The Cultural Heritage of India* volumes. The previous volumes No. I to No. VI deal with specific domains. Each volume presents an overview of the sub-branches of the domain or discipline, e.g., Religion, Philosophy, Language, Literature. The volumes have served a most useful reference tool for the educated layman or scholar who

wishes to know about the different facets of a particular field. It is also self-evident that the project of the Ramakrishna Mission is quite distinct from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series on the 'History and Culture of the Indian People'. The purpose of the Ramakrishna Mission enterprise was neither purely historical nor to uphold only particular ideological positions or to take up micro-analytical studies of specific texts or schools of thought. The present volume adheres to this original schema in respect of the Arts, here more specifically Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy and Numismatics. The interface of the art of India with South-East Asia was included in the original schema and has been retained.

As has been mentioned by Swami Prabhananda, the Institute had also received valuable articles on Painting, Music, Dance, Drama, Crafts, Costume, Dress, etc. The authors were equally eminent (Rukmini Devi, Mrs. Srimati Tagore, Swami Prajnanananda, V. K. Narayan Menon, P. K. Gode, to name only a few). After work was begun on the volume, it was observed that the bulk of the articles on Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy and South-East Asia and Central Asia was nearly 1000 pages. It was then reluctantly decided to exclude the articles on the subjects mentioned above. The Institute hopes to bring out a separate volume based on those articles which will be Part II of the 'Art' volume.

The present volume as it has now emerged after the painstaking efforts of the editorial team under the guidance of Swami Prabhananda is divided into four sections, viz., Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy and Numismatics, Indian Art and the East. A. K. Coomaraswamy's seminal article *Art in Indian Life,* written in 1928 for the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture and first published in *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Volume III (1937) precedes all others. The article which has been republished in the Collected Works of A. K. Coomaraswamy (edited by Roger Lipsey, Vol. II) has provided the foundational ground plan of art studies in India for five decades. It continues to provide the basis for the conceptual frame of the present volume. It is not necessary at this stage to comment on A. K. Coomaraswamy's vision and contribution. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention that in this article A.K. Coomaraswamy insightfully points to the distinguishing features of the art. First and foremost, it is not 'representational' in nature, and second that there are no clear-cut divisions between what is considered 'fine art' and 'craft'. An attitude of mind which seeks to go to 'essence' rather than realistic imitation informs the artistic expression over centuries. Of course, he raises other conceptual issues which are relevant for comprehending the multiple flowerings in time and space. The section on Architecture encompasses different facets of architectural forms

in India. The articles do not necessarily follow a strict chronological trajectory. Instead, they dwell upon the development of different architectural forms, e.g., *stūpas*, rock-cut caves, temple architecture in its early phase, as also later evolution of regional styles, e.g., Nāgara temple, Drāviḍa and Cālukya temple architecture. Although the classification is not based on religion and philosophy, Jaina architectural traditions and canons have a distinct personality. Thus an article is devoted to it, so also in the case of Kerala and of course Indo-Islamic architecture. This presents roughly both a diachronic picture as also a synchronic spectrum. Understandably, not all regional architectural styles have been covered. Nevertheless, there is a basis for having an overall view.

Two articles are of a conceptual and speculative nature. These are Nirmal Kumar Bose's article in respect of Indian temple architecture and of Lama Anagarika Govinda in regard to the spirit of Indo-Tibetan architecture. Nirmal Kumar Bose's reflections of schools and styles is a watershed for more reasons than one. It points to the crucial role played by the living traditions, the craftsmen in the evolution of style and school. His reflections go beyond establishing a one-to-one relationship of the *vāstuśāstras* and the temple structure. Lama Anagarika Govinda's article is profoundly meaningful at another level. It can be distinguished from most if not all other studies in the subject which preceded the short article and those which have followed. Very important work has been done during the last three decades, following upon G. Tucci's work. The work of Snellgrove and others is well known, so also Pratapaditya Pal's volumes in *Marg*. Lama Anagarika Govinda's article emerges from experience and meditation and not scholarship. It is the expression of a deeply reflective mind which is totally identified with the tradition. In a manner of speaking, it is an insider's view on the 'spirit' of Indo-Tibetan architecture.

The other articles are systematic presentations of the particular genre, school and region.

The article on *stūpa* by Amita Ray traces the genesis and history of the development of the *stūpa* as architectural form, as does Michael Meister's on the developments in temple architecture in the early phase. The detailed and copiously documented article of K. R. Srinivasan on Drāviḍa and Cālukya Temple architecture is a tour de force on the subject. It is one of the first studies on Drāviḍa and Cālukya temples which goes far beyond Cunningham's work. Of course, there have been more detailed studies on the subject in the Encyclopaedia of Indian Architecture and by authors such as Adam Herd and H. B. Settar in respect of Cālukyan and Hoysala architecture. N. K. Bose's article on *Nāgara Temples* is important as a historical document which reflects

the state of comprehension at that time. It was not easy to find illustrations to suit his text. Some illustrations were available, but not all. The exercise of finding suitable illustrations also for K. R. Srinivasan's article was not easy. For this task the research scholars Kalpana Ghosh and Durga Bose and also Dr. Vandana Sinha and Mrs. Kumkum Singh of A.I.I.S., Gurgaon, have to be thanked. With patience and tenacity they searched and researched the photo libraries of the Archaeological Survey at Delhi and Kolkata, the American Institute of Indian Studies, Indian Museum and others. What has been accomplished, it is hoped, would have been to the satisfaction of late N. K. Bose and K. R. Srinivasan. The editorial team has tried to do as much justice as was possible to the text of these authors. R. Nath's article on Indo-Islamic architecture points to the processes of interaction and fusion. It is a piece of meticulous research.

Thus, viewed together, the section provides the reader valuable information on the early developments in Indian architecture and the evolution of regional schools. Naturally each of the authors has adopted his own method and there are some obvious differences in the matter of dating. This is unavoidable in respect of many aspects of Indian creativity. What is of importance is not the exclusive preoccupation with dating and establishing definitive chronologies; instead, identification of the distinctive methods of artistic expression (architecture here) within an overriding unity of 'purpose'.

The section on Sculpture opens with an article of O. C. Gangoly on *Indian Sculpture: Essence and Form.* This is again a reflective piece of writing in the same spirit as N. K. Bose's article on architecture in the previous section. In both cases the authors make a first attempt to identify the characteristics of Indian architecture and sculpture. O. C. Gangoly addresses the question of 'form' here to clearly distinguish between Greek and Indian notions of human form. The points of view of both these writers are a clear departure from the perspective of their predecessors, such as Cunningham or Fergusson or Percy Brown and Vincent Smith and of course Birdwood. The points of view of N. K. Bose and O. C. Gangoly here also are distinguished from those of Sri Aurobindo and E. B. Havell and some writings of A. K. Coomaraswamy. It is important to explicitly state this, so as to facilitate the reader's reception of the articles of what follow. The other articles have been sequenced in sections so as to complement the diachronic schema of the first section on architecture. Although there is no article on the architectural remains of Mohenjodaro in the first section, J. P. Joshi's article on *Harappan Art* provides an insight into the nascent beginnings of sculpture. C. C. Dasgupta's article focuses attention on

Ancient Indian Terracottas, a vast and complex field which continues to demand further investigation. It is here that A. K. Coomaraswamy's observation on great or little fine art and craft becomes relevant. Equally relevant is Stella Kramrisch's division of datable and dateless art. Terracotta art belongs to this second category. There has been a renewed interest in this field during the last two decades, ranging from the work of S. C. Kala, M. K. Dhavalikar, Pratapaditya Pal and others. The late Nihar Ranjan Ray was one of the first scholars to present a systematic study of both Maurya and Śuṅga sculpture. Excerpts from his book have been included so as to establish a rough chronology. The article also addresses the issue of monumental art of the Mauryans, as also the diminutive art of terracotta. Śuṅga art is the essential bridge between the Mauryan and Kuṣāṇa. Nihar Ranjan Ray's article carefully traces the history of the transition. Although Barua had written on Bhārhut there was no systematic study of Śuṅga art. Dr. N. R. Ray's article leads to R. C. Sharma's brief but lucid account of Kuṣāṇa sculpture. He has spent many years specializing on Mathurā art, and as Curator/ Director of the Lucknow Museum knows his material thoroughly. Taken together Nihar Ranjan Ray's and R.C. Sharma's articles provide valuable insights into the developments of early Indian sculpture. It is a pity that there was no article on the great art of the Sātavāhanas, particularly Amarāvatī and Nagārjunakoṇḍa. C. Sivaramamurti had written a catalogue on the Amarāvatī sculptures in the Madras Museum and there were notes on the collections in the British Museum. However, a further study was awaited. Robert Knox's recent publication on the Amarāvatī sculptures in the British Museum fills a gap, and yet a full reconstruction of the art of Amarāvatī and Nagārjunakoṇḍa is awaited beyond Fergusson and others. It is regretted that an article on Amarāvatī and Nagārjunakoṇḍa could not be included. An article was envisaged on the basis of the excellent reports of the late H. Sarkar. However, an appropriate article could not be finalized. This is certainly a lacuna.

Stella Kramrisch came from Vienna in search for the soul of India. She had been trained assiduously by her teacher Professor Strzygowski. He wrote fairly regularly in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. Stella Kramrisch was appointed the first professor of Indian Art in Calcutta. She was the teacher of eminent Indian scholars, S. K. Saraswati and Nihar Ranjan Ray amongst others. She was without doubt responsible for giving a totally new direction to a critical study of Indian art. For her it was not a question of reacting to the criticism of Indian art by a Birdwood or others. Nor did she passionately defend the art with emotion and fervour as E. B. Havell, who was

Principal of the Calcutta School of Art. Nor was she at this stage penetrating deeply into the cosmological or metaphysical dimensions. She dived straight into the 'form' on its own terms. In one of her earliest articles, *The Representation of Nature in Early Buddhist Sculpture* (1921), she unequivocally declares: Life itself has assumed the stage of artistic form. The Indian understands life as growth. He does not depict the shapes of nature but nature itself, the creative creating power. Earth's life blood stresses through the members of figures and gives them form according to the celerity of its circulation, which is gently flowing soft and equipoised. She elaborated upon her perceptions in that little great book *Indian Sculpture*, which appeared in Calcutta in 1939. In between she contributed regularly to *Rupam* and the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. Each article was a jewel of scholarship. At this stage she was not concerned with the metaphysical and cosmological dimensions, as is evident in her great work *The Hindu Temple*, which appeared in 1945. The two articles included here on Gupta Art and Pāla and Sena Art are straightforward critical studies of the formal and stylistic aspects of the art of the Guptas and Pālas and Senas. Within the conceptual frame of our volume they provide a vital link between Kuṣāṇa art and the effervescence of Gupta art and the emergence of distinct regional styles, such as those of the Pālas and Senas.

Stella Kramrisch's article on *Pāla and Sena Sculpture* was one of the first cogent presentation of this school. It must be remembered that in the late twenties and early thirties an attempt was being made to identify distinctiveness as also establish linear chronologies. Stella Kramrisch perceptively observes that it is neither desirable nor possible to draw up unilinear chronologies in respect of styles and schools in the sphere of Indian Art. There are many overlaps and concurrencies. This insight is as important as her observation that in India there is the time-bound and timeless art of what she termed as the datable and dateless art of India.

The articles in *Rupam* and the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* were preparation, in a manner of speaking, for the theoretical positions she took in Indian sculpture. It is in this book that she examines the question of the medieval factor and convincingly advocates the dynamics of the emergence of regional schools. Also, she contests the equivalent medieval Indian art to medievalism and baroque in the European context. It is a category which cannot in the Indian context denote decline in creative energies. It is not 'degeneration' as remarked by Vincent Smith, it is multiple flowering. Both the articles, 'Gupta Art' and 'Pāla and Sena Art', provide a glimpse of her position. These articles

are clear path-finders. Other eminent scholars, Indians and foreigners, have extended the field. These include Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, Joanna Williams in respect of Gupta Art and R. Asher in respect of Pāla and Sena. There are others.

C. Sivaramamurti's article is a window into the extensive field of medieval sculpture in the Deccan and the South. Totally immersed in the literary background of the sculptural form, he dwells at length on the great masterpieces of the sites of Ellorā, Māmallapuram, Kāñcīpuram and Andhra. His article complements the article of K. R. Srinivasan in respect of architecture. It is also clear that while Srinivasan's argument rests on archaeology, C. Sivaramamurti is inspired by literary sources and allusions.

Although no rigid classification can be or should be made on the basis of content or religious application, there is a sculptural tradition also pan Indian spanning many centuries which could be appropriately called Jaina sculpture. The philosophy and the theology impact upon the sculpture, specially the images surrounding the Jina. The two articles by Debala Mitra and U. P. Shah give an overview of the special features of this art. The late V. P. Dwivedi's article on the *Late Jaina wood-carvings* bears testimony to the continuity of the tradition far beyond the medieval period. U. P. Shah, another towering figure, had written extensively on Jaina art, and was the most erudite scholar of the field. He was a keen observer of all new discoveries. He was always anxious to observe affinities as also differences between and among several regional flowerings of Jaina art. Naturally dating and locating provenance became a marked preoccupation. Unlike Stella Kramrisch, his concern was not primarily with form, instead with theme and content. The article, *Early Jaina Sculpture : West India* included here gives but a glimpse of his scholarship and method. In fact, he had written a whole book on early Jaina sculpture which could not be included. The volumes on Jaina art, edited by U. P. Shah, bear testimony to his daunting scholarship. His contribution to the field of Jaina art will remain seminal.

Ashoke K. Bhattacharyya's article on *Temple Terracottas of Bengal* serves as an interregnum to the group of articles devoted to iconography. Iconography is an essential feature of Indian sculpture, although Indian sculpture cannot be restricted to the study of iconography. J. N. Banerjea was a pioneer in the field with his monumental work on the subject. The present article on *Buddhist Iconography* is a miniscule of his larger work on the subject. N. P. Joshi's article on Hindu iconography provides the rudiments of *Hindu Iconography*. The late T. A. G Gopinath Rao had laid the foundations for the study of *Hindu Iconography* in the classic four volumes, never excelled. Sivaramamurti had also given attention to the subject in his writing. N. P. Joshi's

article is a lucid condensed presentation on this vast and complex subject. The three articles, namely, *Diagrams and Symbols of Jaina Iconography* by U. P. Shah, *Jaina Iconography* by Juthika Maitra, and a highly perceptive article by M.A. Dhaky on *Jina Images in Āgamic and Hymnic Tradition*, provide valuable insights into the textual canonical liturgical context of the sculptural form in Jaina sculpture. These articles have to be read in conjunction with Gopilal Amar's article on *Jaina Architectural Traditions and Canons* in the first section on Architecture.

It is hardly necessary to state the obvious fact that the sculptural traditions cannot be dissociated from the architectural structures. Indeed, the sculpture, the reliefs as also sculptures in the round are an intrinsic constituent of the architectural schema. It is always difficult and often misleading to insulate the sculpture from the architecture in most cases. However, this is not to say that sculpture is totally subsumed in the architecture or that the architectural design is a conglomeration of sculptural forms. This is of course most explicit in the rock-cut caves, but is equally important in the medieval temple which is enveloped from the outside and the inside with sculptural form. The images are not inside the temple or decorations on the outside. They are the life-breath of the architectural concept, vision and design. Thus, the contents of two sections of the volume overlap and interpenetrate. Together they provide illuminating insight into the nature of the developments in architecture and sculpture from the earliest to the medieval period. Obviously this is not comprehensive or exhaustive; nevertheless it is meaningfully selective.

Epigraphy and Numismatics constitute an integral part of the Indian artistic traditions. The original schema of the volume envisaged many articles on the subject. Amongst those which could be completed for publication are those of 'masters' in their respective fields - D. C. Sircar, B. N. Mukherjee, Z. A. Desai and Ashoke K. Bhattacharyya. This is a rich section which the readers should find both informative and thought provoking. B.N. Mukherjee's article on *Art in the Coins of Early and Medieval India* is an important contribution. So far the study of Indian coins had by and large has concentrated on the chronology of the coins, their relationships with political power and the geographical space of the findings. Prof. Mukherjee here focuses attention on the artistic form of the coins, both figurative as also abstract motifs.

To cite only one example, he points out that the Gupta Gold Coins and the figurative representation are similar, if not identical stylistic features as that of Gupta Stone Sculpture. Prof. Mukherjee provides us with many other significant examples of the affinity of school and style between sculpture and the art of the

coins. So is the case with the several geometrical motifs embossed on the coins. They have a direct relationship with motifs on architectural edifices. Prof. B.N.Mukherjee has expanded his exploration of this subject and hopefully the Volume on the subject will be published soon.

The last section is devoted to Indian Art and the East. It could also be given an alternative appellation of Indian Art and Asia, instead of the East. A. K. Coomaraswamy was a pioneer in the field, as in many others. His book *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* was a first attempt to survey the field of Indian and South Eastern art. Separately, R. C. Majumdar had spoken of the concept of Greater India. While the concept of Greater India with its political overtones was fiercely contested and appropriately abandoned, there can be no overlooking the fact of distinctly identifiable ethos of the art of a large part of the world called the Orient, Asia or the East. Each of these appellations has its problematics, too many to be elucidated upon here. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that India interacted actively with many parts of the world's diverse civilizations and cultures over a long period of history. It is no longer necessary to comment upon India's contacts with Mesopotamia or Egypt and, of course, Greece and Rome. Although much has been written on the Indo-Greek and Indo-Hellenic dialogue, the material on relations with the East Asia, West Asia and Central Asia is comparatively scanty. In the decades of the thirties, forties and fifties there was a sympathy and a curiosity but not sufficient in-depth work. The articles in this section throw light on the artistic dialogue between India and Central Asia, China, Japan and South-East Asia. Here R. C. Majumdar focuses on Central Asia. This is a preliminary study; on the other hand, A. K. Coomaraswamy's article deals with many countries, such as Thailand, Cambodia and Indonesia. His book *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* referred to above was a first attempt to underline the nature of dialogue at the level of theme, content and form. It was considered appropriate to include the articles in this volume. The two penetrating articles by Lokesh Chandra on India's interaction with China and Japan are infused with a welcome fresh approach.

K. K. Ganguly had given particular attention to the art of Indonesia and Burma (Myanmar). The two brief articles supplement some of A.K. Coomaraswamy's findings. H.T. Basanayake introduces the *Art of Sri Lanka* and Amita Ray condenses her work on Nepal. This is a comprehensive survey.

It has to be remarked in the context of most of these articles, not all (e.g., those of Lokesh Chandra and Amita Ray), that at the time of the writing of these articles, the material at their command was neither easy to obtain nor were

exhaustive studies on the specific monuments or sites available. No doubt there were some important archaeological studies in French and Dutch. Those studies were parallel although not identical with the work of Cunningham and Fergusson in respect of India. Few Indian authors had focused attention on interaction and dialogue, commonalities and differences. The articles included here enable us to discern the nature of the cultural dialogue and provide insights and whet our appetite to know more and penetrate even more deeply. Over the last two decades very important work has been done in the case of Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, specially Pagān, and of course China and Japan are ever enlarging fields. Our knowledge has increased about Central Asia, and yet there continue to be vast unexplored fields. Not all Indian scholars subscribe to the theories of Cecedes or Hall. Of course, there are monumental studies on individual monuments, e.g., Borobudur, Prambanam, etc. However, the routes and levels of dialogue are to date not sufficiently explored.

It was perhaps necessary to elucidate on how an incomplete work was brought to fruition. The above summary will perhaps justify the use of the metaphor of the *Kānthā* in the initial statement. Altogether each of these articles were precious pieces of brocade or muslin, heirlooms, each part of a larger and whole cloth, a fabric of understanding and comprehension. Here they have been woven or stitched together with the thread of a unifying vision of a generation of scholars who may be considered as representing the crucial change of direction as also perception from a preceding generation. They were indeed the pioneers and path-finders. Subsequent generations have trodden on the same path to find new avenues and vistas. Others have taken new paths. Their intellectual and critical tools of analyses are totally different. The emphasis has shifted from the understanding of form and style to reconstructing the socio-economic political context of the 'art'. Also, there is the rejection of the metaphysical and cosmological levels of the art. Besides, many scholars included here have been considered by a younger generation of scholars as the protagonists of a 'nationalist' discourse which sought to reconstruct an idealized image of India. There are exceptions in the contemporary discourse on Indian art. However, this is too complex a subject to be critiqued here, especially in this *Preface*.

Nevertheless, merely as a recall or memory aid, it is necessary to situate the contribution of the group of scholars included in the volume against the background of the vociferous attacks on Indian Art at that time and also the self-discovery and self-consciousness of the Indians as also scholars like A. K. Coomaraswamy, Stella Kramrisch, Alice Boner, to understand this art on its own terms, with its very special comprehension of the universe, the relationship

of Nature and Man, not to speak of cosmology, cosmogony and metaphysics. This was the attempt to penetrate into the language of thought and perception before delving into the socio-political and economic context, or analysis of *form qua form*. It must also be remarked that many amongst the scholars, specially those who are not with us, arrived on the scene at a time when archaeological work was primary and artistic evaluation secondary. Also they came at a time when Indian art had been under severe attack. Partha Mitter has brilliantly portrayed that the European perception was by and large negative and even derogatory. The history of the controversies between Coomaraswamy and Aurobindo and Havell, on the one hand and Birdwood and Vincent Smith, not to mention Fergusson, on the other is well known. The scholars included in this volume were inheritors of this discourse with the exception of A. K. Coomaraswamy who was an active participant in the preceding discourse. Of course, the notable exceptions are scholars like Michael Meister who belong to the next generation.

This is perhaps not the occasion to dwell upon the history of the study of Indian archaeology and art as manifested in the works of Cunningham, Fergusson, Burgess, Jouveau-Dubreui, Foucher Grunwedel and even a Ludwig Bachhofer, and some others. From a reading of the reports of the Archaeological Survey as also the books particularly Fergusson, it is clear that although much had been surveyed, when it came to evaluation and assessment, there was a marked bias of comparing the Indian developments with those of Greece and Rome. There was a preoccupation with the Greek influence. A. K. Coomaraswamy liberated the study of Indian art, both architecture and most of all sculpture, from this preoccupation. Also, while the archaeologist's concern was with architecture and with identification of religious affiliation, Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Mohammedan, etc., there was very little concern with sculpture. If Fergusson or Burgess dwelt upon sculpture, Bhārhuṭ, Sāñcī or Amarāvatī, it was only to comment on theme or religious affiliation, and not on form or significance, and least of all on the aesthetic qualities. Bachhofer's writing exhibited greater sensibility; however, it was with A. K. Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch and those who followed, subscribing in part or fully, that the emphasis shifted to the study of architectural and sculptural form and identification of inner meaning and 'significance'. A. K. Coomaraswamy had said that 'Indian art was not an art of representation but of statement and it was imperative therefore to speak in the first place of significance, in the second of style'.

Amongst the foreign scholars mentioned above, only Strzygowski and Bachhofer had drawn attention to the study of style in Indian art. For example, the latter says about the Maurya Lion Capitals that they 'exhibit the complete mastery of all the plastic agents of expression... and the perfect reproduction of volume'. This was a far cry from Cunningham's statement about the Maurya Lion Capital. He had said about the Lion Capital, 'With its muscles and claws so accurately represented it might well be placed in companion with many specimen of Grecian art.'

It will be clear from the very few examples mentioned above that it was the task of the Indian scholars represented in the volume to carefully analyse specially the features of Indian architecture and sculpture without invoking the Grecian or Persian influence. The articles included in the present volume reflect the self-confidence of comprehending the architecture in its multiple expressions and to identify the distinguishing features of the varied sculptural schools and styles. All this is taken for granted today but at that time it was an important departure, and should be so acknowledged.

Besides there had been little effort to relate the texts of *vāstuśāstras* to the architectural structures. Ram Raz was a pioneer, but his work was not pursued. The scholars of this generation made an effort to establish these relationships. P. K. Acharya's *Mānasāra*, despite its faulty eclectic character, was a landmark. More detailed studies followed. N. K. Bose's article assumes importance on account of its drawing attention to the texts as also relating them to the living traditions. Later developments in the critical study of Indian architecture, particularly the work of Prabhakara Somapura, has brought out the dire necessity of taking into account the textual *(śāstra)* basis as also the long and unbroken tradition of transmission of skills and techniques in practice *(prayoga)*. There have been many welcome developments in this field. Many more *vāstu* texts have been carefully edited and there has been a systematic attempt at identifying the interface of the text and the artistic form (architecture or sculpture) without a prejudice of prioritization of either text or concrete form. In this connection the work of the A.I.I.S. on the Encyclopaedia of Indian Architecture and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts' program in the Kalāmūla Śāstra series are relevant.

Establishment of chronologies was a preoccupation, because this was a necessary pre-requisite. However, establishment of chronologies and dating on the basis of inscriptions and other historical evidence is the beginning but not the final destination of art studies. These articles exhibit a preoccupation with establishment of chronologies but fortunately do not restrict themselves to this,

as is evident particularly in the articles devoted to sculpture. Each of these authors has adopted his own method of identification and stylistic analysis. Few have confined themselves to mere descriptions.

The aspects of inner meaning and significance, the language of myth and symbols which informs this art were to engage Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch for years. Stella Kramrisch was one of the first scholars to identify the intrinsic relationship of the ritual texts specially the *Śatapath Brāhmaṇa* and the architectural plan of the temple. This was a seminal contribution of Stella Kramrisch in her path-breaking volume *Hindu Temple*. It was cosmology which interested Stella Kramrisch and engaged her in much of her work. John Irwin did not quite follow suit but he focused attention on a complimentary aspect, that is, cosmogony. A. K. Coomaraswamy penetrated into the fundamentals of the concepts which impregnate this art. The concepts become the concrete language of metaphors which is interpreted and re-interpreted over a long duration. The metaphors which interpenetrated into the art were as if revealed to A. K. Coomaraswamy. All these were developments which gave Indian art history a totally different orientation freeing it from archaeology, the classificatory system of either religion or dynasty. These were contributions of a fundamental nature and laid the foundations of the discipline of art history. Also important was the fact that singly and together they were not subscribers to the theory of decline and decay propounded by their predecessors. Indeed, they explicitly or by implication discounted such deductions. In so doing regional developments were considered a natural phenomenon, parallel to the phenomenon of the development of regional languages and literatures elucidated in the volume on language and literature in *The Cultural Heritage of India* volumes.

The pioneers in the field of iconography, epigraphy and numismatics are mostly represented here. These were the first systematic studies of the domain. The importance of their work will never diminish. We have already referred to the monumental work of Gopinath Rao and Benoytosh Bhattacharya. To these names we may add the name of N. K. Bhattasali. His 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum' (1929) is a thorough, penetrating, systematic work in regard to the images of the Eastern school.

It is not necessary to elaborately comment on the state of scholarship in regard to the cultural dialogue between India and other parts of the world, particularly Central Asia, South-East Asia and East Asia. Auriel Stein's work was known, so also of the French archaeologist and others who spoke of only

Indian influences or propounded the wave upon wave theory. The articles here are a modest but significant beginning of new directions and perceptions.

It is hoped that this narrative of situating the scholars of this volume against the background of the immediately preceding trends in Indian scholarship that the work of this generation constitutes the bedrock of studies on Indian art, architecture and sculpture, as distinct from archaeology, on the one hand, and philosophy and literature, on the other. It is on the foundations laid down by these scholars that many superstructures have been built in recent years, specially in the last three decades. Naturally, fresh evidence called for fresh assessment and modification of some conclusions. This is the natural dynamics of any discipline. Some younger scholars have undertaken ambitious studies of whole areas and sites, and have conducted impressive structural analysis of the architectural forms. All this is welcome, e.g., as in the case of the Bṛhadīśvara and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolāpuram. The Encyclopaedia of Indian Architecture project of the American Institute of Indian Studies is a monumental contribution. The interpretative work of younger scholars such as Devananage Desai goes beyond the work of Stella Kramrisch in Hindu Temple and A.K. Coomaraswamy's masterly essay on the Kandāriya Mahādeva. Nevertheless, it has to be conceded that such detailed work would not have been possible but for the foundations laid out by these scholars.

In the field of sculpture there have been some welcome developments. Younger scholars have moved away from mere identification of date/provenance and analysis of school and style to a sharpened structural analysis of the treatment of the human form as also several motifs so far dismissed as decorative motifs. The interest in visual narrative and structural analysis of the movement of space and time within a relief, e.g., Vidya Dehejia's work and Ratan Parimoo's work in respect of Bhārhut sculpture exhibits a new sophistication in analytical skills. And of course there is a plethora of new materials which keeps surfacing. In short, there is ever so much to know and relearn.

However, it is a matter of some regret that there has been an orchestrated voice of dissonance against the viewpoints of the generation of scholars, some included in the volume. Their work has been critiqued on account of its over-emphasis on the metaphysical and the spiritual, in short, on inner meaning and significance, and less on the historico-social-political context. Indeed, outer context and the theoretical principle of conflict and contestation have been the principal implements of intellectual discourse. As pointed out before, some scholars have denounced their work as following a nationalist agenda. One can

only hope that with ripeness and maturity, they will come to the sanguine realization that the spirit and experience is perennial and the socio-economic-political is the ephemeral, time-bound and restricted. After all, 'art' and all creative activity is meaningful only if it transcends the boundaries of time and space and can communicate beyond the immediate. Why else does this art engage us? Also, Indian art from inception is the art of reflecting the states of being *(bhāva)* and not of action *(karma)*. It is only one of the attuned hearts, the responsive heart which can make an effort to communicate with the inner spirit of this art, earth rooted, but not earth bound. The art of Art History, the discipline, is also the discipline to harness all intellectual energies and skills to quieten them so that there can be 'resonance' and communication. This is both the past and future.

Finally, it has been a great learning experience to edit the volume, and my boundless gratitude to the late Swami Ranganathanandaji for entrusting me with this *sevā* and Swami Prabhananda for his continued gracious guidance, not to speak of his skills of managing logistics. We appreciate Brahmachari Atmachaitanya's (Ratnam Maharaj) collaboration who took the arduous task of preparing the Index. Dr. Apurba Kumar Sanyal went through the articles from the point of view of language, Dr. Prajeet Palit made a few bio-data of authors, we offer our sincere thanks for their generous assistance. Dr Nirmalendu Mukherjee, Dr. Mallar Mitra and Noor Bano Sattar also helped us at the primary stage with a portion of Bibliography—we thank them also. Help has been received in different ways from the staff of the Publication Department, the Library and the Research Wing, we give our heartfelt thanks to them. Suprabhat Maharaj (Swami Sarvabhutananda), Kalpana Ghosh and Durga Bose made an excellent team, and but for Pradyutji the volume would not have seen the light of day.

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Kapila Vatsyayan

INTRODUCTION

1

INTRODUCTION

ART IN INDIAN LIFE

WORKS of art (*śilpa-karmāṇi*) are means of existence made (*kṛta*, *saṁskṛta*) by man as artist (*śilpin*, *kāraka*, *kavi*, etc.) in response to the needs of man as patron (*kārayitṛ*) and consumer (*bhogin*) or spectator (*draṣṭṛ*).[1] The production of works of art is never an end in itself; 'the work of the two hands is an otherwise determined element of natural being;'[2] 'all expressions, whether human or revealed, are directed to an end that is over and beyond the fact of expression;'[3] 'as the purpose, so the work.'[4] Art (*śilpa*, *kalā*, *kāvya*, etc.) in its becoming (*utpatti*) is the manipulation or arrangement (*saṁskaraṇa*, *vidhāna*, etc.) of materials according to a design or pattern, preconceived (*dhyāta*, *nirmāta*) as the theme (*vastu*) may demand,[5] which design or pattern is the idea or intelligible aspect (*sattva-jñāna-rūpa*) of the work (*karma*) to be done (*kārya*) by the artist.

Works of art, regarded as a food (*anna*), can only be thought of as 'luxuries' when the patron's appetites (*kāma*) are excessive (*puruṣārtha-visaṁvādī*); man eats to live, and can only be thought of as 'greedy' (*lubdha*) when he lives to eat.[6] By works of art the self is nourished in its vegetative (*annamaya*) modes of being, and re-minded in its intellectual (*manomaya*) modes of being[7]; for in every work of art there is combination of formal-intelligible (*nāmavat*) and material-sensible (*rūpavat*) factors, the former corresponding to the 'ear' as symbol of angelic understanding, the latter to the 'eye' as symbol of sensational experience.[8] Works of art, in other words, are specifically human, distinguishable from natural objects as not merely sensible, but also intelligible, and from their angelic prototypes (*devaśilpāni*)[9] as not merely intelligible, but also sensible.[10]

It is true that amongst actually existing works of art men have attempted to distinguish limiting types, on the one hand purely intelligible, and on the other merely serviceable; calling the former 'beautiful' (*rasavat*), the latter merely informative (*vyutpatti-mātra*) or merely useful (*prayojanavat*).[11] An actual

existence (*sthiti*) of such limiting types is however impossible. In the first place, it is established by the definition itself that what is purely formal or intelligible is not also sensible, for this would contradict the predication of purity or mereness. Pure form (*śuddha nāma*) has only being (*bhāva*), not a becoming (*bhava*); explaining existence, but not existing, it can only be referred to, and not identified with the physical symbol.[12] Meaning cannot have position[13]; one and the same meaning can be referred to again and again by means of the appropriate symbols, which may be thought of as its stations (*avasthāna*), but do not confine it —'the picture is not in the colours'[14] —but in the 'heart' (*hṛdaya*), viz. of the artist (*kāraka*) before the work is done, and of the spectator (*bhogin*) who when the work is done has grasped (*grah*) its reference.[15] And in the second place, only a natural (*sahaja*) object, the existence of which is its own end (*svārtha*), can be spoken of as unintelligible,[16] and merely sensible, accessible only to animal or estimative knowledge. Estimative knowledge, viz. of things as pleasant or unpleasant in themselves, is altogether different from intelligible knowledge, the animal, or man as animal, responding to sensation instinctively, not intelligently. The eye sees nothing but coloured surfaces, and has no other capacity: these surfaces have no meaning as such, but only are 'that there is an appearance of colour is simply that colour appears.'[17]

So then the terms 'pure art' or 'fine art' and 'applied art' or 'useful art' have reference only to limiting concepts without separate existence in fact; every work of art is at one and the same time *nāmavat* and *rūpavat*. One and the same work of art can therefore be utilized from either point of view, or from one of many points of view: the Vedic *mantra* may for example be used as means to the integration of the self in the mode of metre, or may be regarded as a lullaby; a surgical instrument may be considered merely as beautiful, that is to say, at once expressing and adapted to its purpose, or may be considered simply as pleasing in colour or shape, or may be thought of merely as a means of relieving pain.

Works of art are good or bad in themselves and as such, not according to their themes or applications (*vastu, prayojana*); 'of themes that may be chosen there is none in the world but can be endowed with the quality of beauty.'[18] A cathedral (*vimāna*) is not as such more beautiful than an aeroplane, a *śānta* more than an *ugra* image, a hymn than a mathematical equation, nor Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya Śataka* more than the *Śṛṅgāra Śataka*; a well-made sword is not more beautiful than a well-made scalpel, though one is used to slay, the other to heal. Works of art are only good or bad, beautiful or ugly in themselves, to the extent that they are or are not well and truly made (*sukṛta*),

that is, do or do not express, or do or do not serve their purpose (*kratvartha*); a work of art being 'bad' or 'poor' (*hīna*) which does not at one and the same time clearly express *and* well serve its purpose, whatever that may have been. Works that are bad in this sense will abound where men are either physically insensitive or intellectually inert.

The purposes to be served by and themes to be expressed in works of art are good or bad from other points of view, ethical and speculative; good or bad ethically according as the theme or purpose is noble (*puṇya*) or ignoble (*pāpa*), and good or bad intellectually according to the level of reference, metaphysical—angelic (*parokṣa*, *adhidaivata*) or literal—individual (*pratyakṣa*, *adhyātma*), universal or particular. These values are very commonly projected onto the work of art, which is then spoken of as if noble or ignoble, intellectual or sensual in itself.

Henceforth we shall employ the terms beautiful and ugly with respect to the intrinsic virtue or lack of virtue in the work of art; noble and ignoble with respect to ethical values; and intellectual and sensual with respect to the level of reference. It may be observed that these qualities in or projected onto works of art will correspond to those of the men by and for whom the works are produced; skilled and obedient men producing beautiful works, good men demanding noble works, and metaphysically minded men demanding intellectual works. Furthermore, these qualities, inherent or attributed, will not in any way reflect conditions of economic prosperity or poverty; the least costly may be as good in any sense as the most costly work.

It has been pointed out by Śukrācārya that affection or taste is not an aesthetic criterion (*pramāṇa*).[19] Taste reflects affectability and is not by any means disinterested. As expressed in the work of art, where it becomes the determinant of 'style' (*rīti*),[20] taste, whether we call it 'good' or 'bad', reflects the character (*svabhāva*) of the artist as individual, or more generally within unanimous (*sammata*) groups that of the environment (*kāla-deśa*); 'the painter's own likeness comes out in the picture.'[21] The character of the individual or age may be predominantly static, energizing, or inert, determining accordingly the qualities of latent power, power in action, or relaxation which can be distinguished in the different kinds (*varṇa*) of art, those, viz. which we speak of with more or less precision as classical or reserved, romantic or exuberant, and weak or sentimental. Style can be thus defined in terms of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*; but it must not be overlooked that when a prescription (*sādhana*, *dhyāna*) specifies that a given angel is to be represented in a *sāttvika*, *rājasika*, or *tāmasika* aspect, as the case may be, then the

determination is referred back to the patron, according to whose nature (*bhāva*) must be the aspect of the angel to be worshipped.[22] In the latter case no question of style is involved; the angelic character to be expressed by means of suitable signs (*lakṣaṇa*) becomes a part of the artist's problem, and has nothing to do with his own nature, which determines his style. So then the image required to be gruesome in itself may be reserved, exuberant, or sentimental in style (*rīti*). Sentimentality in art is the excessive laying of stress upon a transient mood (*vyabhicāri-bhāva*), and this in the case of a *tāmasika* image will mean that appearances of violence and effort are presented, where only the manifestation of a given modality of power should have been shown; in a serene (*śānta*) image sentimentality would have taken the form of excessive sweetness. In either case there is misconception of the theme; for the permanent mode or mood (*sthāyi-bhāva*) of angelic being is neither sweet nor violent, but static (*sāttvika*). But the misconception is not an aesthetic fault; the artist may have exhibited sweetness or violence with great skill and complete success, and that is all that we can demand of him as an artist, ignoring his manhood.[23]

In isolating the concept of style and comparing two different styles it is taken for granted that the theme (*vastu, anukārya*) remains constant. In fact, however, this is not so, nor can it be so; things known being always in the knower according to the mode of the knower, and not as they are in themselves. Notwithstanding that the label 'Buddha' and the details of the iconography remain the same, the theme 'Buddha' as a problem set before the Gupta artist is not in fact identical with the theme 'Buddha' set before the Kuṣāṇa artist. Now the perfection (*sukṛtatva*, entelechy) of any thing taken by itself is reached when its specific potentiality is actually realized; and this holds for all works of art, where we have a right to demand an exact correspondence of aspect and form, lacking which we recognize an element of contradiction (*viruddhatva*) which defines a proportionate privation of being as work of art. If then we find the Buddha represented as a man, who is more than man, we can only judge the work aesthetically for what it is, viz. the representation of a man, at the same time that from other points of view we, who desired not the likeness of a man but the symbol of a meaning, reject it. We have to distinguish between things which are good of their kind, and things which in their kind are good for us. The thing good of its kind will remain such for ever, without respect to the variability of such and such desires by which the course of man's life is determined in different individuals or in different ages. This is all that concerns the historian of art, the student of stylistic sequences, who makes his business the demonstration and explanation of styles, without regard to human values.

All this, however, is to treat the work of art as a natural object, an end in itself, not as a thing made by and for man. If there are some artists who come with their colours and brushes to paint pictures on the air,[24] there are also on the one hand aesthetes, and on the other historians of art who take it for granted that works of art are always and necessarily pictures that have been painted on the air, whereto the artist has betaken himself in the pursuit of beauty or, what amounts to the same thing, in an attempted flight from life. To all of whom it may be replied that 'Man is not emancipated from the task by merely shirking it, nor can he achieve perfection by mere abstention . . . they indeed who cook only for themselves are eaters of evil . . . it is by action that a man reaches his last goal . . . act therefore with due regard to the welfare of the world.'[25] It is true that the artist, like other men in their respective vocations, should work for the good of the work itself, and not with regard to the ends, however noble or ignoble, to which the work is ordered; as artist he is not a philanthropist, but has his art which he is expected to practise, and for which he expects payment, the labourer being worthy of his hire. But we are now considering precisely the case of the artist who sets up to be his own patron, and thus assumes immediate and entire responsibility, not only for the work itself, but for the ends to which it is ordered and may be expected to promote; if this responsibility is wilfully ignored, the artist is not merely diminished in his humanity individually, but proceeds to extinction as species. 'He who does not do his part to keep in motion the wheel that has been set agoing, whose life is loveless and whose playground is sensation, lives in vain.'[26] The world has every right to enquire with respect to works of art, what are they about, and what for; and if the artist answers, about nothing and for nothing, or about myself and for myself, the world owes him nothing. Offering stones for bread, he will be repaid in kind, and sooner or later buried without regret.[27]

Nor is the proper artist in fact at all of this kind; none is more justly angered than the artist who, when he presents the finished work to the patron or spectator *for whom it was made*, finds that only his skill (without which it had been presumption to make anything) or only his style (which he admits only when his attention is called to it, and then only as accident and not as essence in his work) is praised, while the theme of his work, to which he has literally devoted and given *himself*, is treated merely as a label attached to it. 'I am not,' he says in effect, 'a performing animal, but also a person.'[28] The Vedic *kavi* refers to his artistry as a skill exercised for the sake of the angels to whom the *mantras* are addressed; it is not himself that speaks, but Vāc-Sarasvatī through him; he is not a stylist, but an auditor, and a reporter; the *mantra* is very surely directed to an end beyond itself. The Vedic *kavi* is essentially Savitṛ,[29] and

more than man (*apauruṣeya*), but in that the Supernal Sun shines upon the world in the likeness of man,[30] man having his being as the counter-image in the mirror,[31] or, if the mirror be tarnished, suffers privation in fullness of being what he is, it follows, proceeding from whole to part, that man's powers in their perfection are reflections of his power; the human artist has his being in the likeness of the Solar *kavi*, or, if not, suffers privation in fullness of being as artist.[32] And this is seen in the relation of the artist to his work, the theme being precisely the angel whom he praises by his work, as *pūjaka* and *upacārin*.

II

It is the business of the artist to *know how things ought to be made* and to be able accordingly, as it is the business of the patron to know *what things ought to be made*, and of the consumer to know what things *have been well and truly made* and to be able to use them after their kind.[33] The individual artist is not indeed expected to find out for himself how things ought to be made, but he is expected to make this knowledge a part of himself, so that he acquires the habit (*śliṣṭatva*, *anuśīlana*) of his art. No less than for the thinker or doer, there is for the artist a norm or ratio (*pramāṇa*), according to which, as subdivided into particular canons (*naya*, *vidhi*, *māna*) recorded (*smṛta*) in the technical books (*śilpa-śāstra*, *upaveda*) the work is to be done. Only such works as conform to these standards (*śāstra-māna*) are lovely (*ramya*) in the judgement of those who know (*vipaścit*), individual taste (*tat lagnaṁ hṛt-ruci*) being no criterion.[34]

There is indeed but one authority (*pramātṛ*) whose knowledge is universal (*viśva*) and innate (*sahaja*), not acquired by instruction or practice, that is, the Lord as Viśvakarman or Tvaṣṭṛ,[35] and in or with him (*sālokyavat*) those Comprehensors (*vidvān*, *sādhya*, *prabuddha*, *buddha*, etc.) whose omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) is as his, and who share his absolute 'skill in the field of art' (*śilpa-sthāna-kauśala*).[36] Criteria (*pramāṇāni*, pl.) known to others are necessarily limited and particular (*viśeṣa*); and innate knowledge of criteria being, as it were, divided amongst the angels (*deva*, *devatā*), whose nature (*bhāva*) is altogether intellectual, for 'that is what it means to be an angel'.[37] Now whereas 'All the activities (*kriyāḥ*) of the angelic beings, whether at home in their own places, or abroad in the breaths of life[38] are intellectually emanated (*mānasī sṛṣṭiḥ*), those of men are put forth by conscious effort (*yatnatas*); therefore it is that the works to be done (*kārya-kriyāḥ*) by men are defined in detail (*lakṣaṇābhihitāḥ*).'[39] Man's works of art, in other words, are properly deduced only when they are made in imitation (*anukṛti*) of the angelic arts (*deva-śilpāni*).[40] It follows indeed directly from the principle, 'As above,

so below'—*amuṣya lokasyāyaṁ loko'nurūpaḥ*[41], that works of art (*śilpa-karmāṇi*) can only be regarded as conceived in accordance with the law of heaven (*ṛtaprajātāni*) and as well and truly made (*sukṛtāni*, as the works of the Ṛbhus are said to be, and as before defined, 'beautiful') when they are made after (*anu*) the angelic prototypes, which are intellectually begotten in the revolution (*pravartana*) of the Year (*saṁvatsara*, Prajāpati); for example, 'the Year is endless; its two ends are Winter and Spring; after (*anu*) this it is that the two ends of a village are united, after this it is that the two ends of a necklet meet.'[42]

It is indeed as aforesaid precisely the willed embodiment of a foreknown form or pattern in the work of art that removes it from the category of 'natural object' and makes it artificial (*kṛtrima*), that is to say, human (*mānuṣa*); not that natural objects have not also their forms, but that these are not foreknown by the artist, nor has he any part in the creation of the natural object. There are however two distinct aspects of the act of art, according as the artist proceeds from universal to particular, or from particular to universal. In the first case the intellectually known form precedes, and operation follows *dhyātvā kuryāt*; in the second, a thing is first perceived sensibly, then the intellect at work in the heart discovers the corresponding form, this form in turn being, as art in the artist, foreknown and precedent with respect to operation—*dṛṣṭvā dhyāyet, dhyātvā kuryāt*. In modern terms the cases are spoken of as his who works from imagination, and his who works from nature or from memory. In the first case the artist forms material symbols directly after angelic images, which are not things; in the second he takes existing things out of their sense, and sacrificing their sensible appeal, transforms them. The artistry of the Vedic *mantras*, which are the cause of the becoming of things in their kind,[43] is of the first sort; that of the actual sacrifice, where things are offered up and returned to their source, of the second—*jo ha vai evaṁvit, sa hi suvar gacchati*.[44]

The normal procedure of the Indian imager (*pratimā-kāraka*) is of the first kind, and this applies also to the case of the poet and other artists within narrower categories. The details of the angelic prototypes are remembered (*smṛta*) for the imager's guidance in the canonical treatises, and incidentally to be found elsewhere wherever the angels or their houses, vehicles, thrones, weapons, or other possessions are described. This does not mean that the artist's knowledge must be got only directly from texts actually written down or recited, though these have been, and are still resorted to; it may as well be gained from instruction (*upadeśa*) and in practice (*abhyāsa*). The master (*ācārya*) stands in relation to the pupil as *guru* to *śiṣya*, and so professional

men following one another in pupillary succession (*guru-paramparā*) learn to work 'according to their craft (*śilpānurūpeṇa*).'[45] At the same time the possibility of a direct access to the highest source of knowledge—Vāc-Sarasvatī, or the Lord through whose creative emanation of image-bearing light (*bhā-rūpa*, *citra-bhāsa*)[46] all possibilities are realized—is by no means excluded. The creative light (*kārayitrī pratibhā*) or power (*śakti*) in the poet himself may be either natural (*sahajā*), acquired (*āhāryā*) or learnt (*aupadeśikā*); in the former case the poet is 'Sarasvatī's' (*sārasvata*).[47]

The artist's perception of angelic prototypes is spoken of in many different ways: it may be revealed to him in sleep; he may visit an angelic world and there take note of what he sees (whether the aspect of a given angel, or that of the angelic architecture, or that of the heavenly song and dance), or Viśvakarman may be said to operate through him;[48] these metaphors all implying an awareness at levels of reference superior to that of observation and deliberation --levels apparently objective, but in reality 'within you,' *antarhṛdayākāśe*, for as before cited, 'all these angels are in me'.

The most perspicuous accounts of artistic 'invention' (*anuvitti*) are to be found in the *Ṛg-Veda*, where we are told time and again how and where the poet, whose incantations (*mantra*) are the cause of the becoming of things in their variety, finds (*anuvid*) his words and measures. Foremost and archetype of these is the Solar Angel (Savitṛ) in that he reveals (*pratimuñcate*) the aspects of all things (*viśvarūpāṇi*).[49] Others, angels, prophets, or patriarchs, co-creators in his likeness, 'ward the footprints of the law of heaven and in the innermost (*guhā*) are pregnant of the ultimate ideas (*parāṇi nāmāni*),'[50] 'then what was best and flawless in them, implanted in the innermost (*guhā nihitam*), that by their love was shown forth.'[51] 'In the innermost,' literally 'hidden,' that is, immanent in the hollow of the lotus of the heart, where only are to be realized all the possibilities of our being, 'both what is ours now, and what is not yet ours.'[52] It is in the heart (*hṛt*) that Wisdom (Vāc-Sarasvatī) is seen or heard (*dṛś*, *śru*), in the heart that the swift instigations of the intellect are fashioned, or thought is formulated, 'as a carpenter hews wood,'[53] and 'even as Tvaṣṭṛ with his axe wrought the angelic chalices, even so do ye that are Comprehensors of the hidden footprint whet those chisels wherewith ye carve the vessels of undying life.'[54]

The aesthetic process, the making (*karma*, Greek *poesis*) of things, is thus clearly conceived in its two essential aspects, on the one hand as the exercise of

a theoretical power (*mantra-śakti*), and on the other of a practical power (*utsāha-śakti*). The procedure of the artist is defined accordingly: 'The imager (*pratimā-kāraka*) should prepare the images that are to be used in temples by means of the visual-formulæ (*dhyāna*) that are proper to the angels (*svārādhya-devatā*) whose are the images to be made. It is for the successful attainment of visual-formulation (*dhyāna-yoga*) that the lineaments (*lakṣaṇa*) of images are recorded (*smṛta*), so that the mortal imager may be expert in visual formulation (*dhyāna-rata*), for it is thus and in no other way, least of all (*va khalu*) with a model before his eyes (*pratyakṣa*) that he can accomplish his task.'[55] And so, to summarize the injunctions which are scattered through the books in which are collected the prescriptions for images, the imager is required, after emptying his heart of all extraneous interests, to visualize within himself (*antarhṛdayākāśe*) an intelligible image (*jñānasattva-rūpa*), to identify himself therewith (*tadātmānaṁ dhyāyet* or *bhāvayet*), and holding this image as long as may be necessary (*evaṁ rūpaṁ yāvad icchati tāvad vibhāvayet*), then only to proceed to the work of embodiment in stone, metal, or pigment- *dhyātvā kuryāt*. In case (which is unusual) he works from a sketch, that is to say, from a visual rather than a verbal *sādhana* or *dhyāna*, the principle remains the same; for here he works actually from a mental image evoked in himself according to the sketch, and not from the sketch directly.

As we have seen above, the resort to a living model accessible to observation (*pratyakṣa*) is prohibited, and the representation of 'men etc.' that is of 'nature' is dismissed as 'not heavenward leading'. Let us not forget that the problem (*kartavya*) before the artist is that of communicating to others a given idea, and though this can only be done by means of sensible symbols—perceptible shapes or audible sounds—it is evidently essential that these shapes or sounds be such as can be understood, and not merely seen or heard, by the patron or spectator who rightly expects to be able to understand and make use of the work of art to procure those ends to which it was ordered on his behalf.[56] Now the living model as natural (*sahaja*) object and end in itself (*svārtha*) is not a symbol, and has no meaning, its appeal is merely sensational and affecting, our reaction being either of pleasure or pain, and not disinterested.[57] To the extent that the work of art is 'true to nature,' and the more its appearance approximates to that of the natural model, the more what was true of the object will be true of the work; until finally the work becomes 'illusionistic' or 'very like' (*susadṛśa*), and at this point we are suddenly awakened to the fact of its insignificance (*anarthatva*). As the natural object as such is clearly a far better thing than any shadow or imitation of it that can be

made, we realize that the only use of the illusionistic work is to serve as substitute for the natural object in the absence of the latter, viz. as a means of consolation in longing (*utkaṇṭhā-vinodana*);[58] our attachment to the work is then strictly speaking a fetishism or idolatry, a worship of 'nature'. At the same time, in so far as the work is merely informative as to the manner in which a certain man or other thing presents itself to the eye's intrinsic faculty (*māṁsa-cakṣus*), it is not properly a work of art, but merely a convenience or utility.[59]

It is only because in sculpture or painting the language is visual rather than aural, and a fully developed (*vyakta*) image of an angel or other meaning, therefore, more like a man or a tree than are the words *puruṣa* or *vanaspati*, that the notion has arisen that it is the primary function or nature of these arts to reproduce the appearances of things. This indeed has never been clearly asserted in India, but has been constantly denied; nevertheless there can be found allusions to sculpture or painting as intriguing deceptions,[60] and this seems to imply at least a popular view of the art as imitative in kind. That a popular interest must have been felt in the representative aspects of art is further illustrated by the fact that a preference for colour is always ascribed to the laymen, a preference for line to the connoisseur, while in more than one passage the *vidūṣaka* is referred to 'stumbling over' the represented relievo.[61] Actually to think of likeness to anything as a criterion of excellence in sculpture or painting would be the same as to think of onomatopoetic words as superior to others in literature. If because of our human preoccupation with the facts of experience, and being *pratyakṣa-priya*, we should make use only of onomatopoetic words in our communications, these communications would be restricted to the range of such as animals are able to make to one another by means of grunts and whines; accepting only those words which are made in the likeness of things, we should have none with which to make those references which are not to things but to meanings.

The considerations outlined above have determined the Muhammadan interdiction of representative art, as a thing giving the appearance and not the reality of life; in making such representations, man is working, not like the Divine Architect from within outwards, not with significant forms (*nāmāni*), but only with aspects, and in reducing these from life to likeness imposes on them a privation of their proper being, which is one informed by the spirit (*rūḥ, prāṇa*) of life. From the Hindu, Buddhist, or Jaina monastic point of view, and that of such teachers as Śukrācārya (who expresses the consensus of authority) representative art is condemned as such more on account of its worldly theme than on strictly theological grounds. Finally, the modern critic in agreement with

Hindu theory condemns representative art *as art*, because of its informative (*vyutpatti-mātra*) character, or because the spectator regards it primarily from the standpoint of its affective associations and sensationally. It is true that the work of art which takes the natural object or human theme for its starting point need not be merely informative or imitative in itself,[62] nevertheless, in spite of ourselves, it is only too easy to be curious of and seduced by the individual and accidental aspects of the things before us, and thus to be drawn away by our affections from the vision of pure form. The possibility of such distractions is avoided by the imager who, emptying his mind of all other content, proceeds to work directly from an inwardly known image; and similarly in the case where the form is not evoked by the craftsman individually, but is handed down from generation to generation in the collective consciousness of the craft.[63] All this is borne out in the character of the actual art, the *vyakta* (developed and 'anthropomorphic') image (*mūrti*) being no more realistic in principle than the *avyakta* (undeveloped or 'abstract') diagram (*yantra*) which is ordered to the same ends. The Hindu image of an angel, or Hindu ancestral image, is not in fact made as if to function biologically, and cannot be judged as if it were so made. The plastic image has no more occasion to counterfeit a man than has the verbal image; and if for instance the latter may have a thousand arms or theriomorphic elements, so may the former.[64] It need hardly be added that it is taken for granted that those who look at earthen images 'do not serve (*na abhyarc*) the clay as such (*mṛtsaṁjña*), but without regard thereof (*anādṛtya*) honour (*nam*) the deathless principles referred to (*amarasaṁjña*) in the earthen images (*mṛnmaya pratikṛti*).[65]

'Portraiture' in Hindu art falls to be considered from two different points of view, first, that of the ancestral effigy, and second, that of the likeness of a still living person. The principles involved are more divergent than might at first sight appear. The ancestral effigy is not in fact a 'portrait' in the accepted sense of the word, it is not the likeness of a mortal, but the image of an angel (*deva*) or archetypal meaning (*nāma*). For of the deceased we say that he has become an angel (*deva*), or attained angelic nature (*devatva*); and that it is an idea (*nāma*) that remains when a man dies.[66] The nature of the angel or idea will be such as the man's own thoughts and works have been, and so the man is represented not as he was seen on earth, but as he was in himself, and is now transubstantiated (*abhisambhūta*). An actual 'likeness' of the deceased could only be desired by those most attached to what was mortal in him, and would be persuaded that it is precisely thus that he is now.[67] Hence we do not 'recognize' the individual in the effigy; in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka*, Bharata does not

recognize the effigies of his own parents, and in the presence of Javanese or Cambodian sculpture we are to-day in just the same way unable to distinguish, unless by an inscription, between a royal effigy and the image of a deity. The angel, whether *ājānaja* or *karma-deva*, is represented as at home (*gṛhe, gṛhastha*) and respirated (*apāna*), not as abroad in the breaths of life (*prāṇeṣu, pavaneṣu*); that is to say, formally (*nāmika, Lat. formaliter*), not as if embodied (*śārīraka*) in a life (*āyus, asu*), but in the manufactured image (*kṛtrima rūpa*).

The representation of living persons according to their factual likeness (*yathā-veśa-saṁsthānākāraḥ*), and where the possibility of recognition is a *sine qua non*, belongs entirely to the domain of 'worldly' or 'fashionable' (*nāgara*) painting, and has always an erotic (*śṛṅgāravat*) application (*prayojana*),[68] and furthermore, always an avocation or accomplishment, attributed to princes and other cultured men, rather than to the professional *śilpin* and *pratimā-kāraka*.[69] If portraiture of this kind is called *asvargya*, not heavenward leading, that is not so much a prohibition, as by way of pointing out the undeniable distinction of what is mortal (*martya*) and individual (*adhyātma*) in kind, from what is angelic (*adhidaivata*) and heavenward leading (*svargya*).[70] At the same time, even in this kind of portraiture, it is the concept of the type discovered in the individual that really governs the representation: the portrait of a queen made for a lovesick king is given all the lineaments of a *padminī*, and yet thought of as a good likeness (*susadṛśa*),[71] and even when the portrait of an animal is required, the artist is expected to visualize (*dhyai*) the form in agreement with pre-established canonical proportions.[72]

It is in connection with an unsuccessful portrait, indeed, that we find allusion made to the fundamental cause of an artist's failure; this failure is attributed neither to lack of skill nor to lack of observation, but to a lax realization or 'slackened integration' (*śithila samādhi*);[73] and elsewhere in connection with the drama, imperfections of acting are attributed not to lack of skill or charm, but to the actor's 'empty-heartedness' (*śūnya-hṛdayatā*)[74] which is tantamount to calling the production formless, in that the inwardly known form after which the gesture follows is a form known only within, as art in the artist. The use of the terms *samādhi, hṛdaya*, is significant when we realize, as we must have realized, that the practice of art is a discipline (*yoga*) beginning with attention (*dhāraṇā*),[75] consummated in self-identification (*samādhi*), viz. with the object or theme of contemplation, and eventuating in skill of operation (*kauśala*).[76]

If we have so far considered only the case of what are commonly known as the major arts, let us not forget that Śaṅkarācārya is reported to have said, 'I

have learnt concentration (*samādhi*) from the maker of arrows.' Not only in fact does the ordinary workman, weaver or potter, work devotedly, but--- though he may not practise *yoga* in the formal sense of sitting in *padmāsana* etc. --always form mental images, which he remembers from generation to generation and is so far identified with that he has them always at his ready command, at his fingers' ends, without need for conscious 'designing'; and in that he works thus above the level of conscious observation, his capacity as artist by far exceeds what would be his capacity as individual 'designer'. At the same time his work remains comprehensible, and therefore nourishing and beautiful in the eyes of all those who like himself still live according to the immemorial tradition (*sanātana dharma*), or in other words according to the pattern of the Year (*saṁvatsara*). Pre-eminently of this kind, for example, are on the one hand those unlettered and obscure women of the villages, whose drawings executed in rice-powder and with the finger-brush, in connection with domestic and popular festas (*vrata*) represent an art of almost pure form and almost purely intellectual significance;[77] and on the other, those trained and learned architects (*sthapati*) of Southern India to whom rich tradesmen still entrust the building of cathedrals (*vimāna*), and who for their part lay claim to an equality with Brāhmaṇas in priestly function, being in fact the modern representatives of the Vedic *rathakāra*. Artists of this rank have long since disappeared from Europe, and are becoming rarer every day in India- those who do not understand, and therefore cannot use such arts as these, refusing, as the case may be, to 'waste their time' or 'waste their money' on them.

III

We have so far spoken of art mainly as utilitarian (*vyāpāra-mātra*) on the one hand and significant (*abhidhā-lakṣya*) on the other; as at once means of existence in the vegetative (*annamaya*) mode of being, and of reintegration in the intellectual (*manomaya*) mode of being. We have seen that the forms of things to be made are ordered (*prativihita*) to these ends, and that the knowledge of their right determination (*pramāṇa*) proceeds from a condition of consciousness in which the artist is fully identified with (*samādhi, tadākāratā*, etc.) the theme of the work to be done. With respect to the consumer (*bhogin*) and spectator (*draṣṭṛ*), it has been made clear that he only can make an adequate and intelligent use of the work of art who understands its determination; and finally that which distinguishes the work of art from a natural object or mere behaviour is precisely its lucidity or expressiveness, its intellectual application.

But this is not all. It is agreed that works of art are for the competent spectator, if not causes of, nor ordered to,[78] at least occasions or sources

(*nisyanda*)[79] of an unrelated delight (*ānanda*), transcendent with respect to any or all of the specific pleasures or meanings subserved or conveyed by the work itself. That is the delight felt when the ideal beauty (*rasa*) of the work is seen or tasted (*svādyate*) in 'pure aesthetic experience.' This delight or tasting of ideal beauty (*rasāsvādana*), though void of contact with intelligible things (*vedyāntara-sparśaśūnya*), is in the intellectual-ecstatic order of being (*ānanda-cinmaya*), transcendental (*lokottara*), indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*), self-manifested (*svaprakāśa*), like a flash of lightning (*camatkāra*), the very twin of the tasting of Brahman (*Brahmasvāda-sahodara*).[80] Nor is this experience in any way determined by ethical qualities of any kind predicated with respect to the theme.[81] On the other hand, just as the artist starts from the theme or purpose of the work, and must be identified with its meaning before he can express it, so conversely the spectator may not attain to the vision of beauty without respect to the theme, but only by way of an ideal sympathy (*vāsanā*) with and consent (*sādhāraṇya*) to the passions animated in the theme,[82] only by way of an imaginative integration of oneself with the meaning of the theme (*arthabhāvanā*).[83] The vision of beauty is thus an act of pure contemplation, not in the absence of any object of contemplation, but in conscious identification with the object of contemplation. Just as the concept of the artist is most perfectly and only perfectly realized in the person of the Divine Architect, so the concept of the spectator is most perfectly and only perfectly realized in the Self, one Person, single Self, who at one and the same time and for ever sees all things (*viśvam abhicaṣṭe*), seeing without duality (*draṣṭādvaita*), verily seeing though he does not look (*paśyan vai tanna paśyati*), and whose intrinsic aspect (*svarūpa*) is the single image of all things (*viśvarūpa, rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpa*). His is the perfection of aesthetic contemplation who as 'very Self surveys the variegated world-picture as nothing other than the Self depicted on the mighty canvas of the Self, and takes a great delight therein'[84]—that is the consummation equally of art and understanding. That is the pure being of the Self, in the identity of its essence and its nature, within you, where there are neither works to be done nor thought to be communicated, but a simple and delighted understanding; one perfection, though reflected brokenly in all things perfect in their kind, one image-bearing light, though refracted in all things well and truly made.

IV

Thus art reflects and answers to man's every need, whether of affirmation (*pravṛtti*) or denial (*nivṛtti*), being no less for the spectator than the artist a way (*mārga*), one way amongst the 'many paths that Agni knows'. Now with

respect to every way, the means and their fruit must be understood; not merely explicitly and theoretically, but also implicitly and actually, for the way is of no use to him who will not walk in it. There are still those, though few, whose use and understanding of art are innate and untaught, and who in their innocence (*bālya*) have never thought of 'art' as a function added on to life, but only as a skill appropriate to every operation; and others, the majority, who have been mistaught to think of 'art' as present or wanting in human work by calculation, and of 'beauty' as a kind of varnish (*lepa*) or ornament (*alaṁkāra*) that can be added to or omitted from things at will. What service can be rendered to either of these kinds of men by the exposition of a theory of beauty, however correct (*pramiti*) and authoritative (*prameya*) it may be?[85] According to our understanding, the only service that can be rendered to the innocent is one of protection, whether indirectly by taking care that they shall not be corrupted or robbed of their inheritance by ignorant educationalists or patrons on the one hand, nor by exploitation[86] on the other; or directly, by the continuation of an understanding patronage, considering that a connoisseurship (*vicakṣaṇatva*) not expressed in active interest and patronage overshoots its mark (*prayojanam atikrāmati*). Here then the function of a correct exposition of the theory of art is conservative. Service that can be rendered to the perversely educated (*mithyā-paṇḍita*) is of another sort, these having already broken away from, or been torn away from traditional modes of understanding, and now depending for guidance merely upon individual opinion, taste, and passing fashion. These, above all, need to be reminded that the practice of art is a vocation, not an accomplishment; that the primary virtue in the artist is obedience or faith; that connoisseurship rightly understood can be achieved only by a rectification of the whole personality, not by the mere study or collecting of works of art; that competence (*svādakatva*) in the spectator, no less than skill (*kauśala*) in the artist must be earned - they cannot be imparted in the class-room. The 'collector' and 'lover of art', who thinks of museums and galleries as the proper destination of works of art, has more to learn from than to teach the man whose works of art are still in honour (*pūjita*) and in use (*prayukta*).[87] The service that can be rendered to the wrongly educated, and this means to most of those who at the present day pretend to education, must and can only be destructive of their fondest ideals.

Let us consider the present situation and some specific instances. It may be said without fear of contradiction that our present poverty, quantitative and qualitative, in works of art, in competent artists, and in effective connoisseurship is unique in the history of the world, and that in all these respects the present

day can be most unfavourably contrasted with the past, from which we have inherited a superabundance of works of art, for which, however, we have little positive use. All that is not to say that manhood is dead in us, but that a certain aspect of manhood is lacking in us. Those of us who have recognized this state of affairs, and have sought to remedy it, have generally put the cart before the horse, thinking our need to be for works of art in greater number, or aspiring individually to become artists, rather than to become more profoundly and fully men. Others maintain that 'art' is a luxury that an impoverished nation cannot 'afford', materials being costly, and time 'valuable'—one may ask, in this connection also, valuable for what? Now the economic factor is practically without any bearing on the issue; our situation is not such that the rich only can afford to patronize the artist, or that he must be rich who would have about him things at once utilitarian and significant, but that the rich man could not, if he would, obtain for himself goods of such quality as was once common in the market, and can now be found only in glass cases; not that the consumer is dissatisfied with the quality of goods offered to him, but that he is insensitive to their defect; not that the clerk and his wife are literally penniless, but that they actually prefer a piece of jewellery made according to the meaningless patterns to be found in the catalogues of foreign manufacturers to one made after an 'outmoded' angelic prototype;[88] not that we have no so-called works of art, but that those we have, particularly those purporting to be heroic or religious in theme, are in fact tawdry, and meretricious; not that the nationalist does not wish to express an Indian content in his emblems, but that he no longer knows what is Indian, nor understands the nature of symbolism; not that no attempts have been made to 'revive' the arts of ancient India, but that our 'Pre-Raphaelites' have imitated ancient styles rather than reiterated ancient meanings;[89] not that an art and artists of a higher order have not survived sporadically, even in our cities, but that infatuated by a supposedly higher taste we have held aloof from these, or else have thought of what was an essential grace in us, as merely raw material for anthropological and historical research.

It is a thankless task, but necessary to our purpose, to demonstrate our meaning by an analysis of specific instances; nor can we bring ourselves to illustrate by actual reproduction samples of our arts that are not arts; these overcrowd our palaces and drawing-rooms, and those who would understand should earn their judgements, not have judgements ready-made for them. A citation of a few cases will suffice; there will be recognized in each a reduction of the work of art from its proper nature, that of a tangibly presented work informed by a given intellectual content or meaning, to another and lower nature,

that of a tangibly presented object uninformed by any meaning, and merely informative or useful.[90] 'Reduction' is the converse of 'transformation'; the reduction of an already known symbol to the condition of insignificant and merely sensible objectivity represents a fall or decadence precisely contrary in direction to that ascent which is accomplished when in taking 'nature' for our starting point we proceed from appearance to form. If we take the symbol 'lotus' (*puṣkara*), which communicates the notion of a 'ground' (*pṛthivī, bhūmi*), as the means of our support (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the boundless waters (*āpaḥ*) of the possibilities of existence,[91] and proceed to depict an angel standing or seated on a lotus which in every respect and to the best of our ability repeats the semblance of the natural flower as known to the botanist or to the bee, that is a decadence of art; for there has been introduced an incongruity (*viruddhatva*) between the notion of firm support proper to the concept, and that of frail delicacy proper to the natural flower; and so far from there being any possibility of a concurrence in the meaning and consequent delight, the spectator is made to feel a positive discomfort, for in this kind of 'art' the angel too is made to take on flesh, and could the work be brought to life, would forthwith sink.[92] Or consider the sculptured portrait, not in the intelligible image of, but exactly like (*susadṛśa*) a given man, and distinguishable from him only by the sense of touch or smell; here again is a decadent work, not well and truly made, but a travesty, for it pretends to be one thing, a living man, and is another, a piece of stone. Or consider the well-known representation of Mother India as an *allzu menschliche* (altogether too human) woman outlined against the map of India; here again the work is inanimate in that the intellectual form (*parokṣa nāma*) is not expressed at all; here there is nothing but an arbitrary juxtaposition of a sign for 'any woman' (*sāmānyā strī*), and a symbol for 'India' as known to the cartographer, that is over against himself objectively, by no means as the ground of his existence. Only the politician could be fed on such food as this; he who loves the Mother more than her position in the world is not fed, but starved by works of this kind, incongruity (*viruddhatva*) and inexpressiveness (*anirdeśatva*) inhibiting assimilation. It is true that by the intensity of the spectator's ardour (*tapas*) the defect (*doṣa*) of any image may be overcome;[93] but the spectator's virtue, even when really a virtue and not merely an idle sentimentality, by no means excuses the artist's fault, whose business (*svadharma*) it is to *know* how things ought to be done. Here the defect is primarily æsthetic; at the same time further offence is offered in that the actual representations of this motif are glaring examples of bad taste, whereby the draughtsman is betrayed, not as artist, but as man. Rendered into verbal

symbols, all that the nationalist actually voices in this emblem is, not a dedication to a Motherland, but service promised to the genus *homo*, species *indicus*, and sex female. Or finally, turning to the stage, when the actor forgets to register (*sūc, rūp*) the determinants (*vibhāva*) of feeling (*bhāva*) proper to the theme (*vastu*), and merely exhibits his own emotions, that is not an art at all, not acting (*nāṭya*), but merely behaviour (*svabhāvāt*), and a crying baby achieves no less: 'or,' as Śaṅkarācārya expresses it, 'does the actor, playing a woman's part, pant for a husband, thinking himself a woman?'[94]

Thus all direction has been lost, and there is revealed the dark disorder of our life. Can we refer to any sign of life, or evidence of a reintegration, to any art bespeaking the entire man? Judging by the criteria deduced from scripture and tradition, we must answer 'Yes'. The weaving of homespun cloth (*khaddar*), an art in itself of immemorial antiquity, is effectively a new thing in our experience. This is an art that answers exactly to our such and such desired ends, to human values as we understand them in the light of our present environment (*kāla-deśa*); one that in practical application answers to our material necessity, and is at the same time an image in his likeness whom we worship in his ultimate simplicity (*samatā*) rather than as arrayed in all his glory. It was not indeed 'taste' that brought us to the use of homespun, nor on the other hand was this merely an outwardly imposed privation; it was only by a monastic simplicity of demeanour that man could imitate divine poverty: now that we understand the significance of what we did, we feel that nothing else could 'become us'; for the present we are assured that to be arrayed in glorious garments is not merely bad economy, but also bad taste.

A canvas had to be prepared (*parikṛta*), cleansed of its disfigured images, and whitened, before it could be looked for that he who is eternally the same, but takes on unsuspected likeness which we cannot yet imagine, could be revealed again in linear or brightly coloured shapes reflecting his intellectually emanated forms.[95] It does not depend on any will of ours as 'lovers of art,' but only on our willingness, upon obedience (*śraddhā*), whether or when newborn aspects of his image-bearing light (*sarūpa-jyotish*)[96] may blossom (*unmīl*) on the walls of human temples and on tissues woven by human hands. In the meantime, homespun cloth and whitewashed walls are works of art perfected in their kind, no less expressive of an intellectual reintegration than practically serviceable, fully befitting the dignity of man. For the present we have neither ends to be served nor meanings to express for which another and more intricate art would be appropriate; to aspire to any other art would be merely an ambition, analogous tc his who claims another vocation (*para-dharma*) than his

own. In speaking of the most austere style as the only style at once appropriate and well-becoming now, we do not mean to say that another and infinitely richer style may not as well become man's dignity upon another occasion, whether soon or late. To be attached to an austere style would be an error no less than to be attached to one more various (*vicitra*): man's entelechy as man lies not in non-participation (*akarma*), but in virtuosity (*karmasu kauśalam*) without attachment (*asaktatva*).[97] If the asceticism of the student (*brahmacarya*) becomes us now, we must expect to play the part of wealthy householders (*gṛhastha*) when that is required of us in turn, only at last and after all our work is done, returning to a comparable austerity, but of a higher order. Art, whether human or angelic, begins in a potentiality of all unuttered things, proceeds to expression, and ends in an understanding of the absolute simplicity or sameness of all things; ours is a beginning and a promise.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Distinction of things made (Lat. *factum*) from things done (Lat. *actum*). The thing made and the thing done, art and ethics, are one and the same only for the artist, whose function (*svadharma, svakārya*) is to make; for any other to make is inordinate (*adharma*). That is with respect to any one kind of making; the artist is not a special kind of man, but every man—either vocationally, or at least upon occasion and in some capacity a special kind of artist.

It is possible, of course, for the artist to be his own patron, as when a man builds a house for himself, or weaves his own garment. In this case, however, as soon as he proceeds from intention (*kratu*) to action (*kriyā*) his function as patron ceases, and he becomes the other man. When the work is finished, he becomes a consumer, or *ex post facto* patron, and is in a position to judge the work done, viz. from the artist's point of view with respect to its intrinsic quality (*sukṛtatva*), and from the consumer's with respect to its convenience (*yogyatā, puṇyatā*).

[2] *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III. 5.

[3] *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, V. I, Commentary.

[4] *Yatkratuḥ tatkarma, Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 4. 5.

[5] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 159, *sevya-sevaka-bhāveṣu pratimā-lakṣaṇaṁ smṛtam*, where in more general terms, *sevya* corresponds to *vastu, anukārya*, and *sevaka* to *kāraka*.

[6] 'For so it is that his children (*prajā*) carry on as though obeying orders, they live dependent on (*upajīvanti*) their such and such desired ends (*yaṁ yamantamabhikāmaḥ*), *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. I. 5. Prajāpati emanated children (*prajā*). He said, "What are your desires?" "Our desires are to eat food (*annādyakāmāḥ*)." ' *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. II. 1-3; and wherewith he feeds his children is the *Sāma-Veda*, that is precisely the ritual work of art (*śilpa-karma*) as distinguished from the *Ṛg-Veda*, which remains within as art in the artist (*śilpa*) until sung outwardly.

Food is all that nourishes the conscious self as living individual (*jīva*); works of art are foods in that men by them accomplish their 'such and such desired ends'. In that desires or appetites are here envisaged simply as *sine qua non* of existence, it is clear that the ends desired are the necessities of life as determined by the nature of the species—identical with all that every creature 'milks' from Virāj according to its own specific virtue. The 'morality' of desire and the 'morality' of existence are thus one and the same: 'I am the desire that is not counter to the law of heaven in living beings,' *Bhagavad-Gītā*, VII. 12. Man as an animal (*paśu*) has no other end in view than that of existence, and can subsist as animal on 'bread alone' without recourse to works of art; but man as a person (*puruṣa*) has other ends before him (*puruṣārtha*) which are attainable only by means of works of art ordered accordingly.

Appetite (ordinate desire) as rightly understood above must not be confused with greed (inordinate desire). Appetite or Will (*kāma*) is the son of the Law of Heaven (*dharma*) begotten on Obedience (*śraddhā*); Greed (*lobha*) is the son of Arrogance (*dambha*) begotten on Well-being (*puṣṭi*)—say the Purāṇas. The mothers being one or sister principles, the fathers contrary principles.

The case of him who is disgusted (*vairāgin*) and regards all appetites as evil—because *kāmaḥ saṁsāra-hetuḥ* ('Desire is the cause of transmigration') (*Mahābhārata*, III. 313. 98)—will be considered later in connection with the concept 'Poverty'. Note that this point of view, though one extraneous to a discussion of the place of art in *life*, is by no means exclusively Buddhist.

[7] 'Re-minded,' that is to say, 'regenerated.' This is conspicuously seen in the case of rites involving the notion of transubstantiation (*abhisambhava*), notably those of integration (*saṁskāra*) and initiation (*dīkṣā*). The duality of the ritual work of art is usually evident even when the motive is primarily practical, for example, *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXII. 10. 4, 'The Viśvajit is metaphysically (*parokṣa*) the rite (*vrata*), and thereby outwardly (*pratyakṣa*) he obtains food (*anna*).'

[8] But every work of art has in the same way in its formal or expressive aspect an ideal meaning or value, and in its material aspect a practical application or value; the congruity of these aspects determining its perfection or beauty as a work of art. On the other hand, a mere utility, though made, is not a work of art—though *karma*, is not *śilpa-karma*; a bird's nest is not architecture, a bare statement is not poetry, a literal representation is no more than a plaster cast sculpture. It is within man's power to maintain his existence as an animal by means of mere utilities and bare statements of fact, as also to make use of works of art in the same way, exclusively from the pleasure- pain standpoint. But he who thus lives by means of utilities and facts alone, the 'practical' man who ignores the theoretical aspects of his existence, the labourer without art, is intellectually an outlaw (*avrata*) and suffers privation of being as a person (*puruṣa*). Not that the vegetative mode of being is despicable in itself, which is indeed the 'foremost aspect' (*paraṁ rūpaṁ*) of the Self (*Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*, VI. II), but that to ignore all other modes of being of the Self is 'devilish' (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. 8).

[9] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 27. Observe that the *deva-śilpāni* (art in the artist) are to be distinguished from *śilpa-karmāṇi* (works of art) as *adhidaivata, parokṣa*, from *adhyātma, pratyakṣa*.

[10] Distinction of art from nature; for example, if we throw a stone, the stone remains a natural object, merely a thing, but if we set up a stone in the ground, and call it a *liṅga*, then the stone in connection with its support becomes an intelligible construction, a

significant thing, a work of art.

[11] A division of 'fine' from 'applied' art has been made in India only in connection with literature and dancing, viz. in the distinction of *kāvya* (statement informed by *rasa*) from *itihāsa* (merely veridical statement), and of *nṛtya* (dance exhibiting a theme) from *nṛtta* (merely rhythmical movements). A broader distinction of pure or fine from applied or decorative art, and of beauty from use, has been drawn in Europe only within the last two centuries, before which time the terms 'artist' and 'artisan' designated only the professional maker, without regard to the kind of thing made. The new distinction belongs to the ideology of industrialism, seeming to explain and justify a division of craftsmen into artists on the one hand and labourers on the other; the human consequences so far as 'labourer' and consumer are concerned were clearly enunciated by Ruskin in the stinging aphorism, 'Industry without art is brutality;' while the so-called 'artist' of to-day is reduced to the position of the workman in the ivory tower, or as we should express it, that of the man who comes with his materials to paint a picture on the air (*ākāśe rūpaṁ likheyya, Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 127). Actually there never has been, and never can be agreement as to the point at which art ends and industry begins; the categories as defined being always opinionative (*vikalpita*) and without authority (*aprameya*).

[12] Note that 'abstract form' (or better, 'abstract shape') is not the same as 'pure form'. Abstract form is merely a general aspect deduced from particular aspects; pure form *a priori* and *post factum* at the same time—is that by which or after which (*anu*) the aspect is induced, so as to exist before our eyes (*pratyakṣa*).

What is said above particularly with respect to works of art is stated more generally with respect to things of all kinds as follows: 'Intelligibles and sensibles (*prajñā-mātrā, bhūta-mātrā*) are indivisibly connected, neither can exist apart. For from neither by itself could any aspect (*rūpa*) ensue, nor is this aspect a multiplicity, but like a wheel with respect to its centre (*Kauṣ. Up.*, III. 8, summarized).'

[13] To illustrate the sense of 'meaning': *deva* is a meaning, not a thing, *Brahman* is all-meaning, not all things.

[14] *Raṅge na vidyate citraṁ. . . . tattvaṁ hyakṣara-varjitaṁ* (*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II. 117-18). Compare *Kauṣ Up.*, III. 8, *Na rūpaṁ vijijñāsīta rūpa-draṣṭāraṁ vidyāt*, 'It is not the aspect that one should seek to understand, but the seer of aspects.' To paraphrase *Bṛh. Up.*, II. 4, 'Verily not for the love of art is art desirable, but for the sake of the Self.'

Observe that if we define beauty (*rasa*) as the self or principle of art, as in the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, I. 3, *Vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyam* ('Poetry is statement informed by beauty'), it follows in the same way that beauty cannot have position; and this is in fact asserted in the equation *raso rasāsvādanam* ('beauty subsists in the experience of beauty'). The work of art can be called *rasavat* ('beautiful') only by ellipsis, and with

considerable risk of lowering the level of reference from that of 'intelligible beauty' to that of 'sensible charm'. We can nevertheless speak discreetly of works of art, and also of natural objects, as 'beautiful' if we mean by this that they are perfect in their kind; for whatever is perfect in its kind (whether the kind be pleasing or not) reflects or refers to intelligible beauty, and may be regarded as an entry (*avataraṇa pravṛtaka*) or station (*avasthāna*) thereof, though in and by itself a veil (*āvaraṇa*).

[15] Thus in Rabindranath Tagore's '*Āmi cini go cini,*' where beauty is personified by the name of Bideśinī, *hṛdi-mājhe ākāśe śunechi tomāri gān*.

[16] The Absolute (Para Brahman, Aditi) is also, of course, unintelligible; but in another way, being neither an object, natural or artificial, nor even an intellectual form or idea. The Absolute, being *amūrta* ('formless'), *nirābhāsa* ('unmanifested'), not in any likeness, impossible to symbolize because not a form, does not fall to be considered here. The concept of art, even of art in the artist, cannot be extended to range beyond the level of reference implied in the symbol Apara (*lower*) Brahman, Īśvara as Viśvakarman ('all-doing'), the Person in a likeness (*mūrta*), the source of image-bearing light (*bhā-rupa, citra-bhāsa*), whose intrinsic form (*svarūpa*) is the form of very different things (*viśvarūpa*).

[17] *Vaṇṇa va nibhā vaṇṇanibhā, Atthasālinī*, 635, PTS. ed., p. 317.

[18] *Daśarūpa*, IV. 9, *āpya vastu . . . tannāsti yanna rasabhāvam upaiti loke.*

[19] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 106.

[20] Cf. *New English Dictionary*, s. v. 'Style': 'the manner in which a work of art is executed, regarded as characteristic of the individual artist, or of his time and place. . . . what suits (a person's) taste.'

[21] *Lekhakasya yad rūpaṁ citre bhavati tad rūpam, Devī Purāṇa*, XCIII. 150, hence the injunctions of the *Śilpa Śāstras* which require that the artist be a good man, hale in every sense of the word.

[22] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 159.

[23] However careful of the good of the work to be done, the artist cannot be other than himself, and cannot conceal himself. That is why stylistic subservience, or any imitation of a supposedly superior style, as in archaism or exoticism, results in travesty; and here aesthetic fault is involved, the aspect of the work not having been made after the artist's own conception of the theme, but as he imagines someone else would have done the work.

[24] A proverbial illustration of the futile; see for example, *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 127.

[25] *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III. 4-20, summarized; here 'action' and 'cooking' are of course general concepts, to be taken in our context in the narrower sense of 'making'. Cf. *Parāśara*, XI. 49: He who being in the order of the householder (i.e. within the social order, no longer a student, nor yet a hermit or total abandoner), still makes no gift whatever, is referred to as 'one who never cooks for others'.

[26] *Bhagavad-Gītā,* III. 16. We are not at present considering his case, the hour of whose revulsion has come, and who *understands what it means* to escape from life, not from the world, but from himself; it may only be pointed out that such a man expects nothing from the world, he indeed supports the world, for whom the world can do nothing.

[27] The case of the artist who asserts that his work is not ordered to any end, but is its own meaning, is sufficiently disposed of by the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa,* V. I, Commentary: 'or if not thus ordered to an end over and above the mere fact of expression, can only be compared to the ravings of a madman.' If the work be such as he cannot understand, and therefore cannot use, the patron has a perfect right to demand a return of his money, or the spectator not to purchase.

[28] To expect the artist to be pleased when we admire his skill or style is to offer him a last offence; for in so doing we assume that his intention was to display his skill, or to make an exhibition of himself. If he is pleased, that is his human weakness, not his strength.

[29] *Ṛg-Veda,* V. 81. 2.

[30] *Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* II. 2. 1, *abhyarcat puruṣarūpeṇa.*

[31] *Kauṣ. Up.,* IV. 2, *āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ.*

[32] I am well aware, of course, that by certain rhetoricians the Vedas are excluded from the category *kāvya* (*Sāhitya Darpaṇa,* 1. 2, Comm.). But this is based merely on the ground that while 'scripture' and 'literature' are equally valid as means to the attainment of *puruṣārtha* in its four divisions, the 'literary' way is the easier and pleasanter. As to this it need only be said that while Śruti may well be excluded from the category *belles letters,* just as Indian sculpture would fall outside the category 'art' as nowadays understood, it would be absurd to assert that what the Vedic *kavis* have uttered is not, in a less restricted and technical sense of the word, *kāvya,* just as it would be absurd to say that the sculpture is not within the full and true meaning of the word *śilpa-karma*! Or is the Vāc-Sarasvatī of the Vedas less Muse than the Vāc-Sarasvatī of the *litterateur*? And if the 'genius' of the *kavi* of the *Alaṁkāra-śāstras* is spoken of as a *pratibhā* or *śakti,* what are these but reflections of the powers intrinsic to the Solar Angel? We must accordingly regard the Vedic *kavi* as the archetype of every 'poet' (within the root meaning of *poiein,* 'to make'), and the Vedic *mantra* as the *exemplum* of all art.

[33] It may be repeated that while man universally is patron, artist, and consumer at once, man individually is only rarely patron, artist, and consumer with respect to any particular work of art. By way of further illustration take the case of the actor who functioning both as artist and consumer appreciates his own art (*āsvādo nartakasya na vāryate, Daśarūpa,* IV. 51). A very different case is that of the actor who merely exhibits his own emotions, that is, merely behaving; here he is not an artist at all, nor is he producing a work of art that can be appreciated as such by himself or any one else.

[34] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 106. The individual who has been rightly educated should not 'know what he likes' but 'like what he knows'. The man who asserts 'I do not know anything about art, but I know what I like', is governed by sensual appetite in the same sense as is he who says 'I do not know what to think, but I know what I like thinking,' or 'I do not know what is right, but I know what I like doing.'

[35] Or Śiva, *sarva-śilpa-pravartaka*, *Mahābhārata*, XII. 285. 14.

[36] *Abhidharmakośa*, II. 71-72 and VIII. 40; see also discussion in my *Transformation of Nature in Art*, Cambridge, 1933, Note 74.

[37] Śaṅkarācārya on *Ait. Up.*, III. 14: 'In that the angels are wonted to the use of (*grahaṇa-priyāḥ*) metaphysical notions (*parokṣa-nāmāni*), thereby it is that they are angels (*yasmād devāḥ*)'—that is to say, in that theirs is the habit of first principles. [Śaṅkara's commentary does not seem to bear this interpretation. *Yasmāt devāḥ parokṣapriyāḥ*—this is the construction. Cf. Comm.—on *Bṛh. Up.*, IV. 2. 2—Ed.] Cf. *Chānd. Up.*, VIII. 12. 5, 'Intellect is his angelic eye.'

[38] In the text, *gṛheṣu pavaneṣu ca:* a gloss now embodied in the text explains, 'That is, put forth according to their natures and every human nature' correctly, for 'all these angels are in me (*mayyetās sarvā devatāḥ*),' *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*, I. 14. 2.

[39] *Nāṭya Śāstra*, II. 5.

[40] *Ait. Brāh.*, VI. 27. It will be understood of course that the angelic arts (*deva-śilpāni*) are not like human works of art (*śilpa-karmāṇi*) actually, but only metaphorically made with hands; the angelic arts are inwardly knowable intellectual forms awaiting their embodiment in manufactured things. As examples of things made by man after the heavenly patterns are cited 'a clay elephant, a brazen object, a garment, a gold object, a mule chariot.'

[41] *Ait. Brāh.*, VII. 2.

[42] *Jaiminīya Up.-Brāh.*, I. 35. The cases cited are elementary; but the student of ancient Indian symbolism and iconography (whether in ancient iconography or surviving folk art) will find in the *pratīkas* 'lotus,' 'wheel,' etc., more detailed correspondences. Notable analogies are: that of the macrocosmic warp and woof, thought of as a veil or garment (*vavri, vastra*) comparable to the tissues woven on human looms; that of the solar chariot (*ratha*), of which the wheels are heaven and earth, with vehicles employed on earth; and that of the axis of the universe—the axle-tree of the aforesaid wheels—that pillars apart (*viskambhayat*) heaven and earth as a roof is supported here.

[43] Śaṅkarācārya on *Vedānta Sūtra*, I. 1. 3 (Veda as *paribhāga-hetu*).

[44] *Jaiminīya Up.-Brāh*, III. 14; cf. *Bṛh.Up.*, I. 4. 16, *sa yajjuhoti yadyajate tena devānāṁ lokaḥ (bhavati)*, and *Śukranītisāra* IV. 4. 74, *devānāṁ pratibimbāni kuryācchreyaskarāṇi svargyāṇi mānavādīnām asvargyāṇyaśubhāni ca*. By 'going to' or 'becoming' the angelic world we understand, of course, a reintegration (*saṁskarana*) in

the intellectual mode of being (*manomaya*), as in *Ait. Brāh.*, VI. 27, where he who imitates (*anukṛ*) the *deva-śilpāni* is said to be reintegrated (*ātmānaṁ saṁskurute*) in the metric mode (*chandomaya*).

[45] *Jātaka*, VI. 332.

[46] *Maitrāyaṇī Up.*, VI. 4; *Ṛg-Veda*, VI. 10. 3.

[47] *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, Ch. 2. Cf. the various discussions of *kāvyahetu*, e.g. in Kane, *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, ed. 2, p. cxliv, and De, *Sanskrit Poetics*.

An example of a *sārasvata* poet might be cited in Tirujñānasambandha-svāmi; innate poetic genius (*sahajā kārayitrī pratibhā*) is however more fully represented in the Vedic *kavi*, *sārasvata* in that his access to Sarasvatī is immediate. In any case an innate genius must be one thought of as *apūrva* ('original'). The Indian conception of genius however differs from the modern notion as not implying a disregard of norm (*pramāṇa*), but on the contrary a perfect knowledge of all norms, and corresponding virtuosity.

[48] E.g. *Mahāvaṁśa*, XXVII, 9-20, *dibbavimāna . . . tadālekhyaṁ lekhayitvā . . . ālekhyatulaṁ kāresi*.

[49] *Ṛg-Veda*, V. 81. 2 and *Nirukta*, XII. 13.

[50] *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 5. 2.

[51] *Ibid.*, X. 71. 1.

[52] *Chānd. Up.*, VIII. 1. 1-3. *Guhānihitaṁ* in *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 71. 1=*hṛdā* in the same laud, verse 8, and *hṛdaye āhitaṁ* in *Ṛg-Veda*, VI. 9.6. 'What is ours here,' that is, human goods (*mānuṣa vitta*) known sensibly (*cakṣuṣā*), 'What is not ours here,' that is, angelic goods (*daiva vitta*) known intelligibly (*śrotreṇa*), as in *Bṛh. Up.*, I.4. 17. Cf. *āviḥ . . . ca guhā vasūni*, *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 54. 5.

'Heart' (*hṛt*, *hṛdaya*) corresponds to Islamic *qalb*, and partly to Christian 'soul,' better to 'within you'.

[53] *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 71. 8, *hṛdā taṣṭeṣu manasaḥ javeṣu yat*; *Ṛg-Veda*, III. 38. 1, *abhi taṣṭeṣu dīdhayā manīṣam*, and Sāyaṇa's comment, *yathā taṣṭā takṣaṇena kāṣṭhaṁ saṁskaroti*. Note that Vedic *dhi* and *dhita* correspond to Aupaniṣada and Yoga *dhyai* and *dhyāta*.

[54] *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 53. 9-10.

[55] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 70-71. *Dhyāna dhyāna-mantra, sādhana*, i.e. the canonical prescription required to be realized in the image to be made; the *dhyānas* of the artist are the same as those made use of in 'subtle' (*sūkṣma*) worship where the form is not embodied in a material symbol. *Svārādhya-devatā* is *adhidaivata*, in other words, *parokṣa*; it is well known that 'the angels are wonted to the supersensuous (*parokṣa-priyāḥ*) and mislike the sensible (*pratyakṣa-dviṣaḥ*),' *Bṛh. Up.*, IV. 2. 2.

[56] 'The work of art can only nourish the spectator, he can only have delight in it, when he is not cut off fi om its meaning' (*Daśarūpa*, IV. 52).

57 Absence of meaning is predicated equally whether we consider the object in its individual, specific, or generic aspect. By 'generic aspect' we mean one idealized or conventionalized, an abstracted form. The genus has no more meaning than the species, the species than the specimen; the notion of genus is derived from experience, and its use is to summarize, not to explain experience. An elimination of individual or specific details, whether arrived at deliberately, or as in memory drawing by a resort to forgetfulness of aspects in which we are not interested, can never lead us to the forms of things, but merely to a simplified or selected aspect adequate to the given classification or congruent with our taste. In other words, 'idealistic' art and 'ideal' art are two very different things: simplification is not transformation (*parāvṛtti*).

It is true that a natural object *can* be used as a symbol; for example, when a natural stone is set up and called a *liṅga*, or when an actual lotus leaf is laid on the fire altar. But the symbolic value thus projected upon the natural object has nothing to do with its individual idiosyncrasy, to which our attention is chiefly directed in a 'drawing from life'; and in most cases we can make our meaning very much clearer by employing a symbol expressly designed *ad hoc*.

58 *Mālatīmādhava*, I. 33. 9-10.

59 It is by no means to be understood that a reasonable attachment to things as they are in themselves, or a proper use of utilities is sinful; on the contrary, as already pointed out, no distinction can be drawn between the morality of existence itself, and the morality of ordinate desires. All that is asserted is the evident fact that even an ordinate attachment to things as they are in themselves is *asvargya*, not heavenward leading, but tends to a coming back again, *punarāvṛtti*.

60 *Maitrāyaṇī Up.*, IV. 2, *mithyā-manoramam*, with reference to painted walls.

61 *Śakuntalā*, VI. 13-14 in Kale's edition, apparently with reference to the exuberant forms of beautiful women.

62 The Chh'an-Zen art of the Far East provides the best illustration of an art which takes 'nature' as its starting point, and yet is not a representation of, but a transformation of nature. The Sung painter indeed 'studies' nature; but this study is not an observation, but an absorption, a *dhyāna* (*chh'an*) resulting in the discovery of a pure form, not like the thing as it is in itself, but like the image of the thing that is in the thing; the idea of the thing, and not the object itself, being the 'model' to which the painter works. Even in the case of Indian representations of 'men etc.', it will be found that though the artist is working in presence of the thing, he nevertheless resorts to *dhyāna*; see for example *Śukranītisāra*, VII. 73-74, where the image of a horse is to be made from a horse actually seen, and yet the artist is required to form a mental image in *dhyāna*, and also *Mālavikāgnimitra*, II. 2, where defect in portraiture is attributed not to lack of observation, but to imperfect identification (*śithila samādhi*).

[63] In this way the intellectual element has been preserved in the traditional minor and folk arts of the villages until to-day, while the major arts in the *bourgeois* environment have been denatured.

[64] Needless to observe that our arithmetical ability to count up arms, or to recognize theriomorphic elements in the artist's vocabulary, is not an aesthetic capacity. The *lakṣaṇas* required are an integral part of the artist's problem (*kārya, kartavya*), presented to him *a priori*; what we judge in him is not the problem, but the solution.

[65] *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. XXVI. These are also the principles underlying Christian iconolatry; cf. the *Hermeneia* of Athos, 445. 'In no wise honour we the colours or the art, but the archetype of Christ, who is in heaven. For as Basilius says, the honouring of the image passes over to the prototype.'

[66] *Devabhūyaṁ gata*, and *devatvaṁ* (or *devītvaṁ*) *prāpta*, etc., are common expressions; in the *Jaiminīya Up.-Brāh.*, III. 9, we find *devatām anusambhavati*. For *nāma* is that which remains, and is 'without end,' when a man dies, see *Bṛh. Up.*, III. 2. 12.

[67] Portraiture in the accepted sense is history. History has its legitimate practical values; the Indian attitude, apart from some exceptions, has been to let the dead bury the dead; what India valued more than life was to preserve the great tradition of life, and not the names of those by whom it was handed down. We cannot imagine what it means to be interested in biography; our greatest 'authors' are either anonymous, or impersonally named, and none lays claim to originality, but rather regards himself as merely an exponent. It has been well said that 'Portraiture belongs to civilizations that fear death. Individual likeness is not wanted where it suffices for the type to continue' (Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 134); in fact, it was not until the production of works of art had practically ceased that it occurred to men to protect them in museums, which can only be compared to tombs, and not until folk-song and folk-lore were seen to be actually in imminent danger of death that it occurred to men to preserve their lifeless images on the dead pages of books. It was not until men began to fear that living books might be no more, that the scriptures were written down.

[68] The portraits of donors to be introduced in their donations (as for example described in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, printed text, p. 69) are to be excepted from this generalization, but even here the purpose is individual, and in this sense profane.

[69] For the four classes of painting (*satya, vaiṇika, nāgara, miśra*) see *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, III. 41. On the characteristics and functions of 'fashionable' painting, see my 'Nāgara Painting,' in *Rūpam*, Nos. 37, 38.

[70] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 76.

[71] *Vikrama-caritra*, story of Nanda and his queen Bhānumatī.

[72] *Śukranītisāra*, VII. 73-74.

[73] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, II. 2. In medical usage, *śithila samādhi* is *post coitum* lassitude, a state of disintegration (*visraṁsana*), cf. *Ait. Āraṇ.*, III. 2. 6.

[74] *Priyadarśikā*, III, and *Vikramorvaśī*, II (introductory stanzas).

[75] Cf. *sādhāraṇya* as prerequisite to *rasāsvādana* on the part of the spectator.

[76] Art is a *yoga* of course only from the human point of view, in which there is presumed a duality; integrity being from this point of view 'restored' in *samādhi*, though from the standpoint of the Self that cannot be thought of as restored which has never been infringed. Accordingly in the Comprehensor (*vidvān*), who has transcended human modes of being, the *śilpa-sthāna-kauśala* is not attributed but essential, and thus *no yogyā kṛtā* (*Lalitavistara*, Lefmann's ed., p. 156, l. 1); and in the last analysis, and where no work is done because there are no ends to be attained, *śilpa* becomes *līlā*, *śilpāni āyavaḥ*.

While we are on the way we are not there. In the meantime, to work at his art, having always in view the good of the work to be done, and not the advantage to be derived from it (for the artist as for all others, *karmaṇyevādhikāraste mā phaleṣu*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, II. 47) is the specific *karma-yoga* of the artist, his way (*mārga*) to *sāyujya* with the Lord in his aspect as *nirmāṇa-kāraka*. In other words, the *śilpin's iṣṭā devatā* is Viśvakarman.

[77] '*Ālpanā*' drawings are outstanding examples of the type 'fine art' within the customary definitions of the category; being at once exalted in theme, astonishing in virtuosity, and practically speaking useless.

For examples see A. N. Tagore, *Bāṅgālār Vrata*, Calcutta (n.d., but before 1920). Attention may be called to Plate 99, illustrating two representations of the 'House of the Sun'; here the theme is purely metaphysical, and can only be translated into symbols of verbal understanding when reference is made to the Vedic notions of the Supernal Sun as *aja ekapad*, and as moving in a ship or swing (*preṅkha*) which is the vehicle of Life over the cosmic waters (*āpaḥ*) that are the source (*yoni*) of his omnipotence (*mahiman*).

[78] *Daśarūpa*, IV. 47, *atatparatva*. We may call beauty the ultimate meaning (*paramārtha*) of the work; but only in the same sense that we can speak of death as the ultimate meaning of life, for it would be a contradiction in terms to speak of either art or life as *ordered* to the denial of itself. Works of art and things done are necessarily willed to proximate ends (as is well seen in the case of the Vedic sacrifice and all worship); if an ultimate 'end' is accomplished in him who understands (*rasika, ya evaṁ vidvān*), that befalls not in the pursuit of any end, but by a disordering of anything to any end, as an act of understanding, not of will.

[79] *Daśarūpa*, I. 6.

[80] *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, III. 2-3.

[81] *Daśarūpa*, IV. 90.

[82] *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, III. 9, *na jāyate tadāsvādo vinā ratyādivāsanām*, and Dharmadatta, *nirvāsanāstu raṅgāntāḥ kāṣṭha-kuḍyāśma-saṁnibhāḥ; Sāhitya Darpaṇa*,

III. 12, *sādhāraṇyena ratyādirapi tadvat pratīyate* and Commentary, *ratyāderapi svātmagatatvena pratītau sabhyānām*. Aesthetic experience does not depend upon the particular theme expressed; but in the absence of any theme, there cannot be any occasion for the *pratīti* of *rasa*.

[83] *Daśarūpa*, IV. 51, *arthabhāvanāsvādaḥ*.

[84] *Svātma-nirūpaṇa*, 95.

[85] In expounding the theories of art and beauty we have refrained from the expression of any opinions (*dṛṣṭi*) or hypotheses (*kalpana*) of our own; relying only upon authority (Śruti and Smṛti, Veda and Upaveda), we speak of our exposition as authoritative (*prameya*).

In making such an exposition, we have had regard only to the good of the work to be done (*kārya-svārtha*), not to its value for us or others and the exposition is open to criticism only from this point of view, viz. as to whether it is well and truly made. From our individual point of view, the work is vocational (*svadharma*), and undertaken not by choice but at the instigation of the Editors as *kārayitāraḥ*. On the other hand, the undertaking as such, and as distinguished from the performance, can only be justified with respect to human value (*puruṣārtha*) generally; the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, like that of art for art's sake, being nothing better than a painting on the air and a cooking for oneself alone. Hence the enquiry, 'What service can be rendered?'

[86] By 'exploitation' is meant on the one hand a procuration of the craftsman's skill to the making of trivialities appropriate to the tourist trade, and on the other a tolerance of industrial forces tending to drive the craftsman from his workshop to the mills.

[87] The present writer has learnt as much from living men, hereditary craftsmen working after the fashion of their craft (*śilpānurūpeṇa*), as from the books. The practice of the hereditary craftsman, and the theory as set forth in the books, are in complete agreement.

[88] Incidentally, the lifting (*luṇṭhana*) of these designs is an example of 'flagrant plagiarism' (*pariharaṇa*).

[89] Meanings (*artha*) are all created by the revolution of the Year (*saṁvatsara-pravartana*), that is, without beginning or end (*anādi, ananta*); and having neither place nor date, cannot be thought of as the private property of any one. He who identifies himself with any meaning or idea, finding it then at its source (Lat. *origo*, Skr. *udriṇa*, as in *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 101. 5, *udriṇaṁ susekaṁ anupakṣitam*) within himself, is equally 'original' with him who found it a thousand years ago; only the modality of the expression, the individual style, which is an accident and not an essence in the work of art, must be unique and cannot be repeated.

[90] In the work of art, utility is by no means precluded, but in the expression of a meaning and consequent possibility of a concurrence (*sādhāraṇya*) of the spectator therewith, there is provided an occasion of aesthetic experience in him. In the mere work,

no meaning being expressed, there can be no concurrence, there is no possibility of aesthetic experience, but an occasion only for pleasure-pain reactions on the part of the consumer.

[91] Sāyaṇa on *Ṛg-Veda*, VI. 16. 3 (*agni puṣkarāt*): *puṣkara-parṇasya sarva-jagad-dhārakatva*.

[92] Incongruity (*viruddhatva*) is the reverse of concordance (*sadṛśya*). 'Concordance' in the *pratīka* 'lotus' subsists on the likeness of the relation of cosmic 'ground' to cosmic 'waters' on the one hand, and actual lotus to actual lake on the other, not at all on any resemblance between the painted form and the natural flower.

Nothing of what has been said above denies the propriety of literal imitation in any work intended to serve the purposes of a science; in the treatise on botany we expect, and have a right to expect, to learn what the lotus actually looks like, not what the symbol lotus 'means'; in the treatise on botany, formality would be a fault.

[93] *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 160.

[94] *Śataślokī*, 7.

[95] Metaphor based on *Pañcadaśī*, Sect. 6; the notion *unmīlita-citra-nyāya*; *Maitrāyaṇī Up.*, IV. 2 (*āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ*), and similar texts.

[96] *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 55. 3; cf. *citra-bhāsa*, *citra-śoci*, and *bhā-rūpa* elsewhere.

[97] *Bṛh. Up.*, I. 4. 15, *vedo vānanukto anyadvā karmākṛtam* (*na bhunakti*); *Bhagavad-Gītā*, II. 47, *mā te saṅgo 'stvakarmaṇi*; *Ibid.*, III. 4; and similar texts.

ARCHITECTURE

2

THE *STŪPA*

THE Sanskrit word *Stūpa* occurs as early as the *Ṛg-Veda*. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* states that 'it is a knot or tuff of hair, the upper part of head, crest, top, summit and also a heap or pile of earth or bricks'.[1] In the meaning of Buddhist usage, it is derived from the Pali word *thūp*, or heap in a dome-like form, erected over the mortal remains of the Buddha and Buddhist saints. The word *dhātu garbha*—a structure containing within its womb (*garbha*) the corporeal relics (*dhātu*) - also came to stand for *stūpa*. The Ceylonese word *dagobā* for *stūpa* is said to have been derived from the Pali *dhātu-gabba*.

The practice of erecting mounds over the body remains of the dead was a long established tradition, perhaps going back to prehistoric times. One may remember in this context words like *Eḍūka*, *Aiduka*, Pali *Eluka*[2] which are also equivalent to *stūpa*--meaning a relic chamber. In course of time *Eḍūka* came exclusively to be associated with the *stūpa* or *caitya*. Eventually Sanskrit lexicons as well as *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Mahābhārata*[3] accepted the custom of erecting *Eḍūka* over the relics. We may recall here Allchin's study of finding the etymology of *Eḍūka* in the Dravidian language.[4] This may remind one of the practice of making relic chambers like the megaliths of the prehistoric people, which in fact is a pan-Indian practice. After the demise of the Master, Buddhism accepted this age-old custom of erecting *stūpas* over the corporeal relics of the Buddha, on the advice given by the Master himself.

As an architectural form, the *stūpa* consists of a hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*), resting on a basement of one or more terraces (*medhi*). The terraces are approached by stairs (*sopāna*). The principal element in *stūpa*-symbolism is the axis as the central 'axis muṇḍi', linking mother-earth beneath with the world of man above, in the form of a slender pole or staff (*yaṣṭi*), bearing symbolical parasols at its summit emerging from a cubical mansion (*harmikā*). A stone railing as a fence around the *stūpa*, defines the path of circumambulation around the solid dome in a clockwise direction. The four sides of the railing represent the main directions of space, marked by *toraṇas* (Plate 1) (Fig. 1). Fences or railings were used as barriers to enclose sacred tumuli.

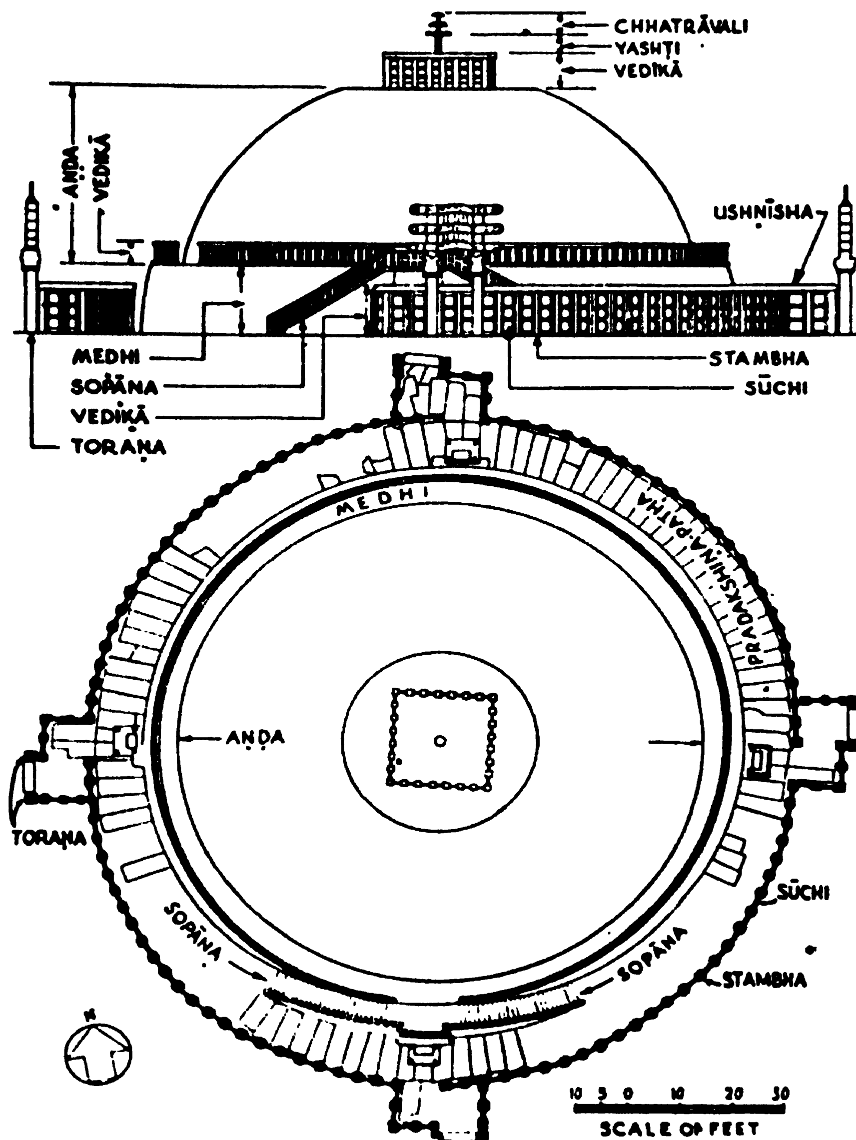


Fig. 1
Plan of *stūpa* 1, Sāñcī (after *Buddhist Monument*, Debala Mitra)

The origin of the *stūpa* has been elaborately narrated in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, where the Buddha on his deathbed in Kusinagar, is said to have instructed his principal disciple Ānanda to erect a funeral mound over the remains of Tathāgata or Buddha, as was customary with a Cakravartin or universal emperor. Accordingly, the relics of the Master were collected after his cremation and were enshrined in memorial cairns or *stūpas*. The text tells us further how portions of the Master's relics were given to each of the eight legitimate claimants: the king of Magadha, the people of Vaiśālī, the people of Kapilavastu, the people of Kusinagar, besides tribes like Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Ramagrama, Mallas of Pava, including a Brahmin of Vetha-dipa, and another Brahmin called Droṇa or Sona. The Moriyas of Pipphalivana, who came last, had to build a *stūpa* over the embers.[5] The four great places that played an important role in the life of the Buddha, e.g. Lumbini (birthplace of the Buddha), Bodhagaya (place of Enlightenment), Sarnath (place of First Sermon), and Kusinagar (place of *Mahānirvāṇa*), were each blessed with the erection of *stūpas*. Other places, which were associated with the Buddha's life- Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Saṅkīsa and Śrāvastī were also entitled to erect *stūpas*. It is therefore clear that geographically the region, which is known to-day as the middle-Gaṅgā plain, comprising parts of Uttar Pradesh and extending up to the Nepal Terai, witnessed the erection of Buddhist structures to commemorate the 'enlightened one'. Originally building of such memorial mounds was reserved for specified classes of mortals, called *Thūpāraha*,[6] who were either Tathāgata, a *pratyeka* Buddha, a disciple of Tathāgata or a universal monarch. With the passage of time a change came in the definition of *Thūpāraha*, when a holy person or a saint could also be commemorated likewise. In addition to body remains, the *stūpas* used to house the daily belongings of the Buddha and his disciples. As a result, *stūpas* were of different categories: *śārīrika*, *pāribhogika*, *uddeśika* and votive. When the *stūpa* was an actual sepulchre, placed over the earthly remains, it was called *śārīrika*; the *pāribhogika* was one, which was erected over the objects left behind by the Buddha or other *Thūpāraha*. An *uddeśika stūpa* was built to commemorate the events or places connected with the Buddha's life. Mostly, the pilgrims dedicated the fourth category of votive *stūpas*, on their visits to sacred sites. Since the origin of *stūpa*-building was associated with a funeral mound, the earliest *stūpas* were low mounds made up of piled up mud.

Buddhism, as has been noted earlier, was confined at the initial stage more or less to the land of the Buddha. With Aśoka, it was found to have over-

stepped its limited boundary and extended over a much larger region. During this period it spread as far as Taxila in the north-west, the Krishna-Godavari valley in the south-east and Sri Lanka in the south. We are told how Aśoka built 84,000 reliquary monuments throughout his empire on relics distributed by himself, collected from the seven original *śārīrika stūpas*.[7] The wide popularity of the *stūpa*-cult, as the crucial element in religious Buddhism, was made considerably easier by the encouragement which Aśoka gave to the faith. As a matter of fact, Aśoka himself was responsible for developing *stūpa-pūjā* into a popular cult, focusing reverential feeling for the great man to the point of deification. By this time the seed of *bhakti*, or loving devotion, had been sown deep into the soil, which in later centuries was to bloom.

The question, which emerges at this point, is, did the Buddha approve of this custom of *stūpa-pūjā* both for the laymen and the monks? We remember in this connection the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*[8], stating how the Buddha himself enjoined his disciples 'not to occupy themselves with *śārīra-pūjā*, but leave it to the laity'. Nāgasena, the commentator of *Milindapañha*[9], expressed the same opinion, explaining further, that a monk's duty was to follow the doctrine and the discipline, not to perform *śārīra* or *stūpa-pūjā*. Despite this initial inhibition against the worship of the *stūpa*, the fact remains that the *stūpa* came to occupy an important position in every monastery as an object of supreme veneration. The *stūpa* stood, at this stage, for the Master himself in the eyes of his votaries; and in course of time, it came to be an object of worship as *caitya*. Worship of *caityas* was held on a grand ceremonial scale with elaborate rituals, accompanied by music, dance, offerings of flowers, garlands and incense (Plate 2). *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (V. 26) found these rituals necessary for experiencing *cittapasāda*, i.e., tranquillity of mind. Decorations on the stone slabs over the *stūpa*, depicting the main legends associated with the life of the Master, include scenes of *stūpa* worship. This appeared during the post-Mauryan period. This was, in fact, the beginning of *stūpa*-art in India, which could be described as the lithic expression of lay Buddhist culture. These slabs used to depict the lay Buddhist community, private individuals, offering their worship to the *stūpas* with intense emotion. Representations of such motifs on the *stūpa* help us to obtain a clearer idea of the historical perspective of Buddhism and Buddhist art of the time. Interestingly, in such reliefs no monk appears as a worshipper. But from the first-second century A. D. onwards, changes in ideational and ritualistic attitudes became strikingly clear, when a close intercourse between monks and laymen became an established fact. This suggests no doubt the advent of institutionalized religion around the sacramental

character of the symbol of the *stūpa* cult. Erection of *stūpas* (for earning religious merit) and their worship were given importance at this stage. Not merely prayers were offered to the *stūpa* with token offerings of garlands and incense, but these were also attended with elaborate rites of worship.

Thus all sorts of ritualism as practised in image worship, such as offerings of various items (*upādāna*), placing of light (*dīpa*), parasol for crowning the *stūpa*, circumambulation around it etc. were considered essential prerequisites. One observes how within a few centuries *stūpa* worship had passed through several significant phases of dev.elopment. The first phase regarded the *stūpa* as a memorial of a person of supreme holiness, veneration of which resulted in the tranquillity of mind. The second, or the developed stage, has a special bearing on the evolution of the *pūjā* of *stūpa* cult, as manifestly as that of a Buddha image. This was no longer the attainment of *citta pasāda*, but through this practice both spiritual and secular benefits were solicited. The worshippers at this stage aspired for advancement in worldly life. This information is found in *Mahāsaṁghika Vinaya* text like *Mahāvastu*[10] and Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya.*[11]

II

The Earliest dated *stūpas* are those, which were built by Aśoka, the great Mauryan king. According to Buddhist tradition, he built the Aśokārāma at Pataliputra, from which he took a leading role for the propagation of Buddhism, and the consequent erection of eighty-four thousand *stūpas* throughout his empire. Such *stūpas* were termed as Dharmarājikā, as these were erected in the time of Aśoka—*Dharmāśoka narādhipasya samaye*. Among the *stūpas* consecrated by him, the chief were the nucleus *stūpas* of Sāñcī, Dharmarājikā at Sarnath, the solid *stūpa* at Piphrawa, the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* in Taxila and the great *stūpa* in Butkara in Swat. Besides constructing new *stūpas*, Aśoka is said to have enlarged the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni by the side of Negali Sagar, thirteen miles to the north-west of Lumbini.[12] As most of these *stūpas* (made of brick) were encased later in *stūpas* made of stone, it is difficult to know much about their original forms. Excavations undertaken at Sāñcī, Sarnath and Piphrawa have revealed traces of the nucleus *stūpa*, built during Aśoka's period. Within the later enlargements, the best-preserved is the Sāñcī *stūpa* No. I, standing on the highway linking Sāñcī with Vidiśā. The site of Sāñcī although not associated with the Master's Life, was renowned because of its association with the queen of Aśoka, the daughter of a banker of Ujjain and the mother of Mahendra. The Sri Lankan chronicles tell us that the queen was a devout Buddhist, and that at her instance Aśoka constructed a monastery along with a *stūpa* on the Vedisagiri, a place identified with the hill of Sāñcī.

Taking the example of *stūpa* no. I at Sāñcī (Plate 1), the nucleus architectural specimen as revealed through excavations, is found to have been built up by the Mauryan king Aśoka, who also planted one stone pillar in front of it. It is, however, difficult to get a complete picture of the *stūpa* at this stage, though evidences show that the small unpretentious hemispherical dome, hidden within the core of the later enlargement in stone was made originally in brick. The bricks (16" x 10" x 3") used in the construction of the original *stūpa* diagnostically belong to the Mauryan period. The relic contents found in the casket within the brick *stūpa* of the second century B.C., are the funeral remains of Sāriputta and Maudgalāyana, direct disciples of the Buddha, as known from inscriptions.[13]

Of the Maurya period was the brick-built *stūpa* at Piphrawa, District Basti in Uttar Pradesh. The *stūpa* was partially exposed by Peppe[14] who sank a shaft through its centre with the object of finding out relics within it. A small soapstone vase filled with clay containing beads, crystal pieces and gold ornaments was found at a depth of 10ft under its surface. Below it was discovered a large sandstone coffer, the outer container of the relic casket. Inside it were discovered a steatite vase, a casket, a *loṭā*- shaped vessel including a polished crystal casket filled with objects made of gold, silver and semi-precious stones. An important discovery was an inscription on the lid of a small steatite vase, reading, 'Here lies the relic shrine of the divine Buddha.' Nothing is known about the architectural peculiarity of the structure, but the core of the *stūpa* is said to have been built of bricks, arranged in concentric circles, layer over layer fixed with mud and mortar. The total diameter of the *stūpa* is around 116 ft. at the ground level. The nucleus *stūpa* built during Aśoka's period is covered by the later structure.

The Dharmarājikā *stūpa* of Sarnath[15] enjoyed the highest veneration in the Buddhist world. The Aśokan nucleus of the *stūpa* at Sarnath is better documented at this place, revealing a hemispherical dome, 48 ft. in diameter and a terraced drum, nearly 60 ft. in diameter at the base. The major portion of the dome is missing, but the architectural remains of the period include an edict bearing a monolithic pillar and the famous lion capital. In the core of the *stūpa* was found a sandstone box and a green marble relic casket containing a few pieces of bones, pearls, gold-leaves and other jewels.

As in other parts of India, the beginning of Buddhism in the north-western regions of India and the modern Rawalpindi district of Pakistan was linked with the adherence of Aśoka to Buddhism in the 3rd century B. C. The region known

in ancient days as Gandhāra was studded with affluent Buddhist centres. Hsüān-Tsāng is reported to have visited a number of Aśokan *stūpas* built around three of its capital cities, Puṣkalāvatī (Charsadda), Puruṣapura (Peshawar) and Takṣaśilā (Taxila). Unfortunately no trace of any *stūpa* built by Aśoka, nor of any Aśokan column with its characteristic animal figures has been laid bare so far. Marshall,[16] however, has reported a few fragments of a Mauryan pillar. The tradition that Aśoka was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism in the region may very well be confirmed by the use of the term Dharmarājikā in relation to the main *stūpa* at Taxila, owing its foundation to Aśoka. The discovery of the Aramaic inscription of Aśoka at Sirkap lends strength to the hypothesis of Aśoka's direct association with the place.

In so far as the architectural history of the *stūpa* belonging to this phase is concerned, we have practically no evidence. The relic-hunters and amateur archaeologists causing a great injury to the monuments, ransacked almost all the Buddhist edifices in this region. Even the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila, locally known as Chir Tope, provides no information about its original foundation. Phase I (of the four phases), which is ascribed to the Maurya period[17] reveals nothing about its earliest nucleus. It seems to have had a circular base with a raised terrace. A few monuments in the Gandhāra region going back to this period still show a circular shape. These are, for instance, the *stūpa* of Manikyala,[18] the *stūpa* of Butkara in the Swat Valley (supposed to have been built by Aśoka)[19] and the *stūpa* at Jamalgarhi.[20] These were all examples of solid construction.

The infiltration of Buddhism in the trans-Vindhyan region took place during the third and second centuries B.C. The region of Andhra, more particularly the Krishna-Godavari Valley, played an important role in respect of the evolution of Buddhism and Buddhist art. The entire region from the District of Srikakulam to Guntur teems with Buddhist remains. The antiquity of Buddhism in the Andhra region dates back to Aśoka's period. The archaeological deposits exposed at different sites may very well envisage this.[21] Amarāvatī is the key site of the region. Colin Mackenzie first learnt of the importance of Amarāvatī in 1747.[22] Thereafter the *Mahācaitya* at Amarāvatī, locally known as Dipaladinne (hill of lamps), was subjected to excavations several times, exposing a sequence of history over a period of a millennium and a half. The time span has been divided into five major phases; the first is ascribable to the period of Aśoka (Period 1B). Among the objects recovered from this stratum, the most noteworthy is the pillar fragment with an Aśokan inscription, a series of granite uprights bearing the characteristic Mauryan polish,[23] including the reliquary inscription at

Bhattiprolu.[24] The nucleus *stūpa*, during the time of Aśoka must have been of modest size without any accessory parts. On the basis of a few inscriptions incised on granite uprights, period IB palaeographically seems to belong to the 3rd century B. C. Some of these granite pillars are beautifully polished, reminiscent of the Mauryan tradition. Discoveries of 'three lenticular mortices for holding the tenons of the cross-bars and the tenon on top of uprights for holding the coping including four examples with mortices occurring on one side indicate their use in the gateway'.[25] It is, however, difficult to conjecture the original plan of the *stūpa* with the stray architectural fragments. Sarkar however considers that the 'granite rail had at least two gateways'.

Bhattiprolu, in respect of sanctity and antiquity, was equal to the *Mahācaitya* of Amarāvatī. This was supposed to have been raised on the corporeal relics of the Buddha. Alexander Rea,[26] in course of excavations, laid bare the nucleus structure, which was of solid brick work. The dome of the *stūpa* was 132 ft. in diameter. Around the base was discovered an eight ft. wide terrace on the top of the drum. The *stūpa* was provided with projected *āyakas* placed on *āyaka thabas* in four cardinal directions. But the extant structure consists of an irregular mass of brick work, visible at places. The outstanding discovery of the site comprised three inscribed stone receptacles containing the bones of the Buddha, along with jewels inside globular caskets. The inscriptions record the names of a large number of individuals, including a king named Kuberaka. The inscription is written in Maurya Brāhmī character.[27]

III

The reign of the Śuṅgas, the Kuṣāṇas and the Sātavāhanas witnessed prolific architectural activity - the building or reconstruction of a large number of *stūpas* at different places in northern, central, western and southern India. As a matter of fact, this was the golden period of Buddhist architecture in India. It is important to note in this connection, that while in the earlier period royal bounties were the main source for the building of such monuments, in the post-Maurya period Buddhist constructional art was developed more by the common people who could afford to spend their surplus earning for such work for acquiring religious merit. During this period a number of magnificent *stūpas* were constructed or rebuilt or carved out from the live rock in various places, the key places from the point of view of architectural and art work being Sāñcī, Gandhāra, Amarāvatī, Nagārjunakoṇḍa and some rock-cut sanctuaries in Western India.

Of these the Sāñcī *stūpa* (*stūpa* no. 1) is decidedly more historical, showing a continuous evolution of architectural work from the third century B. C.

till the twelfth century A. D.[28] Encasing the earliest brick *stūpa* with mass of earth and hammerdressed stones, *stūpa* 1 was enlarged during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, covering an area 120 ft. in diameter and rising to a height of 54 ft. The surface of the dome was plastered. Upon the circular base was built a hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*), slightly flattened at the top, and crowned by three superimposed umbrellas (*chatra*) with a shaft (*yaṣṭi*), set within a square stone railing given the shape of a box (*harmikā*). On the base around the dome is a narrow circular path of paving stones for circumambulation approached by balustrated stairways (*sopāna*). There is a separate *pradakṣiṇapatha* at the ground level. This is enclosed within a tall stone railing of massive proportions (Fig. 1). The railing consists of octagonal upright posts (*stambha*) nine feet high. Connecting these posts are three crossbars (*suci*), the lenticular ends of which are morticed into the sockets of the posts. The balustrade is breached at the four cardinal points by a tall gateway consisting of two vertical jamb-posts topped with a capital and supporting three architraves of horizontal lintels (Plate 3). The surface of the gateway is ornamented with sculpted reliefs depicting *Jātakas* and events of the life of the Buddha.

The mode of construction demonstrated in this structure, though fashioned in stone, is almost a copy of a wooden original. This is manifest in the shapes, joints of the railings and in the use of crossbars (*suci*). The *toraṇas* had its origin in a portal consisting of two wooden uprights topped by a horizontal bar, but developed into the elaborate form with three superimposed crossbars. One of the interesting structures at Sāñcī is *stūpa* 2 (Plate 4). It is a reliquary mound. An inscription found in it indicates that bone relics within it belonged to some Buddhist saints, who were contemporaneous of the structure. The solid circular mound enclosed within the railing, its plain exterior and the *vedikā* betraying wooden construction no doubt show that it was constructed before the elaboration of *stūpa* 1. Interestingly, the *stūpa* has no gateway, but its 'L' shaped opening is beautifully ornamented with reliefs, set in medallions. The number of gateways at Sāñcī is not fixed. *Stūpa* 3 (Plate 5) is given only a single gateway. Whether single or four, the gateways are lavishly decorated with bas-reliefs relating *Jātaka* stories, the life stories of the Buddha, and including contemporary events. Besides these, the merging of various strands of folk religion is sufficiently clear in the *stūpa*-sculptures of Sāñcī. Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, minor gods, folk cults, semi celestial beings form important decorative devices. *Stūpa* 3, constructed sometime in the second/first century B. C., reveals, from the core, the relic content inside a casket belonging to Sāriputta and Maudgalāyana, two foremost disciples of the Buddha.[29]

Made of brick and finished with a coat of plaster, the *stūpa* of Bhārhut, about nine miles south of Satna in Madhya Pradesh was located on the foothill of a hill, locally named as Lālpāhāḍ. Situated on a caravan route traversed by traders, merchants and pilgrims, this religious place held an exalted position during the first-second century B. C. The importance of the site is known from a number of donations coming from members of the royal family and a rich laity hailing from different places of the then India.[30] This no doubt suggests that the sanctuary had an important position in the contemporary social and religious life of India.

Unfortunately, due to large scale robbing and hunting of bricks and architectural parts of the old monument, the *stūpa* was completely razed to the ground. As a matter of fact, when Cunningham visited the site in 1873, much of the priceless objects of constructional art of the *stūpa* had been carried away by the local people. Cunningham and Beglar could, however, salvage a portion of the eastern gateway including some stray pieces of railings of the main *stūpa*. These were removed to the Indian Museum, Kolkata. Allahabad Museum received some of the objects as gifts from a private person, called Brajamohan Vyas.

Due to large scale destruction, nothing exists of the *stūpa* except a shallow circular depression. From the representation of a *stūpa* incised on a railing a conjectural plan of the edifice may, however, be attempted. Like the usual *stūpas* of the time, it was a hemispherical dome, surmounted by a *harmikā* and a shaft carrying parasols. Cunningham was able to trace out a circular processional path, 10ft. 4 inch. wide. The *stūpa* was surrounded by a railing and four gateways.

The mode of construction, like that of Sāñcī, followed a wooden tradition. The post-and-rail fence and the construction of *toraṇas* show carpenters' working technique. The richly sculpted pillars, crossbars, coping stones, *toraṇas* with a profusion of bas-reliefs portray stories of Buddha's life, contemporary events like a royal procession bringing relics, Prasenjit's drive to visit the Buddha, and popularly represented subjects like Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, nāgas, Gajalakṣmī, wish-fulfilling vine, a great variety of motifs including fabulous creatures and a rich world of flora and fauna. Interestingly, all important scenes of the Buddha's life, the *Jātakas* carved on the architectural components of the *stūpa* have inscribed labels, identifying the scenes. Medallions and half-medallions enclosing heads of men and women are profusely used as decorative devices. These are luxuriantly carved with bas reliefs.

The data of the construction of the *stūpa* is not known for certain. Fortunately, an inscription on the eastern *toraṇa* states that it was made during the domination of the Śuṅgas. On the basis of palaeography and the style of the sculpted figures, the Bhārhut *stūpa* seems to be dated around the second half of the second century B. C. or even earlier. From the technical points of view the reliefs of Sāñcī *stūpa* mark an advance upon those of Bhārhut.

The period witnessed the rise of *lena*—rock-cut-*guhā* or monastic abodes in western India on the flank of the Western Ghats and the eastern Deccan. A fact of much significance is that these *guhā* monasteries sprouted up along the caravan routes linking north and south by way of the west. Two main types may be distinguished in the assemblages—the first was the *bhikṣu ghara* and the second, functionally more important, was the *caitya gṛha*. Since the *saṅgha* used to perform jointly the rites of religion, the prayer hall shows a fixed pattern—the nave, the aisles on each side of the nave, the apsidal end containing in place of the altar a solid dome, resting on a cylindrical drum. The rock-cut apsidal *caitya gṛhas* of this period (second century B. C. to first century A. D.) at Bhājā, Ajantā (cave 9), Pitalkhora, Kondane, for examples, are characterized by the absence of the image of the Buddha. It seems that the monastic communities, first settled in these *lenas*, were Hīnayānists.

Bhājā, located on the Mumbai-Pune road, happens to be one of the best preserved rock-cut monasteries. On the basis of two short inscriptions incised on one of twenty-two caves, the antiquity of the site may be traced back to the second century B. C. [31] The architectural character of the rock-cut *caitya-gṛha* of this period shows an imitation in stone of beams and rafters, supporting the barrel vaulted roof from the interior—a tradition followed in wooden structure. Such *stūpas* located in the semi-circular apse is a hemispherical dome, rested on a circular drum. The plan of the *caitya gṛha* provides space for the rite of circumambulation around the symbol of the Buddha. There is a socket on the summit of the dome for posting, and a wooden shaft for holding the umbrellas (Plate 6). One of the caves at Bhājā, taken as a cemetery, lays bare fourteen rock-cut small *stūpas*, 'some bearing the names of the monks in whose memory these were made'. Such simple *stūpas* of hemispherical dome with prominent drums and railed *harmikā* are the characteristic features of the caves of the second century-first century B. C. Evidence of this phase of *guhā*-monasteries are found at Junnar, Kondane, early phase of Pitalkhora, Ajantā and Guntupalli on the Nallamalai range in Andhra Pradesh. At Guntupalli, datable to the second century B. C., the plain semi-circular dome on the rock is encircled by a thin wall, and topped by a ribbed vaulted roof. It is clear that the ritual of worship of the Buddha by inserting his image in the *stūpa* was not introduced till that time.

A few words about *stūpa*-shrine may not be out of context in this connection. It is evident, that with the introduction of the *stūpa* as an object of worship the *caitya* shrine became popular in India. This remained so for a long time, even simultaneously, when temples were erected to enshrine images of the Buddha.

Typologically the Buddhist architectural tradition made use of three kinds of ground plan of *caitya gṛha*, namely, (I) circular, (II) apsidal, (III) quadrilateral. The apsidal ground plan, consisting of an apse for housing the *stūpa* was fairly widespread, practised both in structural and rock-cut shrines. The largest concentration of this type is in western India[32]. This structure seems to have developed out of the circular *stūpa*, preceded by an oblong congregational hall.

The sculptural groups that decorate the outer walls of these *caitya* shrines are deeply carved and closely held together. Indeed, the richness of sculptural ornamentation provides a luxuriant contrast with the relative austerity inside.

According to Art history the phase witnessed not only the construction and elaboration of earlier *stūpas* and *cetiya gharas*, but this was also the time when Indian art was made to accord with the ideology of a new gospel. For the first time in Indian art, the reliefs in stone, features on gates, railings and facades, were visual representations of religious themes in spectacular and lively imagery. The presence of the Buddha at each stage of the story is indicated by an appropriate symbol.

IV

But the Kuṣāṇa-Sātavāhana period brought a remarkable change in the socio-religious-cultural life of India during the first-third centuries A. D. Like Buddhism, which by this time went through several doctrinal and ideological changes, its art also had reached the creative climax of a tradition. Two prolific centres came into limelight during this period—one was in the north-western part of India around the Gandhāra region, and the other was in south-eastern India, in the Krishna-Godavari valley. As a matter of fact, this was the time when the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism appeared. A parallel process occurred in art. The changes in religious thought, beliefs and ideologies left their imprint upon the visual images. Some of these might have found their expression through the medium of architecture as well. The monastic set-up, which had modest beginnings at Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Takṣaśilā and in the so-called Mauryan structures in the Andhra region, meanwhile absorbed many novel features and architectural innovations. The survival monuments in the Gandhāra region and in the Krishna-Godavari delta are of immediate relevance to the theme of this section.

Being located at the north-western gate of India and being exposed to waves of foreign invasions, Gandhāra and its environs played a vital role in linking the Roman, Mesopotamian, Persian and Hellenistic cultures of the west with vast areas of India in the east. The most important centres of Gandhāra art during this time were the towns of Takṣaśilā[33] and Puruṣapura[34] where a great number of Buddhist establishments grew up. All these owned a great deal to the patronage extended by the royalty and wealthy merchants of the region. The excavations at Taxila between 1913 and 1934 unearthed a number of monastic establishments around Sirkap, the second city of Taxila, and isolated Buddhist complexes spreading over the valley. Archaeologically speaking, the *stūpas* found were widespread, at times attached to residential houses of the city of Taxila.[35] Obviously this shows that the practice of *stūpa* worship was popular among the lay worshippers, composed of heterogeneous people.

At Kalawan,[36] in the neighbourhood of Dharmarājikā, a Buddhist establishment was unearthed. The complex was studded with a number of votive *stūpas*. One such laid bare a copper plate inscription from a relic casket recording the donation of a woman devotee called Cadasila in the year 134 of Azes.[37]

Of all the Buddhist monastic complexes found at places like Kalawan, Pippala, Jaulian, Bhamala, Manikiala, Jamalgarhi, the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* of Taxila (Plate 7) remained the principal monument till the fifth century A. D. Situated on a high plateau, the complex, locally known as Chir Tope, affords a splendid example of the way in which Buddhist *stūpa*-architecture was changed according to its purpose, new constructional devices and fresh ideological impetus. During first century A. D. the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* is said to have received its first major renovations when the solid core of the hemispherical dome of the original structure was replaced by a wheel-shaped plan. The introduction of wheel in the core of the ground plan was obviously an attempt to manifest the symbol of *dharmacakra* in structural form. In the next stage, the circular base of the original *stūpa* was replaced by a square socle consisting of several layers. The change that occurred at this stage was to raise the base-terraces which were approached by flights of steps at the four cardinal points. The terraces were used as processional paths at the foot of the *stūpa* proper. As a result, the dome became smaller in proportion. Marshall has assigned this phase of construction to the second century A. D. A century later, the terraces were divided into panels by means of Indo-Corinthian pilasters, arcades and niches, which evidently served to accommodate the Buddha-Bodhisattva images. Further construction was taken up around 4th/5th centuries A. D., when

ornamental bands and intermittent niches were added to the faces of the terraces, running as the lower and the upper processional paths. These provided ample space for the placement of Buddha images and Buddhist representational art, helping the devotees to concentrate on their objects of reverence, while walking round in their processional rite. It was at this stage that the base of the *stūpa*, elevated on a high drum, was provided with projected niches, evidently for installing images of the Buddha and his attendants. Due to the increase in height from the base, the superstructure became elongated and gave the shape of a cylinder.

The above picture regarding the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila is not supported by definite architectural members found *in situ*. The phases discussed above have been based on Marshall's study of the Taxila materials of structural remains, 'recovered in stratigraphical contexts of Dharmarājikā I, II, III and IV.'[38]

A miniature *stūpa* (Plate 8) found from the Buddhist site of Loriyan Tangai furnishes useful data to conjecture about what the *stūpa* was like in its hey day during the Kuṣāṇa period. Set on a square platform the *stūpa*, a circular drum rising in three gradually diminishing tiers, takes the form of a slender tower-like structure. A hemispherical dome flattened at the top is surmounted by a *harmikā* presenting a series of gradually diminishing *chatras*. This multistoreyed structure is supported by Indo-Corinthian pilasters. The spaces between the moulded basement and the architrave on the top depict life-stories of the Buddha. Seated Buddha figures are seen on the recessed part of the lowest tier of the drum.

The structural plan described above, so characteristic in every aspect of Gandhara architecture of Taxila, is traceable to the ruins of *stūpas* at Bhamala, Pippala and Jaulian.[38A]

Apart from Takṣaśilā which was the hub-land of Buddhism, two other capital cities—Puṣkalavatī (Charsadda) and Puruṣapura (Peshawar) were also affluent Buddhist centres. Hsüān-Tsāng refers to two Aśokan *stūpas* at Charsadda, which were already in a dilapidated condition in his days. Trial excavations of 1902-03 at the mounds of Bala Hisar, Min Ziyarat, Palatudheri and Ghaz-dheri laid bare the square bases of the *stūpas* with relics (Ghaz-dheri) along with a considerable number of Gandhāra sculptures. The character of the masonry discovered at sites like Takht-i-Bahi and Sahri Bahlol corresponds to the type assigned to the second and third centuries A. D. by Sir John Marshall on the basis of his excavations at Taxila. The most notable monument of this period was the one built by Kaniṣka at his capital Puruṣapura (Peshawar).[39]

The Chinese pilgrim Fā Hsien observed that this was the highest monument in the entire Jambūdvīpa. Although Hsüān-Tsāng found this place in a ruinous state, with most of the Buddhist establishments in a state of decay, he gave further details about this monument, stating that its base was 150ft. and that the superstructure was split into five tiers. It was crowned by twenty-five gilt copper discs and it rose to a height of 400ft. The famous inscribed cylindrical casket of Kaṇiṣka, found in the relic chamber, assigns it to the period of Kaṇiṣka. On the lid of this casket are represented a seated Buddha on a high stool accompanied by two standing figures. This has interest and significance from an art-historical viewpoint. Inside the casket were three pieces of bones believed to be of the Master himself. Originally a wooden tower over a stone substructure, this multi-stepped terraced edifice, known as the Kaṇiṣka *stūpa*, was regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

Such development in the sphere of ideology, art and architecture passed from one region to another, from the north of the Vindhyas far into the southern parts of the country. During the Sātavāhana period, the Krishna-Godavari delta was studded with scores of *stūpas* and *caityas* 'gleaming white in the Sun' (Plate 9). The most important *stūpa* of the time was the *Mahacaitya* of Amarāvatī (Plate 10), which during this period was enlarged and surrounded with a stone railing and encased in sculpted limestone slabs. Archaeologically there is very little evidence by which to reconstruct the history of Buddhist edifices, as the sites have been heavily damaged. With the help of a drawing left by Mackenzie and available vestiges, including the representation of the *stūpa* on a casing slab, a conjectural plan has been attempted by Percy Brown to establish a plan and general appearance of the *Mahācaitya* in its hey day.[40] The diameter of the dome of the *stūpa* at the ground level was approximately 160 ft. and the overall height about 90 to 100 ft. It was surrounded by a railing, 13 ft. high.

Originally the *Mahācaitya*, a hemispherical superstructure was mounted on a circular drum. The dome appears to have been built solidly of large sized bricks (57 x 28 x 7.6 cm)[41] and seems to have had a railed *harmikā* and the *chatras* as crowning members. During this stage of reconstruction which archaeologically has been termed as the second phase, i.e., post-Aśoka, the *stūpa* is said to have been enlarged and the granite rails of the Aśokan *stūpa* replaced by rails of limestone.[42] It was possibly a three-barred rail. An idea of the shape and form of the *stūpa* of this period may be had from an engraving on a crossbar, depicting how the hemispherical dome was surmounted by a *harmikā* and was encircled by a five-barred circular railing.[43]

The third phase, according to the report,[44] was a period of great artistic efflorescence, giving the *Mahācaitya* the most impressive form. That the renovation and elaboration work of the *Mahācaitya* were undertaken during the Sātavāhana period is confirmed by the discovery of three inscribed architectural parts from this period, giving the names of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvī, Śirī Śivamaka Sada and Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi.[45] Amarāvatī at this stage was given an upper processional path on the drum of the structure. The pillars and pilasters, which at the initial stage were on the outer faces of the drum, were virtually covered during this period with sculptural details in the greenish white limestone of the region. The *Mahācaitya* at this stage was overlaid with sculptures depicting stories from the life of the Buddha, including the representation of *stūpas*. The simple rails of the earlier period were elaborately treated with delicate reliefs. The coping, bore a long wavy floral scroll, carried by men who were Indianized analogues of the garland-bearing Erotes of Gandhāra.[46] In the casing reliefs, one finds simultaneous representations of the Buddha by symbols and statues in the round. The *Mahācaitya* at this stage was given an upper processional path on the drum. Unlike the *stūpas* at Sāñcī and Bhārhut, the Andhra *stūpas* did not have elaborate *toraṇas*. But at each of the cardinal points there is the provision of the gateways, projecting out from the rails. The openings are guarded by two pairs of lions. Attached to these gates, and projecting out from the four sides of the dome, were four offsets of platforms (*āyaka*) resting on five pillars (*āyaka-khambas*) (Plate 11). The openings facing the four points of the compass provided a view of the niches, attached to drums, accommodating either the image of the Buddha or representing major events of the Buddha's life. Atop the railings at the four openings are large sculpted lions flanking the niches. On top, figures of deities are shown hovering. The *āyaka-khambas* which seem to have served a ritualistic function of crowning Buddhist symbols and recording the names of the donors, came into existence during this period.[47]

With respect to art, numerous changes are discernible. Contact with Roman trading colonies had left an indelible mark on the sculptural style, particularly in the realistic rendering of life and an increased depth of carving, which resulted in a new sense of line, formal language and a different vision or perspective.

Close on the heels of the disintegration of the Sātavāhana empire towards the end of the third century A. D., the Ikṣvākus came to power in the Krishna valley with their capital city located at Vijayapurī. The place shared the same socio-economic and religious pattern and experience with other Buddhist sites of the region. As a matter of fact, Vijayapurī flourished in an epoch when the

doctrines of different Buddhist sects were in a crucible. Outside the city of Vijayapurī, located on various stages of hills and hillocks of the Nallamalai range, and spreading over the hill-girt valley on the right bank of the Krishna was the extensive Śrī-parvata area where as many as twenty-seven monasteries and twenty *stūpas* were discovered.[48] Since the kings were not Buddhists there are a number of Hindu temples along the river. Within the city were many remains of secular buildings. The Buddhist establishment in this area started with the Sātavāhanas, but the period of intensive creative activity coincided with the rule of the Ikṣvākus, around third-fourth centuries A. D. Before the area was converted into a reservoir and the site drowned under the Nagarjunasagar Dam, a salvage operation was taken up by the Archaeological Survey of India for seven consecutive years.[49] So the reports on which we depend today are either the official records left by archaeologists, or the reconstructions of monuments made by them with the ancient materials unearthed from the site.

The excavations have yielded the ground plans of a great number of *stūpas*, *caitya gṛhas*, monasteries and temples. Some observations can be made on the basis of the assemblages. First, most of the *stūpas* were built of brick, only a few show rubble-packing. Secondly, it is important to note that a *stūpa* rarely existed here independently of a monastery, even though five isolated *stūpas* have come to light. At least one of these had *āyaka* platforms in four directions. Thirdly, though the site at the initial stage was a prominent centre of Hinayānic Buddhism, and hence the *stūpa*-cult played an important role, later on it took the path to Mahāyāna which embraced both *stūpa* and image worship. Fourthly, as elsewhere in the Andhra region, the *stūpas* of this place featured the oblong projections at each of the four cardinal points, topped by five free standing pillars—*āyaka-khambas*—as impressive architectural embellishment. Fifthly, as in the Gandhāra region, the *stūpas* of Nagārjunakoṇḍa were not simply piling up of a mound of brick and rubble. The ground plan of the *stūpa* is that of a wheel with the hub represented by a solid brick pillar. The cells are formed by the intersecting concentric rings and spokes (Plate 12). The number of spokes in a *stūpa* vary according to the dimension of the structure in consideration of structural stability. The occurrence of *svastikā* in the central point discovered in some *stūpas* (sites 20, 59, 108), seems to suggest an association with ideological consideration of some sects. We come to know from the epigraphs discovered from the site that Nagārjunakoṇḍa was the abode of at least four important sects, viz. Mahaviharavasin, Mahisasaka, Bahusrutiya, and Aparamahavenaseliya.[50] The last one was the dominant sect, which seems to have resided in the *Mahācetiya* of Nagārjunakoṇḍa.

Of all the *stūpas*, the *stūpa* in site no. 1, the *Mahācetiya* called in the inscription, was constructed in the sixth regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the son of the founder king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, housing the tooth relic of the Buddha.[51] Chamtaśrī, the sister of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Chamtamula was closely associated with different stages of structural work of this monument as the major donor. The *stūpa*, 91 ft. in diameter, was wheel-shaped on a plan consisting of three concentric circles connected with each other by a cross and radiating walls.[52] It is, as yet the earliest datable monument at the site. Originally it was a large unadorned *stūpa* resting on a drum. The *āyaka* platforms were provided in the very year of construction of the *stūpa*, as confirmed by an identical date of sixth regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta on an *āyaka* pillar.[53] Another inscription recovered from this shrine asserts that the monument was dedicated to the Aparamahavenaseliya sect.[54] The unit in the developed stage comprised the great *stūpa*, an apsidal *cetiya-ghara* with a stone cased *stūpa* and a three-winged monastery around a pillared *maṇḍapa*. In the eighth regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the monastic unit in site 9 dedicated to the Mahavenaseliya sect, was constructed centring around the *stūpa*. The complex seems to have had four successive structural phases. In the developed stage, the unit comprised a *stūpa*, two apsidal sanctuaries, one with a *stūpa* (Plate 13) and the other with a Buddha image, both opening in one *maṇḍapa*.[55] Upāsikā Bodhiśrī is said to have been responsible for erecting a *cetiya-ghara*, enshrining a *stūpa* in the Cula Dhammagiri for the exclusive use of the Therāvādin *ācāryas* of Sri Lanka.[56] The *stūpa* was a solid brick-built dome, raised on a circular rim, without any spoke.

The aforesaid survey shows that the wave of Buddhism that reached Nagārjunakoṇḍa was a mixed Hinayānic Buddhism to use N. K. Datta's terminology.[57] Consequently, the *stūpas* attained great distinction. The prominence given to the *stūpa* may be observed in the *Mahācetiya*, dominated by the Aparamahavenaseliya sect. It is important to note that the *Mahācetiya* of Nagārjunakoṇḍa has not yielded any evidence of the Buddha shown in anthropomorphic form. Sculptures from this monastery exhibit the symbolic representation of the Master. But the site no. 9 dedicated to the same sect comprises two apsidal sanctuaries, one with a *stūpa* and the other with an image of the Buddha, both opening in one *maṇḍapa*.[58]

The sculptural art of Nagārjunakoṇḍa appears on the carved stone slabs placed on the drum and dome, depicting the Buddha being worshipped either symbolically or in human forms, and narration of life stories of the Buddha including contemporary events. Technically, stylistically and thematically the art

of Amarāvatī and Nagārjunakoṇḍa are generally on par, but Nagārjunakoṇḍa, from the latter years of Ehuvals Chamtamula, seems to show a departure. The Buddha figure at Nagārjunakoṇḍa is represented standing directly frontal, wearing the *saṅghāṭī* with the right shoulder bare. The heavy massive figure, wearing drapery shown with incised lines and ridges indicating the folds and seams, is iconographically related to Gandhāra.

The Andhra region provides two ambitious examples of the rock-cut-sanctuaries hollowed out of the live rock, one at Guntupalli in the Krishna District[59] and the other called Sankaram groups of Buddhist remains in the District of Visakhapatnam. As observed earlier, the Guntupalli cave, a circular *stūpa* within a circular vestibule, was in use already in the second century B. C. The cave was, however, elaborated in the second/third century A. D. The picturesque hill near Guntupalli, directly overlooking a narrow ravine bears a good number of Buddhist sanctuaries, both structural and rock-cut, at two different heights. The better preserved rock-cut monastic unit consists of a *caitya gṛha*, four existing *vihāras* in a row, almost in the form of a dormitory, without any arrangement for a separate place of worship. The *caitya gṛha* which is located nearby, contains a circular *stūpa* topped by a domical ceiling (Fig. 2). Structurally this suggests a close resemblance to work in bamboo or wood.

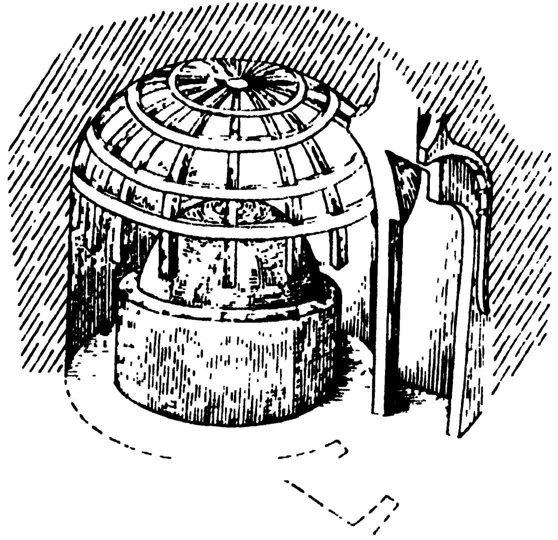


Fig. 2
Plan of rock-cut-*stūpa*, Guntupalli

Somewhat at a distance, at the summit of the ravine, is a structural *caitya gṛha* of circular type with an oblong projection towards the west, forming a porch. The porch leads to a narrow passage serving as a vestibule, giving access to the sanctum. Inside the sanctum a *stūpa* is installed (Fig. 3). Three

images of the Buddha are seen standing on their respective pedestals. These seem to have been installed at a later stage, when both the *stūpa* and images of the Buddha were worshipped. Carved in the round and robed in a heavy lower cloth and a *saṅghāṭī*, which leave the right chest bare, the Buddha images of Guntupalli iconographically and stylistically remind one of the Nagārjunakoṇḍa Buddha images. Epigraphical evidence suggests that the foundation of the *stūpa* at this place was established around the second century B. C., but additions and elaboration continued for a long time, till the early medieval period. A cluster of solid *stūpas*, apsidal *caitya gṛha* and pillared *maṇḍapa* have been traced around the main complex.

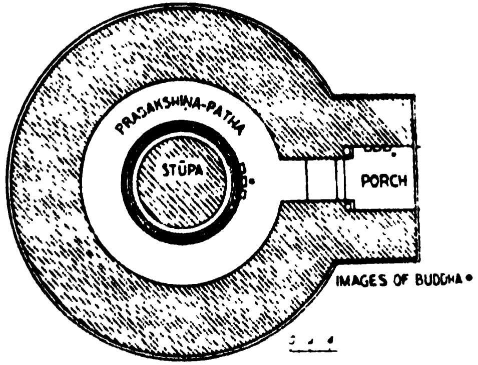


Fig. 3
Structural *caitya gṛha*, Guntupath

A group of Buddhist remains are found on the twin hills near the village of Sankaram.[60] The eastern hill called Bojjannakoṇḍa has yielded an enormous rock-cut *stūpa* dominating the landscape, which is covered with innumerable rock-cut and structural *stūpas* (Plate 14). The *stūpa*, roughly dressed in stone, consists of a cylindrical dome, resting on a platform, about 80 ft. square and 11 ft. 9 inch. high. The bedrock of the dome rises to a height of 4 ft. 7 inch., the remaining portion above this being entirely of brick work.

V

The fourth century A. D. saw the establishment of the Gupta empire. In spite of the fact that the period witnessed an ascendancy of Hinduism and the Gupta kings called themselves *Parama Bhāgavatas*, Buddhism was not deprived of royal patronage. An inscription on the eastern *toraṇa* of the great *stūpa* at Sāñcī records a grant of 25 dinars in cash and the revenue of the village in favour of the Buddhist community living in Mahāvihāra of Kakanada Bhota.[61] Cetiya Giri (ancient name of Sāñcī) acquired the name of Kakanada during the Gupta era, i.e., A. D. 412-413. In 450-451 A. D. another donation came to the *stūpa* from a female *upāsikā* called Harisvāminī for 'keeping lamps at the jewel house' as well as for the 'place of the four Buddhas'.[62] It was during the Gupta period that four Buddha images were installed at the four entrances of the great *stūpa*.[63] The best preserved one, the image of the Buddha on the western

gate, demonstrates the art of the mature style of the Gupta age. *Stūpa* 5 is a circular *stūpa*, ascribed to the fifth-sixth centuries A. D. An image of the Buddha belonging to this period has been installed against its south face. The later *stūpas* at Sāñcī, of the sixth-seventh centuries A. D., are characterized by square bases.

The cultural dominance of Sarnath remained unchallenged since the Buddha chose this place for his first preaching. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* listed Sarnath, the place of the Master's enlightenment, as one of the four holiest places of pilgrimage.[64] Though the earliest remains of the place are associated with Aśoka, Sarnath witnessed a phenomenal spurt in architecture and sculpture during the Gupta period. When Fā Hsien visited this site in the fifth century A. D., he saw two big monasteries and two *stūpas*. The site continued to remain active and growing till a very late period.

The most imposing *stūpa* during and after the Gupta period was the Dhamekh (Plate 15). Its solid brick core consists of a high basement surmounted by a drum. The low hemisphere of the circular stone drum of the earlier period was changed at this stage with a tall and ornamental tower of 93 ft. in basal diameter, and 143 ft. in height. The drum was made of stone, while the upper part was brick-built. During the Gupta period the drum was provided with arched projections, each with a niche containing a Buddha image. The plain exterior of the drum seems to have been decorated during this time with ornamental motifs, consisting of chevron and luxuriant vine patterns.

As in the structural *stūpas*, cave XIX at Ajantā reveals the changes that have taken place since the dedication of the shrines at Bhājā and Kārle. The essential basilican plan is perpetuated in the architectural type, but an important transformation is noticed at the apse. Here the original drum and hemispherical dome have been changed into a pillared niche to accommodate a standing figure of the Buddha under an arch. The crowning members are the *harmika* and *chatras*. In cave XXVI, the *stūpa* at the apse is relieved with a figure of the Buddha seated in *pralambapada-āsana* carved against the elongated drum of the *stūpa* (Plate 16). The impress of the Gupta stylistic trend in Ajantā as in Bāgh is unmistakable. Interestingly, while the entire group of caves at Bāgh shows Buddha-Bodhisattva images all around, sculpted or painted, in the chapels and sanctuaries the object of worship is not the image of the Buddha but a *stūpa*

VI

In the post-Gupta period, the tradition that the Guptas had set did not die out. Instead, Buddhism got a fresh boost from the local and regional kings. We

are told how Buddhism found great patronage from the emperors of Kanauj and the Pāla kings of Bihar and Bengal. Hsüān-Tsāng has left a glorious account of the patronage given by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. It is interesting to observe how during his time the old Buddhist centres, including Kapilavastu had receded into the background, and how new centres had come into existence, particularly in eastern India. Among these, the establishment of Nālandā is particularly important. Though the site was well known as a great monastic centre during the Gupta period, it came into limelight during Harṣavardhana's time, and even more so when the Pālas came into power. The Pālas gave a great incentive, not only to architectural and sculptural activities, but also to the several places which emerged during this time as renowned centres of learning. Nālandā was then at the zenith of prosperity and was the great university-centre of Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhism and Yogācāra philosophy. Its fame radiated to distant lands such as Tibet and Suvarṇabhūmi. But due to the relentless vandalism of the Turks, the magnificence of Nālandā's rows of monasteries with stupendous *stūpas* and towers, was reduced to rubble and dust. Due to the paucity of materials it is indeed very difficult to conjecture anything about its past glory.

The remains of Nālandā have been extensively excavated. Its present ruins represent a complex of temples, monasteries and *stūpas*. The *stūpas* at Nālandā are not independent shrines; they are found primarily in association with the temples, either placed at its four corners, or as votive *stūpas* of varying size, surrounding the temple. In the core of these *stūpas*, tablets were placed bearing the Buddhist creed. But archaeologically we have very little evidence to conjecture a *stūpa* of the period. A bronze miniature *stūpa* recovered in the ruins (height 19 cm.), now in the National Museum, New Delhi (Plate 17), affords however, a splendid example of how *stūpas* were built in eastern India during the 9th-10th centuries A. D. On the stepped base, which faces the four directions, are projected niches containing images of Bodhisattvas, Buddhas and panels representing the principal events of the Buddha's life. The dome rises in a hemispherical form resting on a lotus scroll. Over this is the *harmikā* in tiers, supporting a shaft with eight discs. That the period witnessed a remarkable change in *stūpa*-type may very well be visualized in another bronze replica of a *stūpa* discovered at Kurkihar (Plate 18). The tendency towards verticality, leading to an impressively tall and elongated body, with each floor to be approached through staircases—became the characteristic of the time. Interestingly, this type of *stūpa* came to stay in all the Buddhist countries in South-east Asia.

Orissa came into prominence during this period although traditionally the region's connection with Buddhism goes back to the time of the Buddha. It is said that Trapuṣa and Bhalluka, the first lay devotees of the Buddha hailed from Kaliṅga. The evidence of Aśoka's rock edicts from Orissa, one from Dhauli and another from Jaugada, shows how Buddhism as a doctrine penetrated into this part of the country with Aśoka. In fact Hsüān-Tsāng, in his account, has reported about ten *stūpas* built by Aśoka. Be that as it may, the fact is that Orissa has not provided so far any evidence of an Aśokan *stūpa*. The Buddhist establishments, that have been laid bare in this region range in date from the sixth-seventh centuries A. D. onwards. The prosperity of the religion reached its climax during the rule of the Bhaumakara dynasty in the sixth-seventh centuries A. D., its kings being devout worshippers of the Buddha.[65]

Extensive remains of Buddhist establishments unearthed by archaeologists at sites like Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri and other mounds, mostly in the Cuttack district, leave no room for doubt that Buddhism was strongly rooted in this region already in the sixth century A. D. From the ninth century A. D. onwards, Orissa became the stronghold of Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhism. The religion of the Buddha maintained its hold till the time of Gajapati King Pratāparudradeva, who is said to have been a great patron of Buddhism, Buddhist art and architecture. He ruled over this region from 1497 to 1540 A. D.

Of the innumerable number of Buddhist establishments that sprang up in this region, particularly noteworthy, on the basis of overwhelming and extensive excavated remains, is Ratnagiri.[66] The site situated at a distance of about 42 miles from Cuttack on a small stream called Kelua, is separated from Udayagiri by the Kimira river. A flat top together with three hills formed one of the leading Buddhist complexes in the post Gupta-early medieval period. Excavations on a hillock have unearthed remains of one of the most important Buddhist establishments, proclaimed as the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra on the basis of inscribed sealings.[67] With its nucleus going back to the fifth century A. D., the establishment witnessed a phenomenal growth in religion playing a significant role in disseminating the Buddhist religion in other parts of India. Like Nālandā, it grew into a renowned religious and academic complex for Buddhist studies. That Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra was an important *Kālacakra* centre is known from the institution's association with the celebrated savant Naropa.[68]

Excavations conducted over four seasons have laid bare the remains of an impressive *stūpa* which was rebuilt twice.[69] The earliest phase seems to go back to the late Gupta period. In the second phase of construction (about ninth

century A. D.), the structure assumed a circular plan. 'This was effected with the construction of two concentric circular walls at two different levels. The lower wall formed the drum, while the upper wall formed the casing of the dome. The space in between these two walls was filled with earth and brickbats. On the top of the wall a paved road around the base of the dome was used as a *pradakṣiṇapatha*.' This was approached by steps. At this time a large number of miniature votive *stūpas* cropped up around the main *stūpa*. Many of these small *stūpas* contained terracotta tablets inscribed with the Buddhist creed or *dhāraṇī* (Plate 19).

In plan, the *stūpa* in Period I shows a twelve spoked wheel radiating from a central circular hub to the outer circular rim with the intervening spaces filled in with earth.[70] The base shows a symmetrical system of projections and recesses. In superstructure, it seems to have taken the form of *triratha* on each of the four sides.

Since the superstructures of the main *stūpas* are heavily damaged, one may take the analogy of a votive *stūpa* for reconstruction of the main structure. On the analogy it seems that the *stūpa* had a cylindrical profile rising above a high platform. The drum seems to have had mouldings both at its base and near the top. Evidence of the image of the Buddha or Buddhist deity has been found either fixed against the drum or placed inside the niches (Plate 20). The facing of the brick work of the *stupa*, plastered with shell-lime, was carefully executed and chiselled. There is no uniformity in the size of the bricks.

To the east of the *stupa* 1 is *stupa* 2. But all that remains is a platform. Of solid brickwork, the platform shows a *triratha* plan. But the interesting discovery of this complex is the three oblong chambers, obviously meant for depositing relics. The northern chamber has yielded five inscribed terracotta tablets bearing the Buddhist creed, characteristically of the ninth-tenth centuries A. D.[71]

No discussion of the *stūpas* of the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra will be complete unless we take into account the minor *stūpas* that had cropped up in hundreds around the main *stupa* complex (see Plates 19, 20). The miniature *stūpa* which was not originally mentioned in the text became a necessary adjunct during the post-Gupta period. These were dedicated from time to time by pilgrims and devotees visiting this august complex. These miniature *stūpas* are of two types: structural, built either of Khondalite stone or brick, and portable monolithic mainly of stone. While the structural *stūpas* contain within them relics of various kinds, from charred bones to inscribed terracottas or stone slabs inscribed with the Buddhist creed, *dhāraṇīs* and *pratītya samutpāda sūtra*, the monolithic *stupas* bear the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures, Mahayāna-Vajrayāna pantheons,

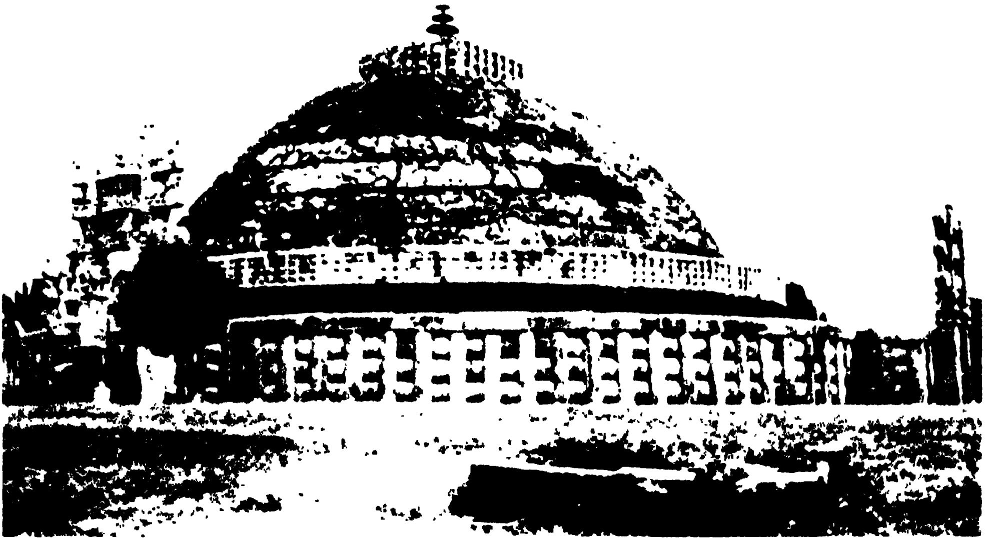


Plate 1 *Stupa* I Sanci, Madhya Pradesh, c 3rd century B C 1st century A D

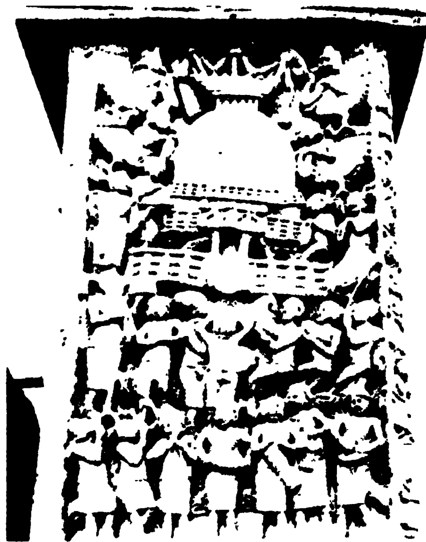


Plate 2 The [illegible]at *stupa* north gate, Sanci, the worship of *stupa*, Madh[illegible] Pradesh c 1st century A D



Plate 3 Gateways Railing, Sāñcī, *Stupa* I, Madhya Pradesh, c. 1st century A.D.



Plate 4 *Stupa* 2, Sāñcī, Madhya Pradesh, 1st century B.C.



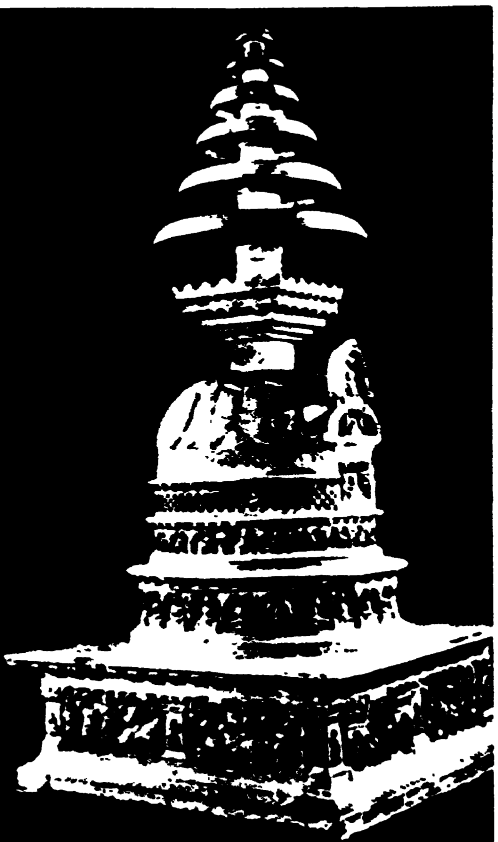
Plate 5 *Stupa* 3, Sañci, Madhya Pradesh, c. 1st century A.D.



Plate 6 Interior of the *caitya grha* at Bhaja, Maharashtra, c. 100–70 B.C.



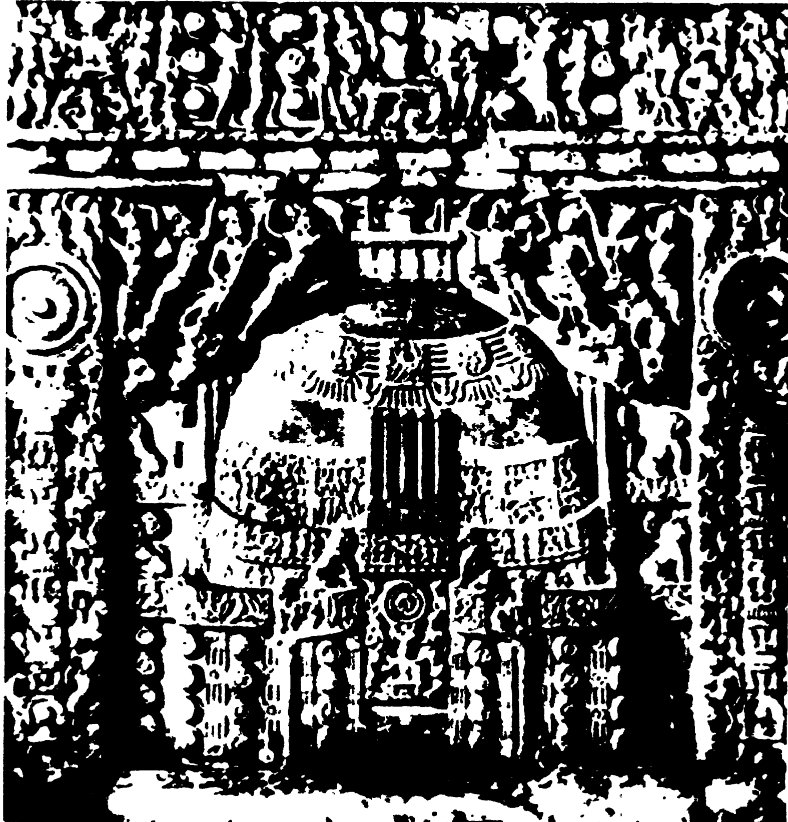
Plate 7 Dharmarājika *Stūpa* at Taxila, c. 3rd century B. C. to 5th century A. D.



e 8 Miniature *stūpa* from Loriyan Tongai. 3rd/ 4th century A. D



Plate 9 An Amaravati slab showing *stupa* bein worshipped, Andhra Pradesh, c 1st century B C 1st century A D



te 10 A relief slab at Amarāvati representing how *Mahācaitya* looke before ruin, c 1st century-2nd century A D



Plate 11 Sculptured slab from Nagarjunakonda showing *stupa* with *ayaka khambas*. Andhra Pradesh, c. 3rd century A.D.

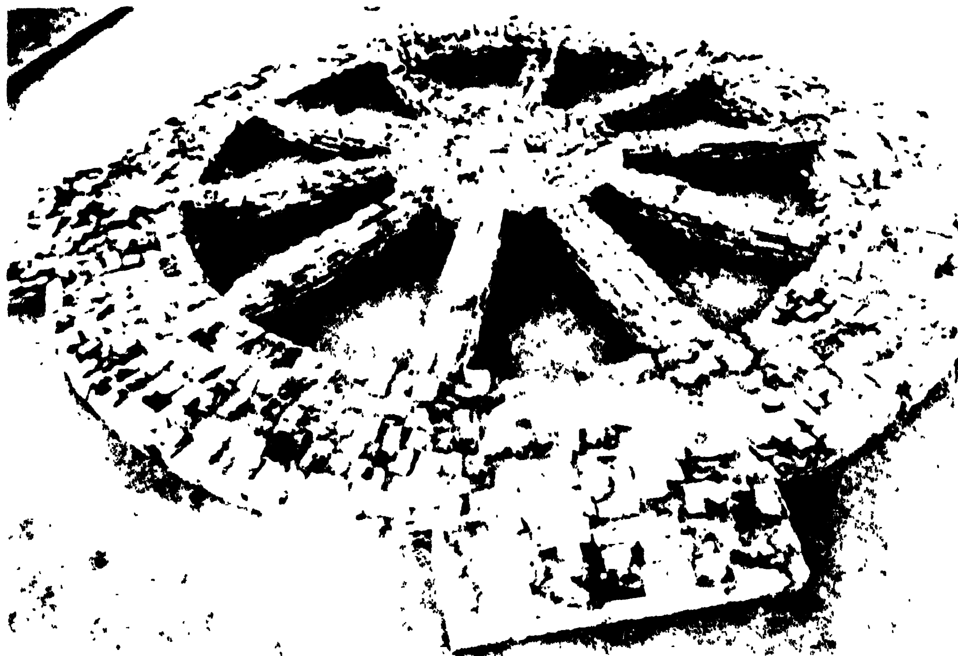


Plate 12 Nagarjunakonda, site 30 showing ten spoked *stupas*. Andhra Pradesh, c. 3rd A.D.

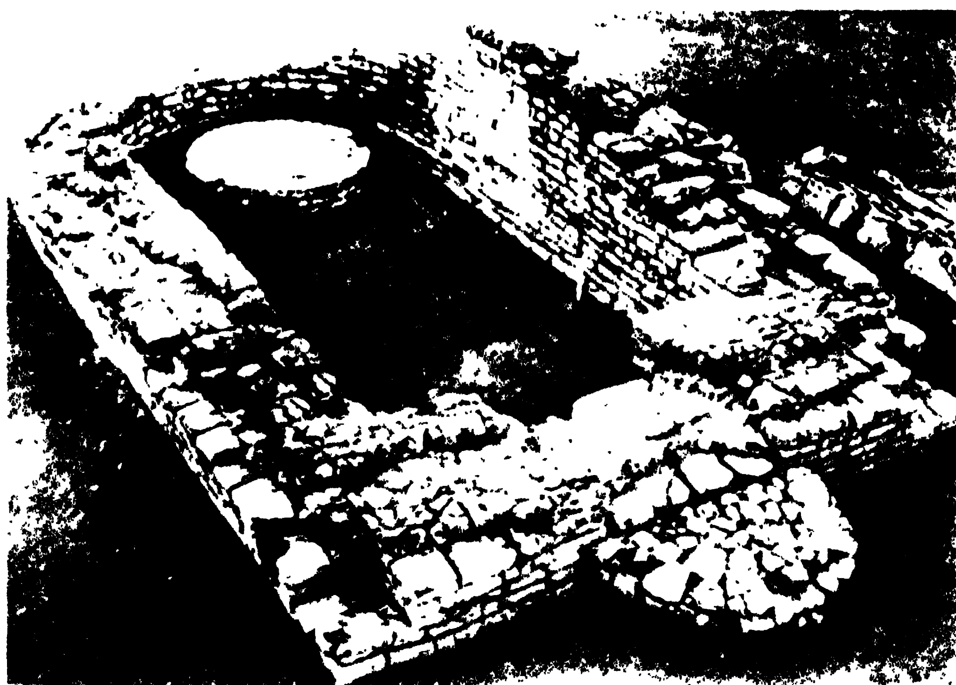


Plate 13 Nagarjunakonda, a *caitya* hall with *stupa*. Andhra Pradesh, c. 3rd century A.D.

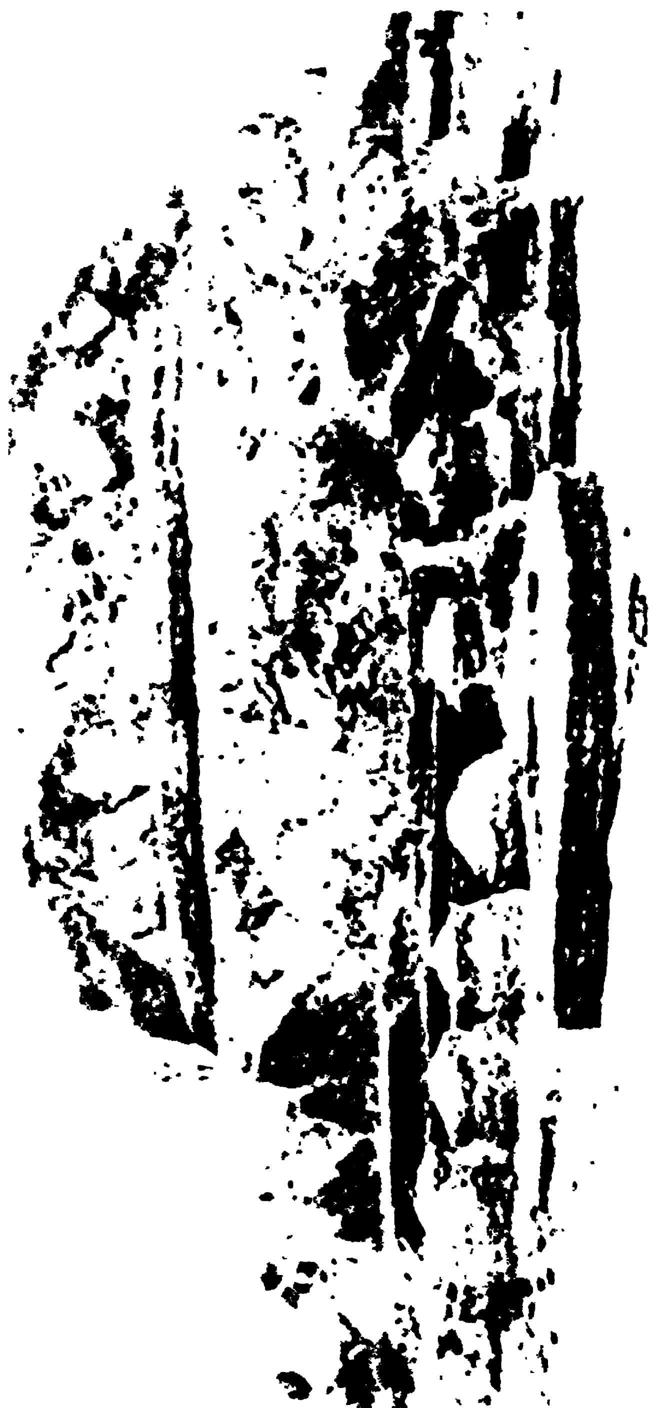


Plate 14 Main *stupa* on Bojjannakonda near Sankaram, Dist Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, c 3rd century A D



Plate 15 Dhāmekh *stūpa* - Sarnath, c. 6th-7th century A.D.

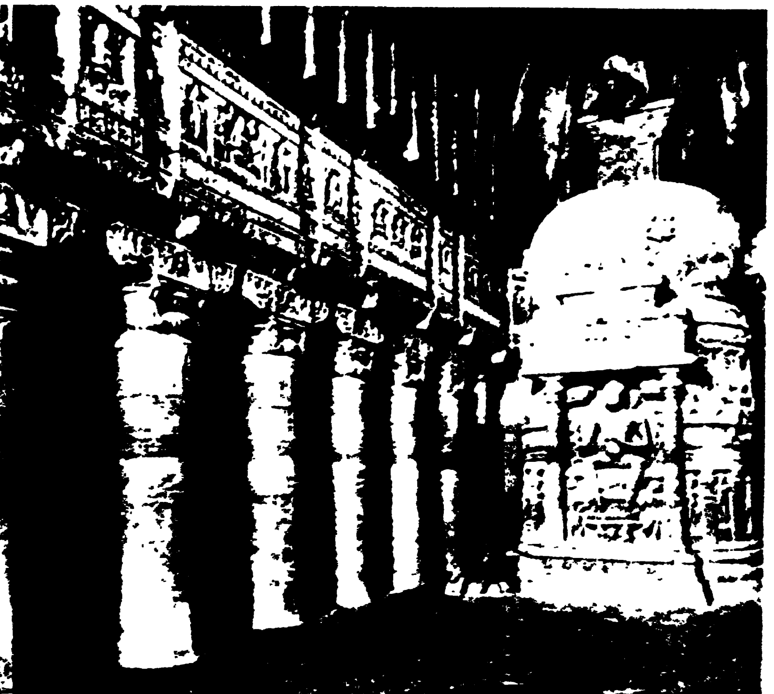


Plate 16 Interior of cave 26 at Ajanta, Maharashtra, c. 6th century A

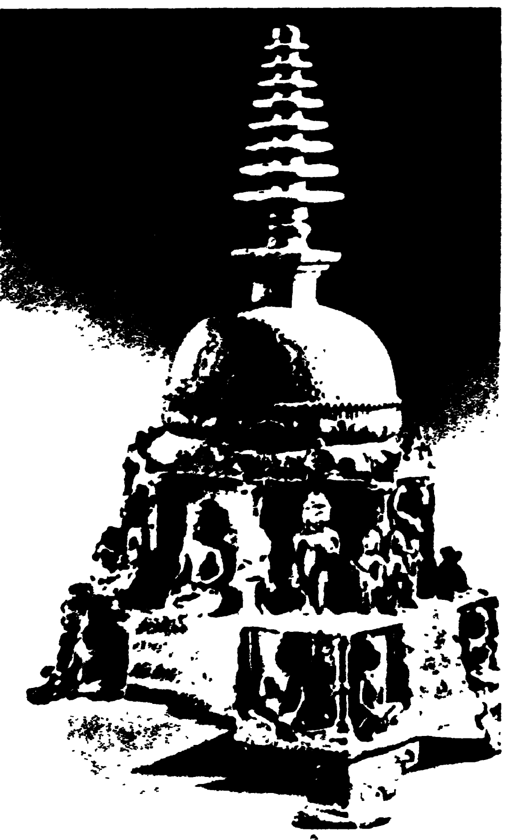


Plate 17 Votive *stupa* in bronze, Nalanda, Bihar, c. 9th/10th century A.D.

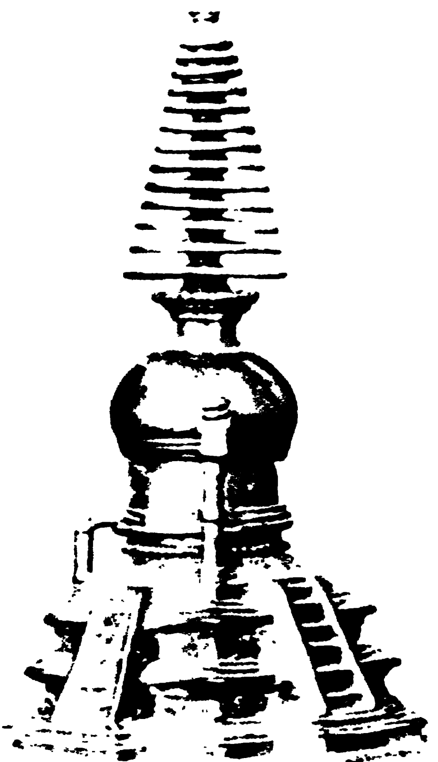


Plate 18 Miniature *stupa* from Kurkihar, Gaya, Bihar, c. 10th/11th century A.D.



Plate 19 *Stupa* 1 with te *stupas*, Ratnagiri, Cuttack, Orissa, c. 9th century A.D.



Plate 20 Votive *stupa*, showing Tara, Ratnagiri, c. 9th/10th century A.D.

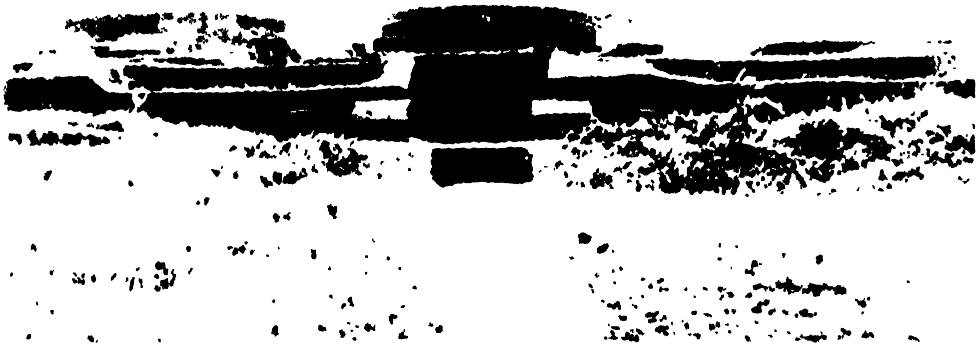


Plate 21 Three *stupas* at Kotila Mura, Dist. Comilla, Bangladesh, c. 7th/8th century A.D.



Plate 22 Paharpur with miniature *stupas*. Dist Rajshahi, Bangladesh c 9th century 11th century A D



Plate 23 Ashrafpur bronze *stupa*, Bangladesh, c. 7th-8th century A.D.



Plate 24 Miniature *stupa*, now in Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, c. 10th/11th century A.D.

including symbol of *vajra*.[72] It is important to note that the practice of enshrining the Buddhist creed and *sūtra* came to play a very special role in this monastery, so much so, that an inscription found in one *stūpa* of 9th century A. D., categorically states that 'the construction of a single *caitya* with a deposit of *dhāraṇī* inside it, confers on the donor the merit of the erection of one lakh of *Tathāgata-caitya*.'[73] Such writing indicates the prominence of Vajrayāna affiliation, when the magic of Buddhist creed started playing a more important role than the building up of *stūpas*. The deposit of images within *stūpas*, as a substitute for the shrines, is also quite frequent.

Looking at the history of Buddhism of this complex it is noticed that Ratnagiri at its earliest phase was in the grip of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The main *stūpa*, situated on the highest peak of the hillock, was then in eminence. With the passage of time, when the monastery was turned into a Mahāyāna-Kālacakrayāna centre, the introduction of shrines with an installed image of the Buddha in the centre of the monastery, became the principal place of worship. The excavator reports about the existence of two secret chambers in the east and west walls of the shrine in Monastery 1. These were meant either for some ritualistic practices connected with the changed form of Buddhism, or were possibly used as stores. Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra at this phase had as many as six temples attached to different monasteries, either installing Vajrayāna deities inside the *stūpa*, or placing them on the walls. The popularly presented figures are Buddha-Bodhisattva, Ādi Buddha, Akṣobhya, Tārā and a plethora of Vajrayāna pantheons including the symbol of *Vajra*. The votive *stūpas* containing *dhāraṇīs*, or the charred bones of the monks surround the main shrines. A number of brick temples enshrining Buddhist images in the area of Monastery 2 were built up along the edge of the hill. The dates of these temples range roughly from the ninth century A. D. onwards. The temples are found surrounded by innumerable *stūpas*, mostly made of khondalite, and a few are of brick.

Buddhism as a religion was diffused eastwards. Bengal received the religion quite early in her history.[74] But archaeological data regarding the spread of this religion in Bengal do not lead us earlier than the 3rd century A. D. Hsüān-Tsāng, however, claims to have visited a number of Aśokan *stūpas* in this region. The epigraphic evidence of Sāñcī and Nagārjunakoṇḍa,[75] referring to monks from Vaṅga, are important records of the popularity of Buddhism in the region in the early centuries of the Christian era. During the Gupta period, Buddhism seems to have been firmly established in Bengal. This is known from a large number of Buddhist stray remains discovered at different places in the region. One of the most important centres during this period was Tāmralipta.

Fā Hsien[76] is said to have resided in Buddhist monasteries at this place for a period of two years in fifth century A. D. According to his report, there were twenty-four flourishing Buddhist establishments at Tāmralipta. Discovery of stray evidences of Buddhist images made of Chunar sandstone and of bronze, analogous to Sarnath statuaries from Panna in Midnapur district and several places near and around Bogra-Rajshahi, clearly indicate that important Buddhist centres grew up around the Puṇḍravardhana region as well. It is said that Śrīgupta founded a Buddhist shrine at Mṛgasthāpana, an unidentified place in Varendra.[77] South-eastern Bengal also had a number of important Buddhist centres during this time. This is known by the Gunaighar Copper Plate inscription of Vainyagupta, dated 507 A. D.[78] Hsüān-Tsāng, who visited Bengal in A. D. 638, reported about renowned Buddhist centres like Poshihpo in Puṇḍravardhana Lo-to-mo-ci by the side of Karṇasuvarṇa,[79] and many others scattered all over Samataṭa, Tāmralipta and Harikela. During the Pāla period the monasteries and religious sites founded in the earlier period grew into prominence. These were Traikūṭaka in Rāḍha, Devī-koṭa (Bangaḍh), Paṇḍita in Chittagong, Jagaddala in Varendra, Pattikera in Maināmatī-Lālmaī range and Somapura in north Bengal. There was a promising site in the Pāla period at Pillock, south Jolaibari area.[80] The prosperity of Buddhism was at its highest peak during the time of the Candras. The Brāhmaṇical Varmans were also tolerant towards Buddhism. About the Senas we have very little information.

In spite of an uninterrupted history of Buddhism in Bengal continuously from the Maurya period onwards, we have very little remains of Buddhist structures surviving from this region to reveal the full range of Buddhist architectural activity. The Cambridge University Library Manuscript of 1015 A. D., illustrates two *stūpas*— one called Mṛgasthāpana and the other Dharmarājikā-*caitya* in Rāḍha,[81] with elaborately moulded plinth in two tiers, circular drum in several terraces, topped by a hemispherical dome. If Mṛgasthāpana temple founded by Śrīgupta could be the same as that of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no of I-tsing, and if the illustration in the Cambridge University Library Manuscript represented the same, this was the type of *stūpa* prevalent during the Gupta period. The semi-circular dome of this *stūpa* was provided with a niche on the front which contained a figure of the Buddha. Archaeologically little or nothing survives in support of this.

Taking Lo-to-mo-ci (Raktamṛttikā Mahāvihāra) as an example, where the earliest stratum goes back to the Gupta period,[82] excavations have unearthed the ruins of a huge monastic structure ranging in date from third century A. D. to the thirteenth. The excavated materials of different constructional phases reveal an uninterrupted history of continuous monastic occupation, but except for the remains of a group of temples no other structure has survived.

In the Mainămatī-Lālmaī area, identified with the Devaparvata region, datable to the seventh century A. D. and onwards, seven monastic units have been unearthed. Among these the best excavated complex is the Śālban Mahāvihāra.[83] The central shrine is provided with arms formed by three extended square cells in the east, south and north. In the west is found an extended portico-like open space which was perhaps used as an entrance. There are some minor buildings within the square courtyard, besides subsidiary shrines outside the monastery walls. It is important to note that the scheme of monastic life of this complex had no room for the worship of the *stūpa* cult. Instead, we see a change effected by installing images of the Buddha in the corner rooms of the main shrine. This is well illustrated by the discovery of an installed Buddha image found *in situ* from the shrine in the east. The plan thus emerges of a cross, the arms formed by extended square rooms installing images of the Buddha, and a passage in the west. A seven feet wide corridor, found running around the central shrine, was possibly used as *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

Koṭila Muḍā,[84] a structural unit located in the same Devaparvata complex, enclosing an area of 70 yards from east to west and 80 yards from north to south seemed to be an exception. Here the main monastic unit is dominated by three *stūpas* (33 ft. 9 inch., 36 ft. 10 inch.. 41 ft. 7 inch.), installed in one line, in north-south alignment (Plate 21). Each of these *stūpas*, placed on a square basement, is preceded by a porchhall. The *stūpa* in the centre reveals an interesting plan by introducing a *dharmacakra* at the core, a successful attempt at transforming a symbol into an architectural entity. The spokes radiating from the hollow-hub in the centre are projected towards the outer rim of the circular *stūpa*, thus dividing the circle at the core into eight chambers. Inside the chambers and in the hollow-hub were found votive offerings of miniature *stūpas*, clay sealings with Buddhist creed and Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhist deities.

Eighth-century Bengal during the Pāla period has yielded the great religious establishment of Paharpur.[85] A *mahāvihāra* centring round and dominated by a temple is a somewhat rare phenomenon in Buddhist establishments. The remains consist of a vast square court, nearly a thousand feet on a side, surrounded by cells and *stūpas*. In the centre is a shrine in the form of a cross with projections on four sides. In elevation, the sanctuary consisted of a pyramid of receding terraces. At the summit a square cella seems to remind one of a shrine which was hollow underneath, going right down to the temple's foundation. This is present at Koṭila Muḍā complex as well. In all likelihood, the main sanctuary of

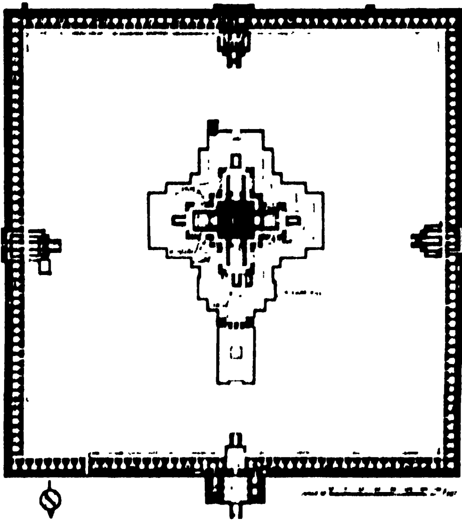


Fig. 4
Plan of the sanctuary of Paharpur

Paharpur rested on a tall square shaft, the spinal cord at the centre— an architectural device, which reminds one of the axial pillars breaking out of the summit of a *stūpa* in the form of a square cell (Fig. 4). This is an architectural translation of the basic form of the *stūpa* into a temple type, extending to the empyrean. The available data collected from different sites in Bengal show that with the popularity of the shrine, the independent *stūpas* as objects of worship did not attain much importance the central core of the *stūpa* at this stage was absorbed by the shrine itself.

Among the congregational buildings at Somapura Mahāvihāra were one hundred and thirty-two votive *stūpas* of varying shapes and sizes (Plate 22). In the relic chamber of one of these *stūpas* was discovered a large number of miniature *stūpas*, each containing clay tablets with *dhāraṇī*. A large number of Buddhist pantheons have been found on the terracotta plaques within the votive *stūpas*. Frequent representations of Tārā on such plaques seem to suggest that Tārā had played an important role in the contemporary Tāntric Buddhist religion.

The Buddhist establishment of *Satyapīrer Bhiṭā*, a mound near Paharpur, has laid bare within its complex thirty-two votive *stūpas* of different shapes -- circular, square and cruciform. An inscribed *stūpa*, said to have been dedicated by a monk called Praśāntamatī, beautifully decorated by rows of tiers, alternating with Buddha images seated either in *bhūmisparśa* or *vyākhyāna mudrā*, is a unique piece of art and architecture. Palaeographically, the structure seems to be dated around eleventh century A. D.[86]

Bharatpur in Burdwan district was an important Buddhist site in the ninth/tenth century A. D. [87] The structure built in brick and mortared with mud and *surki*, followed more or less the traditional type of *stūpa* with a *pañcaratha* basement. The heavily damaged body of the *stūpa* is extant only in the lower portion of the drum. The drum seems to have had niches to accommodate images of the Buddha.

Amidst the ruins and debris of a large number of Buddhist establishments unearthed in Bengal, no structural example of the *stūpa* has been discovered so far, with the exception of Bharatpur, but that also fails to provide definite evidence of what the *stūpa* was like in Bengal. It is only on the basis of the miniature *stūpas* found in Buddhist complexes that a conjectural reconstruction of the edifice may be attempted.

Taking the bronze votive *stūpa* from Ashrafpur (Plate 23) as a replica of the *stūpa* type erected in Bengal, in the 7th-8th centuries A. D., the edifice seems to have consisted of a square basement with an offset projection on each face, a cylindrical drum, and a hemispherical dome, slightly bulging towards the top. The dome is topped by a shaft rising from a square *harmikā*, holding *chatras*. The basement, drum and *harmikā* of the *stūpa* are adorned with Buddha figures round the body. A miniature stone *stūpa*, now in Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka (Plate 24), with a squarish terraced platform, high drum, a dome representing seated Buddha figures in the niches round the body, and *chatrāvalī* on the top, points to an elaboration of the Ashrafpur *stūpa* type. The other bronze miniature *stūpa*, which is a fairly well preserved specimen, comes from Jhewari in Chittagong. It consists of a platform, a drum, a dome, a *harmikā*, *chatrāvalī* and a crowning member in crescent form.[88]

VII

In the preceding section we have examined how in early Buddhism *stūpa* worship was practised as a lay ritual of *bhakti*-offering to the Lord. Emperor Aśoka was responsible for the institution of *stūpa* worship as a part of his policy. Consequently, large sized *stūpas* were constructed at several centres of his empire for ceremonial public worship. The legend of Sona's distribution of the body relics of the Lord from his funeral pyre in all directions reflects how popular was the festival of *śārīra pūjā* at this time.

In course of time, the *stūpa* cult received canonical sanction and was conceived as being crucial to the institutional religion. The symbol as memorial of the Buddha at this stage was equated with his divine presence and was given ritual offerings as in image worship. A *stūpa* from this point of view was known as *caitya*. The concept of *caitya gṛha* appears to have been a development of this idea of *caitya*—a hall or a monastic shrine where congregational prayer and worship were conducted before the *stūpa*.

With the introduction of the Buddha image, the Buddha in human form attracted *bhakti* and demanded worship. At its initial stage, as in Nagārjunakoṇḍa, a shrine with a *stūpa* and another with a Buddha image were

placed side by side. At a later stage, as in Ajantā, Kānheri and Ellorā an image of the Buddha was engraved on the *stūpa*, while in others the *stūpa* was completely replaced by an image of the Buddha. The central image in the sanctuary at this stage was a full-formed Buddha—either seated or standing. But at Nālandā and Paharpur the Buddha temples were separated from the prayer hall. During this stage of idolization, particularly from the Gupta period onwards, *stūpas* were relegated to the background.

With the introduction of the Tantrayāna-Vajrayāna system, a new feature is noticed in both architecture and sculpture. A plethora of Buddhist deities—Bodhisattvas, Buddhaśaktis and other superhuman, super-terrestrial saviours, were set up in grand proportions. Worship by secret *mantras*, scriptures and esoteric ritual practice with either *yantra* or *mantra*, became widespread. These are evidenced at the core of the smaller *stūpas* that surround the central shrines. At Ratnagiri hundreds of small monolithic and structural *stūpas* contained terracotta plaques bearing *dhāraṇīs*, scriptures with magical formula, and carved with Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna symbols or pantheons. Such *stūpas* with similar emblems have been discovered from Bengal, particularly from the monastic shrines located in Paharpur, *Satyapīrer Bhiṭā* and Devaparvata region. One wonders whether the hollow hub of the *stūpa* containing miniature sized Vajrayāna pantheons on terracotta tablets bearing Buddhist *dhāraṇīs* discovered at Koṭila Muḍā, might have been the precursor of the central shrine of Paharpur with a hollow underneath, going right down to the temple's foundation. But this can only be speculation, as it is not known whether the Paharpur shrine at its core had a womb house to place *dhāraṇī*, a magical formula, offering for salvation.

Year of writing: 2002

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

**Courtesy:* Author

3

ROCK-CUT CAVES
(*Buddhist, Jaina, and Brāhmaṇical*)

ONE of the best expressions of the creative impulses of Indian genius is rock-architecture. Rock-architecture was known to peoples of the past, but nowhere had rock-cutters succeeded in covering such a wide range and shape with divergent and audacious schemes as in India. The very fact that the movement of cave excavation continued for more than a thousand years, and assumed a remarkable proportion through execution in various parts of the country (as many as twelve hundred caves), is sufficient to prove that the Indians could master the technique of this mode of architecture.

It seems that for more than one reason cave architecture became popular in India. First, it was in line with the Indian tradition in which since time immemorial natural caves and grottoes were used as ideal places for meditation. Secondly, the ideal of the unchangeable nature of God and the immutability of His abode, so deep-rooted in Indian mind, found an efficient answer in the rock-hewn form. For, in spite of the application of the best techniques and the most durable materials available in those days, the structural forms could never be as lasting as an excavated cave. The suitable physical texture of Indian rocks, particularly those of western India, where most of the rock-cut architecture are found, was another factor that persistently allured the rock-cutters through the ages for action. For such common reasons the rock-cut cave was promoted by the followers of all major Indian faiths, viz. Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmaṇical.

The earliest group of caves was excavated during the age of the great Mauryas, i.e. in the third century B. C., and executed under direct royal patronage. Considering the extensiveness of the period of its manipulation and wide range of its distribution, it seems logical that Indian rock-architecture developed into various types, especially to meet the requirements of different religions, and possibly also for its inherent tendencies for elaboration and embellishment. Nevertheless, by closely examining its extant examples the art historians have succeeded in defining its courses of evolution.

THE BUDDHIST CAVES

Caitya or Shrine: One of the most significant types of rock-architecture is the *caitya* shrine of the Buddhists. This type, along with their *Vihāras* or monasteries, flourished in a great number in the earlier phases of its evolution. A *caitya* shrine in its typical form consists of a long rectangular hall, apsidal at the rear and is divided into three sections by two rows of pillars along the length of the hall meeting at the back end. The votive *caitya* is always found situated at the apsidal end and at the entrance to the shrine in front, i.e. opposite to the votive *caitya*. The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault and the two aisles by two vaults, each half the section of that of the nave. Over the entrance doorway in front is placed a huge arched window, shaped like a horseshoe, known as *caitya*-window, dominating the scheme of the entire facade. The roof, the design, the setting of the pillars, doorways, facade decorations etc. apparently betray copious imitations of the technique and patterns of structural practices in wood, bamboo etc. and therefore, it is easy to presume that instead of evolving a new form, the excavated rock-caves have followed the contemporary structural *caitya* halls of less durable materials.

A typical *caitya* shrine appears to have evolved out of a circular shrine, suitable for installing a votive *stūpa* within a peripheral range of pillars, and a rectangular hall, essential for sheltering the votaries within an enclosure. It was a logical move on the part of the architect to combine these two parts in a single unit meeting both the requirements. Fragmentary remains of a circular shrine, belonging to the time of Aśoka, have been discovered at Bairat (Jaipur, Rajasthan), and a recurrence of the type in the rock-cut form may be found in the Tulaja Lena group at Junnar (Fig. 1) of a later date. It seems that two of the rock-caves at Barābar (Gaya, Bihar), namely, Sudāmā (Fig. 2) and Lomaśarṣi



Fig. 1
Junnar, Circular Shrine, Plan and Section
(After *Age of Imperial Unity* : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan)

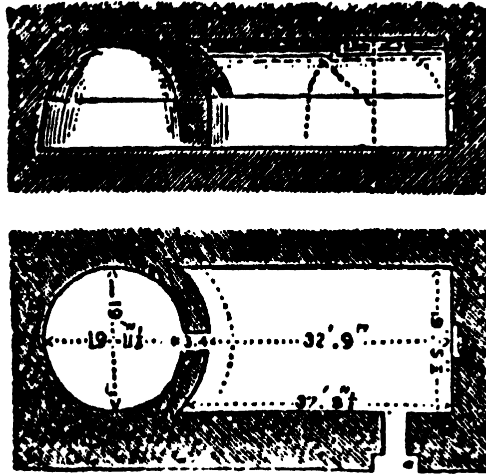


Fig. 2
Sudāmā cave : Plan and Section
(After *Age of Imperial Unity* : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan)

(Plate 1), both of the Maurya period, represent a significant stage in the evolution of the classical type of the *caitya* shrine. Each of these two caves shows two apartments: a rectangular one at the outer-end with the entrance doorway and a circular or oval one at the rear separated by a solid wall with a connecting passage. In each instance the apartments are cut parallel to the face of the rock, and the doorway consists of a small rectangular opening, narrower at the upper-end, no doubt reminiscent of wooden constructions. Besides, over the entrance of the Lomaśarṣi there is an arched framework, apparently copied in stone from wooden examples, supporting a curved roof with a pointed finial at the top. In between the roof and the doorway one may notice a semi-circular panel with a frieze of elephants in low-relief, and above it, a latticed screen. The facade of the Lomaśarṣi is particularly important, as here we find the humble beginning of the elaborate scheme of ornamentation that characterized the decoration of the facade of the later *caitya* halls. These caves, excavated for the Ājīvaka monks, are found empty. But an identical Buddhist shrine with two apartments is marked in a cave at Kondovite in Maharashtra where the circular chamber contains a votive *stūpa*. The solid wall, that stood in between the circular chamber and the rectangular cell, was gradually eliminated and the apsidal at the back of the *caitya* shrine was evolved in the process.

The typical rock-cut *caitya* shrines in western India may be divided into two broad groups representing two historical phases of the form of architecture. A cave at Bhājā (Plate 2), near Pune, belonging to second century B. C., seems to be the oldest of the early group. It has twenty-seven pillars running along the entire length of the apsidal hall and around the votive *caitya*. Hence the hall is divided into a central nave, two side aisles and a supporting barrel-vaulted roof. (Fig.3) This shrine represents the typical *caitya* scheme with all its essential components. Decoration of the facade, in spite of the

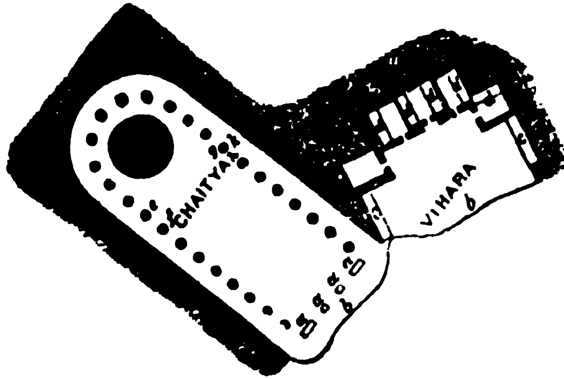


Fig. 3
Bhājā, *Caitya* cave and *Vihāra* : Plan
(After *Age of Imperial Unity* : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan)

wooden construction originally employed for it, shows a definite improvement on that of the Lomaśaṛṣi. A steady development of this type is possible to study from other examples of the class found at Kondane, Pitalkhora, Bedsa, Nasik (Cave No. XVIII) (Plate 3), Kānheri, Ajantā (Cave Nos. IX and X) and Karle. A slow but regular progress can be recognized in the gradual emancipation from the wooden conventions, greater elaboration of the different features, and richer and more varied ornamentation of the facade.

The *caitya*-cave at Kārle (Plate 4), the most matured and grandiose expression of the early movement, was associated with the Hīnayāna school of Buddhism. At once grand and imposing for its noble proportions, richness of carvings and the organic integration of the different components, the great *caitya* at Kārle is acclaimed as one of the finest monuments of India. Preceding the extensive main hall, which is more than 124' by 45' in area and 45' in height, there is a portico cut out of the rock and closed by an outer-screen, in front of

which stand two imposing independent columns, each surmounted by a bell-shaped capital with figures of lions supporting a wheel. Entering through any of the three doorways of the screen one may step into the vestibule and face the entire inner frontage with its sun-window, decorated arcading, and the sculptured figure compositions. The inner facade is dominated by the towering *caitya*-window, flanked by carved tiers of *caitya* arcading separated by bands of decorative railings. The hall, approached through three doorways, possesses a series of thirty-seven pillars. The pillars divide the nave from the aisles, and are octagonal in shape, plain in the cases of those encircling the apse and elaborately designed and carved in the cases of others. (Fig. 4) Supporting a sculptured group of elephant and horse riders, these imposing columns, along with the projected wooden ribs attached to the vaulted roof, and the votive *caitya*, are mainly responsible for the serene grandeur of the interior. An indirect light that enters through the sun-window and radiates over the dome and the pillars as an effulgence further increases the charm of the hall.

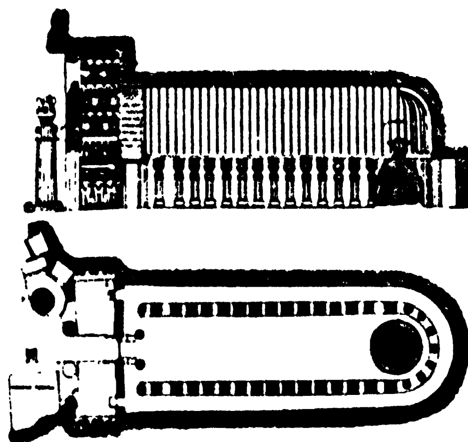


Fig. 4
Kārle, *Caitya* cave : Plan and Section
(After *Age of Imperial Unity* : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan)

The later phase of the cave shrines, best represented by Ajantā, cave numbers XIX (Plate 5) and XXVI, and Ellorā, cave number X, also known as Viśvakarmā, displays no major departure in plan and general layout from the earlier group. Nevertheless, from the finer carvings of the interior, classical proportions of the pillars, harmonious arrangement of different components and

their total integration, it is apparent that the *caitya*-cave as a classical type was perfected during this phase. But what seems to be more significant of the shrines of this phase is a marked change in the attitude and psyche of the Buddhist votaries of the fifth-sixth centuries that determined the style of ornamentation of the facade as well as the interior. In the earlier group the ornamentation of the facade was limited to the repetitive architectural motifs like the rail, the *stūpa*, the *caitya*-window, pillars etc. with the enormous horseshoe aperture over the doorway dominating the entire scheme of the frontage. In the ornamental scheme of the later group, figure sculptures appear to stand as the predominant and recurring theme, in clear contrast to the above. In these later excavated shrines they cover every possible space, eliminating or marginalizing the earlier architectural motifs. One of the notable examples bearing this change is the Viśvakarmā at Ellorā. (Plate 6) Even here the horseshoe opening above the doorway, a distinctive and elemental feature of the excavated *caitya* hall, is reduced in size and executed almost in a circular shape, losing its original horseshoe character. Innumerable figures of Buddha now appear in bold relief to cover spaces on the facade, the excavated court, the elaborate frieze of triforium over the colonnade in the interior, and on the body of the votive *caitya* itself. The introduction of the figure of Buddha on the votive *caitya* clearly shows that to the Buddhist votaries of the age the *caitya* or *stūpa* lost much of its worshipful value, and they in general changed their earlier aniconic attitude and became worshippers of the image of the god. With this devaluation of the votive *caitya*, and the growing importance of the image, the very need of the *caitya* hall gradually diminished, and within a short period the rock-cut Buddhist shrines went out of use.

Vihāra or Monastery: A structural monastery, i.e. *Vihāra* or *Saṁghārāma*, in its mature form was usually planned as a dwelling consisting of four ranges of cells or sleeping cubicles on four sides of an open quadrangular courtyard. In the rock-cut version of the monastery a slight but obviously necessary deviation may be noted. The typical plan of a rock-cut monastery shows three ranges of cells on three sides of a central hall opening out into a pillared gallery in front. This plan was evidently finalized after age-long practices and experimentations. For the earliest excavated monasteries, represented by the Barābar and Nāgārjuna groups of caves in south Bihar, were simple rectangular chambers occasionally provided with raised platforms at their ends. These caves, as also the Lomaśarṣi and Sudāmā noted above, were associated with the Ājīvakas and executed during the days of the Mauryas. In the evolution of this type the next step was marked in the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri

in Orissa (Plate 7). Here some thirty-five excavations, affiliated to the Jainas, show cells or a number of cells in a row provided with a verandah in front. These caves are particularly significant for their functional efficiency, though in most cases they lack, in spite of their interesting ornamentations, a proper sense of planning. A great exception is however the double storeyed scheme of the Rāṇī-gumphā at Udayagiri (Plate 7) (Fig. 5). In this complex we find not only the innovation of a double storeyed plan, which is also found in the Mañcapurī, but also the introduction of three ranges of cells on three sides of an open court. This plan, facilitated by the projecting scarps on its two flanks, is no doubt a forward step towards the final plan of a rock-cut monastery.

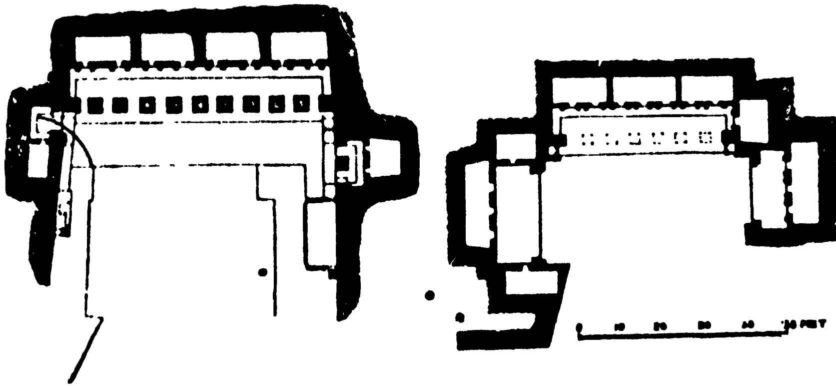


Fig. 5
Rānigumpha at Udayagiri. Plan
(After *Age of Imperial Unity* : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan)

The classical plan of a monastery with cells radiating from a central quadrangular hall and the facade opening out into a verandah however took a definite form in the rock-cut monasteries of western India. As in the case of the *caitya* shrines, the monasteries may also be divided into two groups indicating two distinct phases of developments. The earliest of the western Indian *Vihāras* were those at Bhājā. But the most impressive ones of the earlier group are at Ajantā (Nos. XII, VIII and XIII), Nasik (Nos. X and II), the Gaṇeśa Lena at Junnar and the monastic caves at Kondane and Pitalkhora. They belong to the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era and are marked for their simple ornamentation confined to the facade and the doorways of the monastic cells in the interior only. Motifs used in the ornamentation are essentially of architectural character, e.g. the *caitya*-window, rails, latticed

screen etc. A unique experimentation may be found in the plan of the rock-cut *Vihāra* at Bedsa showing cells ranged round an apsidal central hall with a barrel-vaulted roof above. This was an obvious copy of the plan of the *caitya* shrines. While the Ajantā *Vihāras* of the group were of astylar type, at Nasik, Kondane and Pitalkhora the introduction of pillars in the central hall is significant. Further, at Kārle we have examples of storeyed *Vihāra* of the rock-cut order. These two features, namely, the pillars forming a square in the centre of the hall and the storeyed elevation, are important in the development of the subsequent phases.

The most prolific expression of the rock-cut monasteries start from about A. D. 400 and continue till approximately the eighth century. In the caves at Ajantā (Nos. XVI, XVII, I, II, XXIV), Ellorā (Nos. II, V, VIII, IX, XI, XII), and Aurangabad (III, VII), all in Maharashtra, and Bāgh in Madhya Pradesh, this mode of architecture expands in unprecedented size and ornamentation. In spite of retaining the classic plan, with such innovations as the peristyler arrangement of the central hall and the installation in the middle of the rear end of the hall a sanctuary containing the image of the Master carved out in the depth of the rock, a further excellence was achieved in these remarkably spacious and ambitious schemes. A world of beauty was created in the interior with richly decorated pillars and the deeply cut architraves with inimitably carved sculptured friezes. This ornamentation reaches its finality in the rock-cut *Vihāras* at Ajantā and Bāgh, where superb paintings still linger on the interior walls and ceilings of the halls to testify to the aesthetic life led by the inhabitants of the monasteries. While the Ajantā and Bāgh monasteries are especially marked for their perfect planning and delicate execution, those at Aurangabad and Ellorā are noted for achieving certain new developments. In the Aurangabad No. VII and Ellorā No. VIII the image sanctuary in each case is located as a freestanding shrine in the middle of the monastic hall. In the second storey of the Cave Nos. XII and II at Ellorā another new feature is found. The cells radiating from the central hall in the lateral sides are replaced by image galleries, each in the form of an iconostasis. Storeyed elevation is found in Ajantā No. VI and Ellorā Nos. XI and XII, the last two rising even to three storeys. Ellorā No. XII, known as Tin Thal or 'Three storeys', is the most remarkable among the caves of this group and the most accommodating of all, as it has sufficient number of cells to lodge at least forty monks, while its assembly halls are large enough to provide room for congregations of many times that number. The sober and dignified treatment of the facade with three rows of plain square pillars, rising in stages, is well in contrast to the brilliantly

sculptured galleries in the interior of the storeys. In its totality the Tin Thal shows a rare balance in arranging decorative forms and empty spaces.

THE BRĀHMAṆICAL CAVES

The rock-cut mode of architecture also found patrons among the followers of the Brāhmaṇical and Jaina faiths. The earliest of the Brāhmaṇical caves are those at Udayagiri, near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh, belonging approximately to the early fifth century. The majority of the Udayagiri caves are small rectangular shrines with a pillared structural portico in front. Occasionally natural caverns are found enlarged and converted into the above shape. Cave No. IX, locally known as 'Amṛta (Nectar) Cave', appears to be the last of the series, which introduces four pillars forming a square in the centre of the shrine chamber for extending support to the roof, a feature that carries forward the tradition to further developments of the succeeding centuries. At Bādāmī, in the district of Bijapur in Maharashtra, the plan develops under the early Cālukya rulers into that of a pillared verandah, preceded usually by an open forecourt, and a columned hall with a square sanctum cella cut into the depth of the rock at the rear end. The facade is comparatively plain in contrast to the profusion of carved figures on the walls and various designs on the pillars.

In the Drāviḍa country of the south the Brāhmaṇical cave style was introduced in the first quarter of the seventh century by Mahendravarman Palla at Maṇḍagupattu in the district of South Arcot. The style found its exponents not only in the person of the king but also among his successors. Each of the shrines consists of a shallow rectangular pillared hall or *maṇḍapa*, which in its turn, is often divided into proximal and distal sections, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, either by a row of pillars corresponding to the facade row, or by differentiating in floor-levels or ceiling heights. The doors of the shrines are generally flanked by pairs of *dvārapālas* or guards, a feature sometimes repeated on either side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa*. Already appearing in one of the cave-shrines at Bādāmī, the *dvārapālas* constitute an invariable feature of the Brāhmaṇical cave temples of later days. Towards the later part of Mahendravarman's rule, storeyed caves began to figure, but no appreciable advance in the plan or design can be recognized. The caves excavated by his son Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla show a similar plan, but the facades of these caves are usually marked by more elaborate ornamentation of their pillars and cornices.

The rock-cutting activity was also pursued in the Andhra region. On either bank of the Krishna, at places like Undapalli, Pengmaga and Sitaramapuram in the Guntur district, and Vijaywada and Mangalarajapuram in the Krishna

district, about a dozen of cave temples are found to form a separate series in the Cālukyan territory dating from A. D. 700. Each of these cave temples consists of a rock-cut hall or *maṇḍapa* with one or more, often three, shrine cells behind. The hall is either astylar or multipillared, and sometimes divided into front and rear sections by two rows or pilasters, the usual facade row and the inner row. Although these cave temples are ascribed to the Eastern Cālukya line that ruled over Veṅgī, the general Pallava impression on the plan is undeniable. A series of eight temples also occur on the Bhairavakoṇḍa hills in the Nellore district, but they are not so important from the architectural viewpoint. The Pāṇḍya contemporaries of the Pallavas started rock architecture in farther south from about the beginning of the eighth century and this they continued during the two following centuries till they were overthrown by the Colas. Their cave shrines are found all over in Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari, Trivandrum and Quilon districts as also in the southern part of the district of Tiruchirapalli. They are far more in number than the Pallava examples, but are essentially similar to them in plan, though not without certain characteristics of their own.

Under the Cālukyas and their Rāṣṭrakūṭa successors flourished the grand Brāhmaṇical caves at Ellorā. Dating from about 650 A. D., the sixteen excavations affiliating with this faith (Cave Nos. 13 to 29) extend along the west face of the rock. The Daśāvatāra (No. XV), the Rāvaṇa-kā-khāi (No. XIV), the Rāmeśvara (No. XIX), and the Dhumara Lena (No. XXIX) are the most important excavations, not to speak of the great Kailāsa an entire temple complex completely hewn out of the live rock in imitation of a distinctive structural form. The Brāhmaṇical cave temples at Ellorā may be divided into three types. The first type, best illustrated by the two-storeyed Daśāvatāra, shows a multi-columned hall with the sanctuary dug out at its rear end, and the sculpture galleries carved on the lateral sides of the hall. It has a marked similarity with the Buddhist *Vihāras* and, possibly being the earliest among the Brāhmaṇical shrines of the site, was inspired by their scheme. In the places of monastic cells on either side of the hall, a kind of iconostasis, containing divine images in high relief in large sunken panels flanked by two pilasters has, however, been introduced in these shrines. In the second type the sanctum, a freestanding cella with a passage of circumambulation around, is shaped out of a mass situated in the centre of the rear end of the hall. Of the two caves of this type, the Rāvaṇa-kā-khāi and Rāmeśvara, the latter one is better known for its magnificent sculptures abundantly carved on its walls and the exquisitely designed massive pillars of the facade with their charming bracket figures.

The third type, appearing from the second half of the eighth century, may be recognized in the Dhumara Lena, the last and the most elaborate in the series of the Brāhmaṇical caves at Ellorā. It consists of a cruciform pillared hall (the main hall alone being 150' by 50' in measure), having more than one entrance and court, with the freestanding square cella hewn out of the rock near the back end. In architectural arrangement as well as the gracefulness of its massive pillars and sculptures this cave is probably the finest among the Brāhmaṇical excavations, not only at Ellorā but also at other sites. The Brāhmaṇical caves in the islands of Elephanta and Salsette, near Mumbai, reveal designs similar to Dhumara Lena, but in comparison they are smaller in conception and irregular in plan. It may, however, be noted that the main hall of the Dhumara Lena is axially driven into the depth of the rock, while that of Elephanta is excavated parallel to the face of the rock. The temple of Jogīśvara in the island of Salsette is an inferior execution, but its importance lies in being the latest of the type, dating about A. D. 850.

The cave temples were never as suitable for Brāhmaṇical worship as were the structural temples, and that seems to be the reason why of the twelve hundred excavations in India not more than a hundred are Brāhmaṇical. An interesting addition to the list of Brāhmaṇical caves is, however, the two discovered in the seventies of the last century at Panhale-Kaji in the district of Sindhu-durg in Maharashtra. The importance of these caves lies in the fact that they, excavated in the twelfth century, were dedicated to the deities of the Nātha cult affiliated with Śaivism. One of the caves contains sculptural representation of eighty-four Nātha *siddhas*, a feature not to be met anywhere else in India. But the structural temples are so appropriate to the needs of Brāhmaṇical worship that even in the mode of rock-cut architecture, the Brāhmaṇical carved shrines steadily moved towards the shape and form of structural temples.

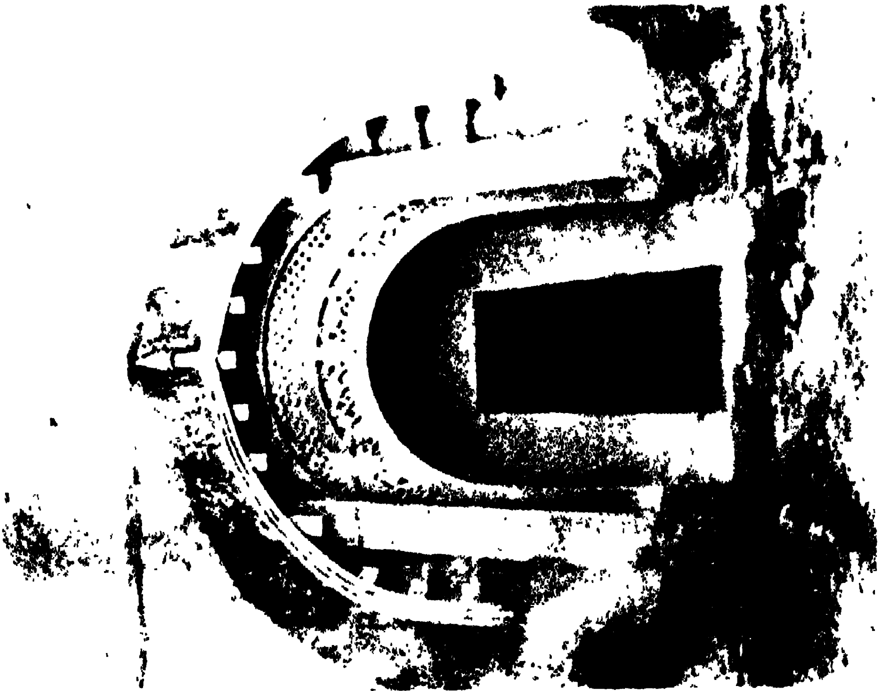
THE JAINA CAVES

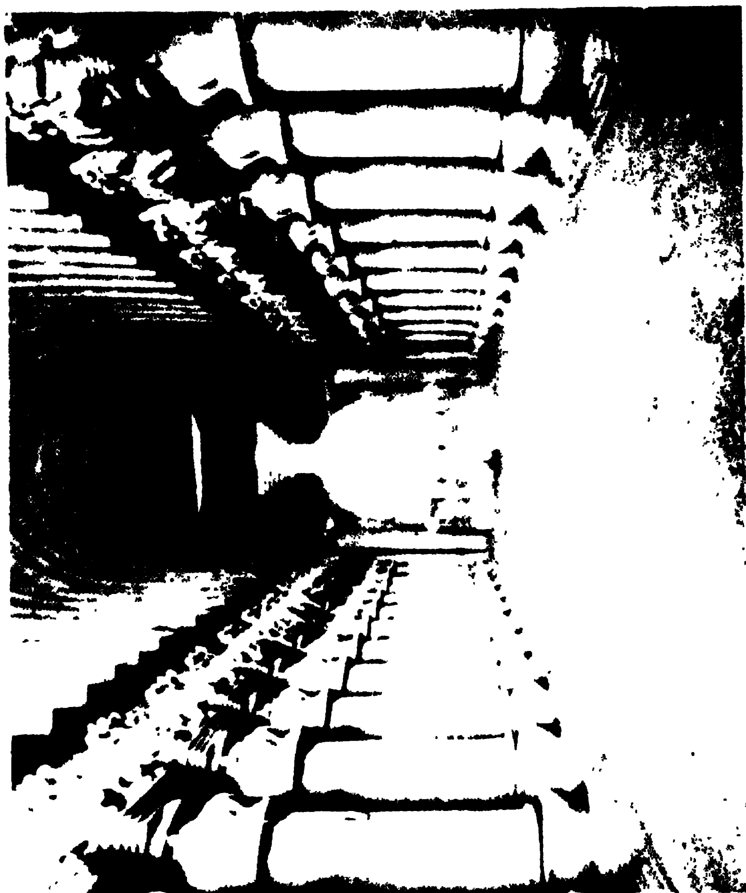
The earliest phase of Jaina rock-architecture, found at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa, has been mentioned above. The second phase is represented by two caves, one at Bādāmī and the other at Aihole, both in Maharashtra and datable to the seventh century. They are essentially similar in plan and arrangement; and each of them consists of a pillared quadrangular hall with a cella cut out at its far end and chapels on either side, a scheme not being far off from those of the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇical counterparts of the age.

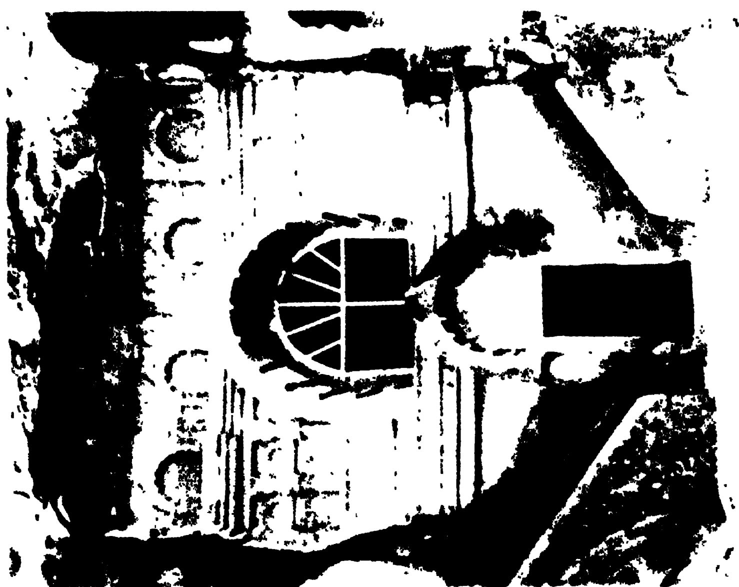
The most important ones of the Jaina caves were excavated at Ellorā and date from the ninth century. There are five shrines of the group and among them the Choṭa Kailāsa (No. XXX), the Indra Sabhā (No. XXXII) and the



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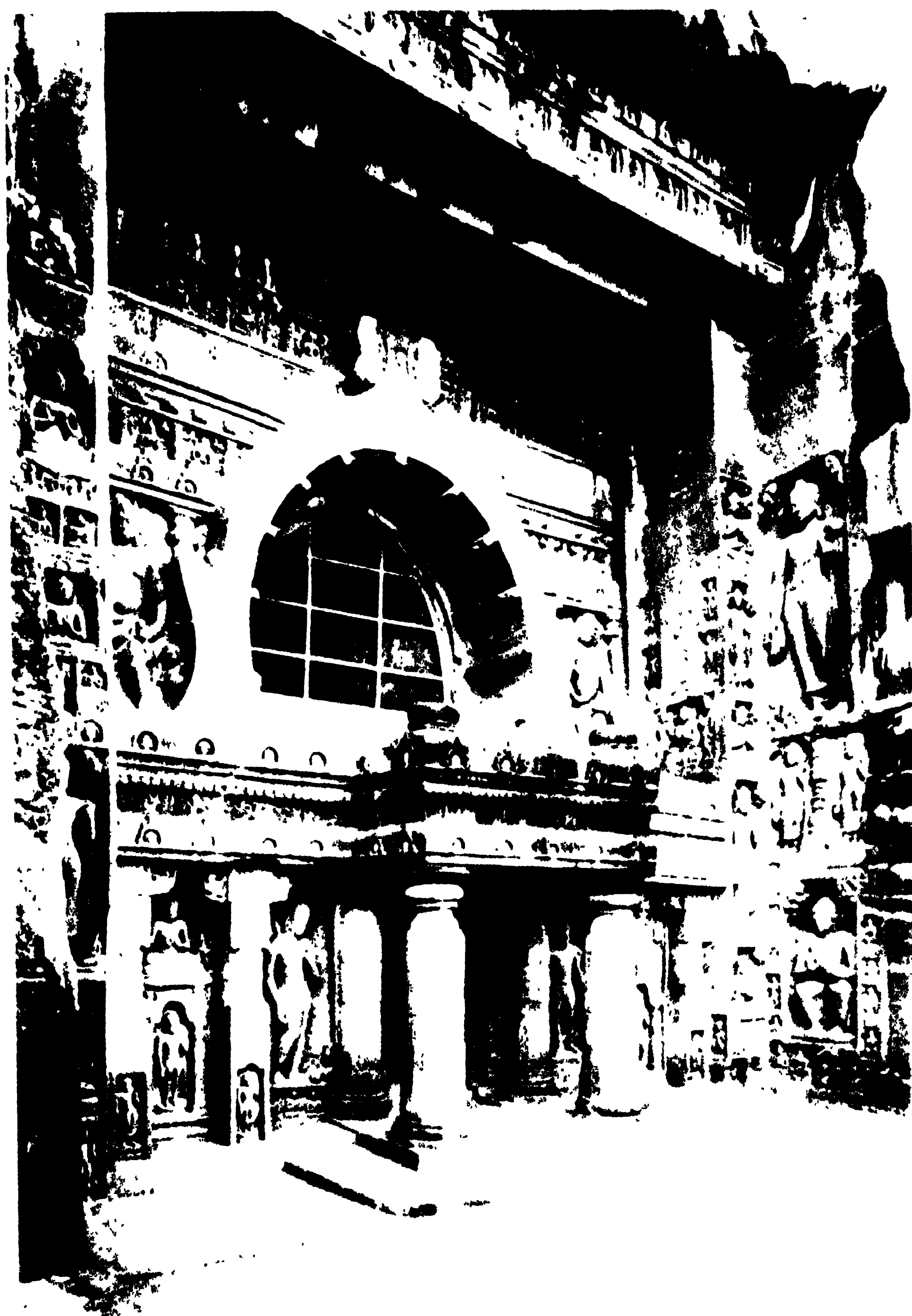


Plate 5 Cave no. XIX, Ajanta, Maharashtra, late 5th century A.D.



Plate 6 Visvakarma cave, Ellora, Maharashtra, 7th century A.D.

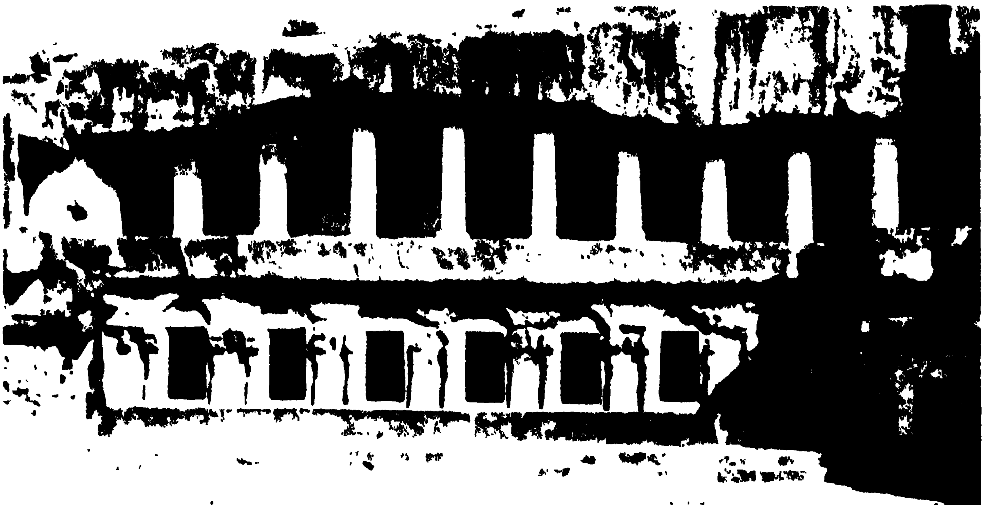


Plate 7 Ranigumpha, Udayagiri cave, Orissa, 1st century A.D.

Jagannātha Sabhā (No. XXXIII) are of greater significance. The first one is a small imitation of the renowned Brāhmanical temple of the same name and site, while each of the second and third shrines is partly a copy of the structural form and partly cave excavation. In the forecourt of each stands a monolithic shrine preceded by a gateway, both carved out of the rock, and behind it rises the facade of the cave in two storeys. Each of the storeys, in its turn, reproduces a pillared hall of the usual plan with a chapel at the rear end and cells on the sides. In spite of identical plan and arrangement the Indra Sabha, particularly its upper storey, is superior both in balance and organic character to the Jagannātha Sabhā, which presages a decline and ultimate disappearance of this mode of architecture in course of the following centuries.

Year of writing 2002

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS *

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Nirmal K. Bose

4

REFLECTIONS ON SCHOOLS AND STYLES OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

A SYSTEMATIC study of Indian architecture can be made by field observation, supplementing it, where possible, by the study of canonical texts. When canonical texts were not yet known, the dependence was on observation alone.

James Fergusson (1808-1886) was perhaps the greatest historian of Indian architecture. He travelled extensively all over India, observed the similarities and differences among buildings, tried to ascertain their age by means of certain rules of evolution current in his time, and thus prepared the first systematic account of the diversity and evolution of Indian architecture.

Fergusson was followed by others who occasionally modified his scheme by more intensive, but localized study.[1] When canonical texts were discovered, these were also used for the interpretation of forms. The canonical texts are available in the *śilpaśāstras* or 'canons of the arts', and in books like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Purāṇas* which can be regarded as compendia of various kinds of information. Occasionally, the *Āgamas* and literature dealing with the performance of religious rites and sacrifices also contain information of significance to architecture. Thus, the shape of altars or the nature of geometrical drawings made in a place of worship may explain the meaning of the form of temples, or of the relation which one building may bear to another in an integral composition.

It will be our purpose in the present chapter to present a general review of the principles and ideals which were apparently involved in the art of building in India by means of both the sources of information described above.

CANONICAL TEXTS

The art of building has a long history in our country. For many centuries, this has mainly been in the keeping of hereditary guilds or castes of specialists who either worked in stone or in wood, or were skilled in painting and decoration.

The knowledge and skill of such craftsmen were handed down from one generation to another of the same caste; while members of other castes were

prevented from gaining access to them. As learning was mostly by practical work, all elements connected with a craft were not necessarily recorded in writing. There were many kinds of temples or wooden chariots or residential buildings. The distinguishing features of each were likely to be forgotten more easily, if temples were not constantly built or studied. Such information, as well as schemes of classification of building sites or of temples, augury connected with the first laying of the 'measuring thread' in a site, and rituals connected with the laying of the foundation stone etc. were therefore committed to writing. But much of what was known to the artists through practical experience was left unrecorded. Thus, the books do not contain any information on how stones were worked, what the shape or weight of chisels and hammers was, how the heavy blocks of stone were lifted or carried, and so on.

Moreover, the books were copied from time to time, and meanings of terms occasionally became obscure, and the Sanskrit verses suffered from corruption. Thus, meaningless jumbles of words were sometimes left in the place of meaningful Sanskrit verses in the original. *Śilpa-śāstras* which have escaped the hands of time should therefore be regarded as being incomplete on account of these several reasons. They can hardly be regarded as text-books on the art of building. Yet, they contain some information which can illumine our appreciation of the ancient art of building in India. It is also of great interest that different canonical texts seem to have been in vogue in various parts of India. They contain substantial material in common; they also differ widely when other things are taken into consideration.

In the South, some of the books which were popular seem to have been the following: *Mayamata*, *Mānasāra*, *Vāstuvidyā*. In the West, *Rājaballabha* of Madana, *Śilparatnam* and *Viśvakarmaprakāśa* seem to have been in vogue, just as *Bhuvanapradīpa* and *Ballabha* were in Orissa and its neighbourhood.

The classification of soils and of building sites, the astrological considerations, rituals and calculations regarding the position of the *Vāstu-nāga* or 'serpent underlying the site' etc. are common to several of the regional texts. But they differ markedly in regard to the names of parts of temples or of pillars, or of mouldings, and so on.

In some of these canonical text-books, there is internal evidence of stratification. Some parts are obviously old and some are comparatively new. Thus, for instance, in the *Bhuvanapradīpa* of Orissa, there are incomplete specifications of temples of a type, examples of which belong to about the 8th century A.D rather than later times. In contrast, there are much fuller details

about another type which is represented by buildings dating from the 11th to the 13th centuries and after.

But, as we have already indicated, it is often very difficult for one who is not an initiate to gather the meaning of the texts, or of appreciating the meaning and symbolic significance of buildings without the sympathetic help of craftsmen belonging to the caste of builders. Language is used to conceal rather than communicate.

At this stage, it may be interesting to say something about such craftsmen as have survived in various parts of India in spite of the fact that they have been deprived of royal or even popular patronage for many generations in the past. The present writer has occasionally come across some of them in Orissa, Gwalior, Banaras and South India. Authors like A. K. Coomaraswamy, P. K. Acharya and Stella Kramrisch have met these 'builders' (*sthapatis*), or their *gurus* conversant with the science of building, in the South.

In one instance, the present writer came across a young man belonging to the stonemason caste in Orissa who was able to recite page after page from the *śilpaśāstra* from memory alone. Yet, he or his ancestors had never been called upon to build a temple for many a century. When asked why he had after all committed the *śāstras* to memory, he explained with some amount of pride and tinge of sorrow that he had done so for a special reason. It was true people in general did not pay to artisans the respect or consideration which was their due. But if that neglect hurt them and led them to neglect their own craft and its sacred lore, then 'the seed would become lost'. He hoped that some day men would once more learn to respect the artist, and make use of the secret knowledge which men like him had preserved through many hardships

On another occasion, the writer met an aged *Brāhmaṇa paṇḍit* in the ancient city of Ujjain who was reputed to have profound knowledge about the art of building. The stonemasons of the city used to resort to him when they were in difficulty about the specification of buildings.

The old man sat on the pedestal of a temple when I visited him, and expressed a desire to learn something from him. The *paṇḍit* questioned if I knew anything about the temple at whose foot we were in conversation. I looked at the temple and indicated to him its 'caste' and 'sex'. The *paṇḍit* seemed to be satisfied, and asked me to stop. Then after he had remained in silence for a few seconds, tears began to roll down his eyes. I was surprised and wondered if I had offended him in any way. A few minutes after, he regained his composure and said, 'I have acquired this *vidya* after more than sixty years of endeavour, but no one has so far come to me in order to learn

anything until today when I am almost at the end of my journey. This is why I was so moved.'

There are nevertheless men in India of today who still preserve portions of the ancient lore of building art. Unfortunately, they are little known; and it is difficult for modern scholars to establish communication with them. But those who succeed are amply rewarded by the depth of meaning and appreciation which is thus gained in the study of India's sacred architecture.

SYMBOLICAL MEANING

In regard to the nature of Indian art, A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote in 1923: 'The memory picture – or rather, a synthetic image based on past experience – is from first to last the essential foundation of Indian art: we cannot recognize here any such innate striving towards realism as that which becomes apparent, soon after the primitive developments, in Greek and Christian art. The Indian method is always one of visualization – unconscious in primitive, systematized in the mature art. Indian art is always a language employing symbols, valid only by tradition and convention.'[2]

E. B. Havell similarly wrote in 1913: '. . . the religious idealism and philosophy of the Arabs was summed up in the pointed arch. What the *mihrāb* was to the Musulman, the lotus was to the Buddhist and the Hindu. The shining lotus flowers floating on the still dark surface of the lake, their manifold petals opening as the sun's rays touched them at break of day, and closing again at sunset, the roots hidden in the mud beneath, seemed perfect symbols of creation, of divine purity and beauty, of the cosmos evolved from the dark void of chaos and sustained in equilibrium by the cosmic ether, *ākāśa*. . . .

'Closely connected with the symbolism of the lotus was that of the water-pot – the *kalaśa* or *kumbha* – which held the creative element, or the nectar of immortality churned by gods and demons from the cosmic ocean. These two pregnant symbols were employed in Indian architecture and art, both structurally and decoratively, in an infinite variety of ways.'[3]

Stella Kramrisch considers that the temple incorporates within it a memory of Vedic fire – sacrifice, and the altar on which such sacrifice takes place. 'In these lower parts of the temple, the pedestal *Adhiṣṭhāna*, the socle, and the *Vedikā* is embodied the memory of the sacred ground (*vedi*) with its piled altar (*citi*) whence the sacrificial offerings were carried up by the flaming fire. The place of the flame is now taken by the structure on the socle; it arises with perpendicular walls and a pointed superstructure.'[4]

But she corrects a possible inference by saying that 'neither the form of the

socle with its horizontal mouldings nor that of the temple on it implies a derivation from the form of *Agni* or its flame; but it is the knowledge of these rites which survives in architectural forms. Even in some of the latest buildings in which a living tradition was at work (as at Konarak, belonging to the 13th century--N. K. B.) . . . the memory survives, on the walls of the socle and the *Vedikā*, of the substance of which the altar was built; wherein had been placed the heads of the sacrificial victims, man, horse, also the Śarabha, . . . and the other "animals".'[5]

In another passage, Kramrisch treats the temple as *Puruṣa*, and writes: '. . . the *Vāstupuruṣa*, "Existence", lies at the base of the temple and its support the Golden *Puruṣa* of the *Prāsāda*, its indwelling Essence, sum total of all the Forms and Principles (*tattva*) of manifestation and their reintegration lies in the superluminous darkness of the Golden jar on top of the temple below the point limit of the manifest. . . . The ascension of the Golden *Puruṣa* cancels the descent of the *Vāstupuruṣa*.

'Within these two movements the Hindu temple has its being; its central pillar is erected from the heart of the *Vāstupuruṣa* in the *Brahmasthāna*, from the centre and heart of Existence on earth, and supports the *Prāsāda Puruṣa* in the Golden jar in the splendour of the Empyrean. Its mantle carries, imaged in its varied texture, in all directions all the forms and principles of manifestation towards the Highest Point above the body of the Temple.'[6]

A more recent writer, Benjamin Rowland, subscribes to a similar view. He says: 'The symbolism of these final buildings of the Indo-Aryan architects is only an enlargement of the metaphysical meaning inherent in the simplest structures of Vedic times. The temple is no more than an architectural replica of the imagined world mountain Meru which as a pillar separates heaven and earth, or, anagogically, an equivalent of the body of *Puruṣa*, the Universal Man, whose body comprehends this universe. Accordingly, the final *āmalaka*, in shape like a lotus flower or a solar halo with rays, typifies the passage to heaven, the sun-door at the summit of the world mountain, or the dome of the skull of the Universal Man. . . . the stressed verticality of every architectural member leads the worshipper upward to that centre of magic union with the divine And, in like manner, the sculptural decoration of the temple points the way to that desired union. This is the meaning implicit in the multiple representation in the friezes of *mithunas* or men and women in erotic embrace, which in their ecstasy, typify the ultimate union of the soul with the divine. . . .'[7]

In another passage, Rowland says: 'Throughout the entire consideration of this last phase of building activity, it must be remembered that every work of

Indian architecture, Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain, must first and foremost be regarded from its metaphysical aspect, that is, as a kind of magic replica of some unseen region or sacred being; and that it was precisely this metaphysical factor that determined the plan and elevation, rather than any aesthetic or functional consideration."[8]

PLEA FOR MODERATION

It would perhaps not be right and fair to question the validity of such interpretations. Hindu temples or Buddhist *stūpas* were very nearly embodiments of pure form. They were primarily non-utilitarian in character, in the ordinary sense of the term. But one can perhaps exercise some caution in the symbolic interpretation of forms. For instance, one has to make sure that the architect who designed originally, also entertained some of the ideas which are ascribed to him. Current, contemporary literature of an esoteric kind may indeed give us some of the clues to symbolism. But one has to satisfy oneself that they actually formed part of the equipment of the architect. Instead of the latter kind of evidence, we may rely upon surer evidence of another kind. There are many terms used in the canonical texts; and it would perhaps be fair to depend on them primarily in our study of meanings.

A question has, moreover, to be asked and answered before an interpretation becomes valid. How far do certain terms indicate the origin of forms? Is it not possible that, at least, some of them may have been afterthoughts, rather than the sources from which forms sprang?

Some potters of eastern India maintain a legend that they have descended from a *Brāhmaṇa* to whom Viṣṇu bestowed his discus, *Sudarśana-cakra*, which became the wheel, while Mount Meru became the triangular pivot on which the potter's wheel rotates. But prehistorians are firmly of the opinion that wheel-turned pottery came long before the rise in India of the concept of gods like Viṣṇu. Is it not possible that some similar meanings in regard to temples may have been added to original forms by later *sādhakas* or spiritual aspirants out of the ecstasies of their mystic experiences? Should we ascribe the same spiritual experience to the builders also? If so, what is the evidence?

Although, one cannot deny that there was a certain core of symbolism in the beginning of forms, we should perhaps be wisely advised to exercise caution and adequate criticism before arriving at any conclusion.

The caution is doubly necessary as some of the elements of architectural composition seem to have clearly been influenced by several other kinds of forces. Wood and stone, brick work, the need of building high, the desire to

embellish surfaces with sculptural representation of gods and goddesses and treat them as vehicles of popular education, all these had their effect upon the nature of buildings. Not that the influence of 'materials' alone was all-powerful. Our point is that, granting the symbolic nature of sacred architecture in India, we find that certain significant developments in its history can be better explained by means of the influence of materials and of social needs rather than otherwise.

The Hindu temple was not merely a symbolic expression of the spiritual flights of *sādhakas*, or aspirants. Indeed, the higher one reaches in *sādhanā*, the lesser is there a need of forms or of symbolic representation. Those who have attained, the *siddhas*, need no such gorgeous projections of their inner strivings as the Hindu temple happens to be. The Hindu temple or the Buddhist *stūpa* was also for the common man, built often by kings who delighted in leaving a glorious memorial of their greatness. The inherent symbolism of the primal forms thus came to be overlaid by a language which was rich and under which, inevitably, the inner symbolic message became diluted to some extent.

Comparing things from another level, one may say that the *Brahmasūtra* is not meant for the average reader. Its essence is presented in a popular manner in books like *Yogavāśiṣṭha Mahārāmāyaṇa*. The latter cannot wholly be explained in terms of the essence of the *Vedānta* which lies embedded within. In order to understand the richness and deep humanism of the latter, it is necessary to add much that is human and of the earth to that which lies as a core within.

The present observations should not, however, be taken to mean that material and social or historical forces have always been disregarded in favour of symbolic interpretation by all authors. Fergusson's was a classical example of objective study. But authors like Cunningham or Cousens, Percy Brown or Heinrich Zimmer have paid attention in different degrees to other factors involved in architectural evolution.

We shall now present to the reader an outline of the principles or ideals of Indian architecture involved without straining the evidence in an unwarranted manner.

SECTS AND THEIR PLACES OF WORSHIP

From the point of view of architecture, we can broadly distinguish three different types associated with the religious sects of India. These are Buddhist cave temples and *stūpas*, Hindu temples which include structural temples built by Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist or Jaina sects, and the mosques of Muslims. The purpose and manner of worship of Buddhist friars, Brāhmaṇical mendicants and lay disciples, or of the followers of Islam are different from one another; and this

is broadly reflected in the edifices which have been erected by each for the particular form of meditation, prayer or worship.

Buddhist friars spent a large part of their time in meditation, reading or chanting sacred texts. The cave-temples of Maharashtra consist of fairly spacious halls, illuminated at one end and with a *stūpa* at the other. Devotees sit in the aisles or the nave for meditation and worship, and go round the *stūpa* as an act of adoration. Congregational reading is popular, as it is still so in the Buddhist temples of Thailand or Cambodia.

In contrast, devotees come to the Hindu temple for meditation and ritual performance; and when there is reading of sacred texts in which the public attend, it takes place usually in the open courtyard of a temple, or in a pillared hall which may form its adjunct. The cell of the Hindu temple is consequently small, often very dark, in which pilgrims enter for a holy view (*darśana*) of the deity for a short while, and then almost immediately depart to one of the subsidiary structures where they may sit down, read or meditate. The cell is the Deity's own residence, and visitors may not therefore tarry there long, as they cannot tarry for long before a king who grants them audience.

The Muslim places of worship are meant specifically to be places of congregational prayer. Hindu and Buddhist shrines remind one of caves in mountains or dark and shadowy forests in which the individual loses his separate identity and merges into Nature. But in the Muslim form of worship, the congregation retains its separate human identity all the while. Nature, with its openness of sky, whether in the daytime or with its spangled starry canopy at night, furnishes the atmosphere of wonder while men proclaim, by means of gesture and of language, the glory that belongs to Allah. Nature is the handiwork of Allah, not His substitute.

Consequently, Muslim places of worship are either open, or are canopied by beautifully designed domes, which convey the impression of the sky overhead. Arches are used extensively in order to span wide spaces. Muslim architecture is thus space covered over by the minimum of walls or other structures. One may even say that the expanse on which many assemble for joint worship becomes more important than the structures which enclose it.

Along with the domes and arches which typify Muslim architecture are also the comparatively tall and slender towers which raise their heads to the skies, and form a suitable complement to the square or rectangle over which domes rear their heads. While the domes are related more closely to the earth from which they spring, the *minārs* enjoy comparatively greater freedom in their upward movement and endeavour to be independent of it.

OTHER CAUSES OF DIFFERENCE

Although an attempt has been made to present a simplified description of how and why edifices of various religious sects differ from one another, it is superfluous to remind the discerning reader that this is based upon a selection of dominant elements as they have appeared to the present writer. When viewed more objectively, the scene appears to be more complex in real life. And this arises from two facts, namely, those which are of internal origin and those of external.

South Indian temples, as a class, are marked off from most North Indian examples by the richness of their ground plan or general lay-out. They can hardly be regarded as elaboration of an original cave-temple or of the *Garbha-gṛha*, 'the cell which is the "womb" '—although the cell in the *Vimāna* does retain the cave-like character which is pronounced in temples of the North. South Indian temples are often in the form of a planned city in miniature. They have square or rectangular enclosing walls laid in parallel, concentric compositions, in which the gateways are crowned by higher and higher towers as one proceeds from the sacred shrine at the heart towards the outer boundaries. And each of these towers or *gopurams* does not spring straight from the earth like the perpendicular *minār* of a Muslim mosque. It proceeds from one storey to another of diminishing size in rhythmic stages so that at each stage its kinship to the horizontal earth is restated and emphasized, although the body as a whole has a movement towards the sky. The uppermost member of the *gopuram* is not a single pinnacle as in a *minār*, but consists of a broad rectangular barrel-shaped structure which entertains the feeling of a solid, satisfactory finial which is still bound more closely to the earth than to the sky, while the element of upward flight is sometimes represented by a plume or wing-like decoration on each side of the rectangle. Between the plume-like appurtenances is a row of miniature pointed decorations on the ridge of the barrel-shaped member.

The dome of the *stūpa* in Buddhist architecture is again a chiselled and chastened form of a mound which springs from the earth, rather than like the Muslim dome which is hollow within and symbolically may be regarded as a representation of the sky overhead.

These are modifications of the original simplified picture which has been presented earlier; and they are due to factors of internal origin. Another kind of modification has taken place due to two dissimilar influences of external origin.

North Indian temples, as we find them in Orissa or Madhya Pradesh, are expensive both in regard to time and labour. They were meant to last for ever; *yāvat candrārkamedinī*, 'as long as the moon, the sun and the earth (endure)'.

Even when actually not of great height, a temple in Orissa conveys an impression of solidity, permanence and even of height which few Muslim buildings of greater height succeed in conveying.

At one time, similar temples also existed in the plains of the Gaṅgā. But when Northern India passed under the Muslim rule, most of the buildings were destroyed; although in subsequent years, smaller temples were erected once more. But in them, Muslim ideals of slenderness or elegance, and a lyrical upward movement were as much in evidence as a desire to attain heights as in the ancient temples. When the latter was not possible, on account of economy of expense or of time, buildings were covered over by various forms of what is designated as falsehood or deceit in architecture. These are matters which have been referred to in the chapter devoted to the Nāgara temple in another part of the present volume.

PREFERENCE FOR FORMS

Some interesting features of Indian architecture become apparent if we limit ourselves to geometrical or solid forms for which preferences are obvious in both structure and decoration. For this purpose we shall leave Muslim architecture aside for the present.

Both Buddhist and Hindu architecture seem to display a preference for the square and the round or their derivatives in the form of the solid cube and the sphere or spheroid. For instance, a Buddhist *stūpa* is hemispherical, and is surrounded by a circular hedge which is composed of vertical, squarish posts with coping stones and rails whose sides are fragments of a circle. The square appears again and again in the ground-plan, or in the structure which rises like a capital over the hemispherical dome of the Buddhist *stūpa*. This is true in the reverse in the case of the Nāgara temple where the crown is formed of several elements which have a circular cross-section.

The side of the square in a *stūpa* or the Nāgara temple is not, however, an unrelieved straight line. Each such side is broken up into several parallel planes.

Sharp, acute or even obtuse angles are avoided; right angles being always preferred. Even if the former angles become unavoidable, they are melted down into sweeping, circular forms. An interesting depiction of a mountain, with peacocks alongside, from a drawing left on a piece of Buddhist sculpture which belongs to the eleventh century A. D. offers a good illustration of the point.

Greek architecture seems to have had a preference for the rectangle, the triangle and the upright which is represented by various forms of pillars. But these upright lines, so familiar in Greek or its kindred orders, are different from Egyptian uprights which either delighted in richly curved lines, or in rigidly straight ones. Egyptian pillars were crowned by lotuses, and their straight sides

were often mellowed down considerably. But, in contrast, the obelisks or the pyramids show an undoubted preference for the straight line; and this architectonic character even affected monumental pieces of sculpture as well.

Once, while describing the distinction between North Indian and South Indian dances, the Turkish writer, Halide Edib Hanum, said that the former was a rhythmic combination of curves, while the latter was of angles. In the same manner, one may perhaps be justified in saying that Indian architecture of classical times is a combination of the square and the round in contrast to the classical architecture of Greece which is a combination of the rectangle, the triangle and of the mellowed upright.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CANONICAL TERMS

We have so far depended principally upon observation in the field for a description of the dominant characteristics of various kinds of buildings in India. To this can now be added whatever we can learn from canonical books on the arts. Terms in use in the South, West and the North or East tend to vary widely from one another. For purposes of simplicity, we shall confine ourselves to the Orissan texts, and see how much can be learnt through them.

Building sites are classified into sixteen kinds marked off by differences in outline and in the nature or inclination of the surface. Terms which are in use are those used in geometry, like 'square', 'rectangular', 'circular', 'triangular', shaped like 'the back of a tortoise' and so on.

Soils or building sites are classified into the four orders of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. A Brāhmaṇa soil is pale in colour, has the smell of *ghī* or butter oil derived from goat's milk; in which sprouts appear if sesame seeds are sown in course of three days, and so on.

Similarly, the Nāgara temple is classified into four orders of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. Each face of the temple is broken up into two, three or four planes by advancing portions of the original surface. This reduces each face into a number of segments or *pagas*. A temple that has nine segments on each side is Brāhmaṇa, while those with seven, five and three are Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra respectively.

This is a scheme of classification comparable to the classification of soils. It would perhaps be far-fetched to imagine that the classification into four *varṇas* has any further hidden significance.

Parts of a temple bear names like the 'foot', 'shin', 'trunk', 'throat', 'skull', and so on. When the height of temples gradually increased from three measures to five measures of the length of the *cella*, the so-called 'shin' became inordinately elongated. It was then broken up by a *bāndhanā* (lit. binder) or a

band which consisted of one, three or more mouldings. The lower half of the 'shin' was now called *tala jāṅgha*, 'lower shin', the upper being the *upara jāṅgha*, 'upper shin'.

Such usage of terms need not be taken more seriously than that these were names given to parts of the temple when the architect imagined that the temple resembled a human body. It is difficult to agree with the view of some authors that the temple represented symbolically the 'Universal Man' or 'Golden *Puruṣa*'. The 'Golden *Puruṣa*' can have no *varṇa*, as human beings may have.

It is interesting that along with the anatomical terminology of temples, there is another set of terms derived from mountains. Certain parts of the temple are known as *śikhara*, 'peak' or *aṅga-śikhara*, 'peak springing out of the body like a limb', and so on. The tower of a temple is again divided into many storeys, each of which is presided over by a particular deity in Orissa. In the case of mixed metaphors like these, how are we critically to determine which imagery is earlier and which later in age? Which is responsible for the *origin* of the form and which has been a meaning added to it in subsequent times?

There is no doubt that various concepts became mixed up with one another as the builder considered the object that he had built. Perhaps, for a scientific study of temples, it would be right and proper to take adequate pains in comparing old texts with new ones, old temples with others of more recent origin. And then the concepts should be arranged in chronological order. Then only can we find out the validity or otherwise of a suggested interpretation, or how the latter stands in relation to what we learn from a critical observation in the field.

THE SOCIAL MILIEU

An analogy drawn from one of the parallel arts will be helpful in explaining what is meant. A poet experiences a moment of beauty; but in so far as his immediate personal experience is concerned, it is of an incommunicable character. Yet, he tries to clothe it in words or images, and thereby tries to convey as much of his experience as possible to the readers. The language and images which he uses are naturally drawn from his social surroundings, otherwise how can he hope to communicate?

The mystic experiences which are enshrined in sacred Hindu architecture according to authors like Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch and others, have likewise to be clothed in form and language which others understand. And they are inevitably drawn from the social surroundings if they are to serve the purpose of communication.

The formal social setting and developments in artistic ideals and techniques are also thus integral components of the study of architectural history. And some help in this respect is likely to be obtained from *other arts*, which belong to the same period as the object studied. For, there is an integral relation between life as it is lived and the forms or decorations which are employed by the architects or other artists to convey their message to their audience.

We shall end the present chapter by relating an experience which the writer had with an architect in Banaras.

This architect, Babu Mian, was a Muslim by religion. But he belonged to the guild among whom canonical texts had been handed down for centuries before the family became converted to Islam. I was told by Babu Mian that the texts were handwritten, and the script used was Hindi instead of Urdu.

When Babu Mian learnt that I had come to him in order to learn how temples are built, what proportion one element bears to another, he told me that I was engaged in a fruitless task; for, Hindu architecture was dead. 'Where is the Hindu?' he asked. And then he said, 'People have built here something called the Hindu University. But what is *Hindu* about it? The form is "Christian" (by which he meant, European). It is form which matters in architecture. If the form is "Christian", whom do you deceive by ornamenting it with a moulding or decoration drawn from some Hindu temple ?

'It would be far better for you to become honestly "Christian". Then you can truly build in that language. Otherwise you will be able neither to build in the Hindu nor in the "Christian" manner.'

There was an undoubted core of truth in the observation made by this old architect of Banaras. Forms and artistic aspirations and the ruling ideas of a civilization are integrally related to one another. One cannot be regarded in isolation from the rest. In its totality, architecture represents the thoughts and strivings of an age. If we are to regard it as an integrated whole which furnished the key to the appreciation of the civilization of an age, there are many things which have to be taken into account. Evidence has to be furnished by observation, by a judicious and critical use of canonical literature, and by the light which may be shed upon the architecture of a period by contemporary arts of a related kind.

It is only thus that our study will open the door to the understanding of principles and ideals of Indian architecture which form a fragment of the civilization of our country.

Year of writing 1965

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[1] See, for instance, R. D. Banerjee, Percy Brown, Ramaprasad Chanda, and W. Simpson (quoted by O. C. Ganguly) (details in Bibliography).

[2] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Introduction to Indian Art* (Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Publishers, New Delhi, 2nd edn., 1969), p. 28.

[3] E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (John Murray, London, 1st edn., 1913), pp. 14-5.

[4] Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1946), I, p. 146.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 1946, pp. 360-61.

[7] Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (Penguin Books, London, 1956), p. 164.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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5

INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE
(EARLY PHASE UP TO 750 A. D.)

THE ultimate temple in ancient India was the human body. To inhabit the human body was to inhabit the structure of the universe. A line of seers and sages of various communities stretching back through the period of the Vedas and beyond, came to this conclusion through evolving philosophic speculations and ritual traditions.

The *Ṛg-Veda* referred to cosmic construction as comparable to that of a house,[1] and many rites of Vedic India focused on the mechanisms and potency of building ritual shelters of wood pillars, reed mats, and bamboo.[2] Only in the *Atharva-Veda*, Book 15, however, was cosmic speculation and the body of man made into a formal homology.[3] There a *vrātya* ascetic, 'belonging to an unorthodox order', was described as confronting his own divinity as '*Ekavrātya*, the Sole *Vrātya*.'[4] In Stella Kramrisch's description, 'the transfiguration of the *Vrātya* has three phases: the birth of the god, the vision of that god, and the building of his monument.'[5]

Eliade remarked on the 'Cosmic structure of the *vrātyas*' "mystical" experiences'[6] and, as Kramrisch retold the ascetic's story, 'in his "enthusiasm"—a state of being in god and of god being in him a roving ascetic, a *vrātya*, realized the birth of his god and his own rebirth in that god.'[7] She characterized this vision—what the *vrātya* actually saw in his own image as the 'lord of the space-time universe, himself the central pillar of a four-sided pyramid.'

> The metaphysical pyramid of the Sole *Vrātya*, a construct of inner vision and realization, rises above rites and processions and joyous crowds. . . . The Sole *Vrātya* is a realization from here below into the beyond.[8]

Kramrisch saw the 'Sole *Vrātya*' as 'a choreographed monument of deity built up by the words of hymns' and having 'a *maṇḍala* for a pattern':

> He moves out on his vehicle, the mind, first toward the east, then toward the south, toward the west, and finally toward the north. . . . [He] incorporates into his presence the four directions of the extended universe.[9]

It seems clear, for Kramrisch, that this vision of the *vrātya* ascetic in the second millennium B. C. already forecast her dictum of the Hindu temple as a 'monument of manifestation'.[10] Yet it did not yet constitute architecture nor represent a developed system of devotional practice.

'Temple Hinduism' does not begin as a system of worship until well into the first millennium A. D. according to many scholars,[11] yet it was built on the foundation of cosmological and semantic speculation that preceded it. The cosmogonic and cosmological pyramid of the *vrātya*'s vision was first fully realized as an architectural vocabulary and a ritual tool by temple monuments of the early medieval period. Richard Davis has written that

> [t]he earliest texts setting forth practical instructions for the fabrication, consecration, and worship of Hindu imagery only appear around the fifth century C. E., often as 'appendices' to the Vedic corpus. . . . Starting in the seventh and eighth centuries, new bodies of religious literature began to appear in the subcontinent. The Vaiṣṇava *saṁhitās* and Śaiva *āgamas* did not aspire to be parts of the Vedic corpus, but rather claimed to contain the direct revealed teachings of the gods themselves.[12]

Viśvakarman, 'the all-Maker', who is invoked in temple building, had as his first act as architect, the construction of the cosmos itself which was the residue of the first sacrifice described in the *Ṛg-Veda*. It is to him that architects in Karnataka compared themselves in the eleventh century A. D. as they undertook the task of creating a new self-conscious temple architecture for their region.[13] As Renou described this speculation in the *Atharva-Veda* at the end of the second millennium B. C.,

> . . . creation is an emanation, a procreation, the act of an artificer or an artist, a sacrifice, a thought: all possibilities are admitted, but none is finally confirmed. The questions of who made the world and the human body are constantly recurring.[14]

Vāstoṣpati in the Vedas was the 'guardian of the site' and the '*vāstu* he guards is the cosmos, the site that is his domain is the site of the sacrifice.'[15] If the brick altars of India's early Brāhmaṇical rituals used building as a part of the sacrifice, wood and thatch shelters were also built through rites of cosmic construction.[16] The huts of Vedic rituals used the cosmos as their exemplar. They then became one paradigm for the ascetic himself and his power as intermediary between the human world and the divine. This did not necessarily require an array of deities. The *Atharva-Veda*, for example, 'minimizes the importance of the gods or leaves them altogether out of account.'[17] The 'heretical nomads' of early India were perceived to have had, within their

bodies, the seed of cosmic creation.[18] Their simplest shelters thus could signal that original act, as a sheath for the world.

Altars, pillars, *stūpas*, and tree-shrines in ancient India were used as cosmogonic markers, with a variety of cultic and political users.[19] Pivotal monuments to have survived in the evolution of a style of architecture having sign value[20] are the Lomaśaṛṣi and Sudāmā caves at Barābar in Bihar. Excavated for use by Ājīvaka ascetics under Mauryan patronage in the third century B. C., these monuments established a rhetoric for sacred shelters that would inform temple architecture in India for more than a millennium.

Excavated in a ridge of stone, these caves offered refuge to wandering ascetics in symbolically significant ways. Although the facade of the Lomaśaṛṣi cave was carved as if it were a vaulted village assembly hall made of wood and thatch, the actual entry alley of both caves is of highly polished stone leading to a dark rectangular excavation set parallel to the rock-face. In the Sudāmā cave, this vaulted space is polished, with no simulation of wooden forms. To the left, at the end of this antechamber, is an ovoid excavation in the form of a large thatched hut, its surface also polished and without specifying architectural detail in the finished cave.[21]

I have spoken of this interior as homologous to the huts and forest clearings shown inhabited by ascetics that we see a century or so later in Buddhist reliefs.[22] Yet these caves acted more as a stage than an amenity for ascetics. Their presence provided the living engine for cosmogonic drama. The form of the hut was an icon of the hut, index of the ascetic, and a symbol of cosmic origin. The monument, made as a part of the earth, also marked a ruler's hegemony. Functional shelter had been given the value of a sign.[23]

Following the decline of the Mauryas, as the Buddhist use of the *stūpa* shifted from cosmogonic monument to a marker of the Buddha's presence, this form of *caitya* as a focus of worship began to be sheltered, first in hut-like structures, then in the great rock-cut cathedrals found primarily in the Western Ghats.[24] This tradition, stretching from the first-second century B. C. into the middle of the first millennium A. D., established congregational worship and the presence of monasteries, the use of an architectural marker as focus for worship, and took the forms of domestic wooden architecture and made them part of the vocabulary of stone. Stone masons, carving the veneer of these caves, developed mechanisms for abbreviation and abstraction of wooden forms used in stone to enhance both the symbolic and aesthetic impact of these forest retreats.[25]

As both Buddhist and Hindu cults adopted anthropomorphic images in the first few centuries A. D., Buddhist sites began to place sculptures of the Buddha as if emerging from the *stūpa* and seated in shrine-cells within their monasteries. Among Hindu cults in the first few centuries A. D., some continued to set up pillars for rituals of sacrifice, but some of these were made in stone and inscribed, giving them a commemorative function rather than being temporary tools of rituals. Others enclosed *liṅga* pillars with railings, as in a tree-shrine, or set up brick altars around *liṅga* pillars.[26] Jainas also set up altar platforms, supporting *āyāgapaṭṭa* plaques as well as *stūpas*. Small shelters also were set up for images of a variety of cults, some with wood-framed domes, as shown in Sāñcī reliefs, others with flat stone ceilings carved with a lotus-pattern.[27]

In both north and south India, stone reliefs record an elaborate civic wooden architecture adopted at times for worship, with some multi-storeyed structures represented and attended by devotees. The Buddha's simple 'sweet-smelling hut' (*gandhakuṭi*) in the Jetavana garden was transformed into the great *caitya*-halls at Ajantā, as reported in their inscriptions. A fourth-century terracotta plaque from Kumrahar represented the brick temple at Bodhagaya as a tall pyramidal tower with a veneer, ornamented in the multi-storeyed vocabulary of the 'heavenly mansion' perfected for Buddhist caves.[28] When the Pallavas began carving shrines from the rocks at Mahamallapuram in the seventh century A. D., it was to this range of architectural expression that they turned. The small Viṣṇu shrine represented on the banks of the Ganges in one great narrative relief is a simple square domed structure, axially aligned to the yoga-performing ascetic receiving a vision of Śiva above, but the 'ratha' shrines carved from other ridges of rock and boulders in the vicinity range from representations of a 'sweet-smelling' hut, apsidal and vaulted assembly halls, to complex structures with multi-storeyed towers—a virtual museum of architectural shelters available in their time. (Plate 1) The architects of the masonry-built Shore temple at Mahamallapuram, however, attenuated its form vertically and enlarged its crowning cupola, as if to emphasize the idea that its architectural veneer was clinging to a column. In south India, this cupola or 'high temple'[29] is the *śikhara*-crown of the *vrātya*'s four-sided pyramid.

In Ujjain in central India early in the sixth century A. D., the astronomer-astrologer Varāhamihira (*c.* 505-587 A. D.) wrote a text called the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* that compiled the received knowledge on a number of subjects including temple architecture and the science of building.[30] In a chapter on cities, palaces, and house-construction he laid out broad principles for planning based on a *maṇḍala-grid* of 64 or 81 squares; then, following two chapters on trees and water divination, he provided a much briefer chapter on the special

case of temples.[31] In this he abbreviated his general rules of construction and specified that a grid of 64 squares be used for sacred structures.[32]

At the time that Varāhamihira was writing, stone temples had barely begun to be built. His text gives us a glimpse of a process of thinking that was claiming roots and rationales in antiquity for a very new tradition of building. Even the *maṇḍala's* new use as a specific and practical proportioning tool was re-appropriated and overlaid by layers of mythic and astrological uses.[33]

Cave-shrines excavated in a ridge of rock near Vidiśā (Udayagiri) (Plate 2) under local Gupta patronage in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A. D. also measured a new understanding of what a temple was to become. The massive relief of Varāha saving the earth presented a divine narrative as a parable of Gupta hegemony over Āryāvarta. Around it, as if a series of hermits' cells, shrines excavated in boulders and the rock-ridge revealed deities (Skanda, *mukha-liṅga*, goddess, Viṣṇu, etc.). These sancta had also pillared *maṇḍapas* attached in front of the prepared rock-face. One small shrine, located under a natural rock-ledge, as if for a hermit, required masonry walls to complete. Another masonry temple once stood on the crest of the hill.[34]

These caves represent a remarkable marriage of substance and architecture. The paradigm they present is that of a portal, the door of each shrine placed between man-made hall and the animate earth, the interior 'womb' (*garbha*) in the rock making visible, by means of an icon, one image as a sign of an invisible divinity. The cell was the space for divine revelation; the porch a refuge for the worshipper. Creation as a whole was the 'pyramid', the *śikhara*; the sky and earth 'home' for both worshipper and deity.

This is a form of essential architecture, freed largely from a superfluous vocabulary. It is as if architects felt they must start afresh to make space for an approach to newly manifest forms of divinity.[35] Temple 17 at nearby Sāñcī (Plate 3) was only a masonry cell—a 'constructed cave'—with plain walls and a portico. Its flat roof may have had a low balustrade or railing, borrowed from the imagery of earlier altars and *caitya-gṛhas*, a form of referencing we can also find in later *maṇḍapīka* shrines.[36]

Excavation of elegant halls as shelters for deities also occurred in south India under Pallava and Pāṇḍya rulers in Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh and by Cālukya kings in Karnataka cave 3 at Bādāmī dated 578 A. D. Such cave temples, as had the great Śaiva excavation at Elephanta (*c.* 540 A. D.), presented themselves as if palaces for their deities.

Elephanta, however, was both a temple, focusing on a *liṅga*-sanctum along its east-west axis, and Śiva's palace on Kailāsa, with domestic scenes of Umā-

Maheśvara playing dice and confronting Rāvaṇa at the entrance. Here the semiotic of temple worship was given explicit expression, as if worked out self-consciously for the first time. On a north-south axis, crossing from an entry portico flanked by figures of Śiva as cosmic dancer and *yogin*, a worshipper passed the *liṅga*-shrine to his right and confronted an image of Mahādeva, liminally visible through a north portico that led directly to the solid rock of the mountain. Here a temple as the 'monument of manifestation' had been worked out as interior space, it's *maṇḍala* one of images, Śiva entering as actor into this world through the great narrative icons on its walls.[37]

Other temples built in the fifth and sixth centuries explored the means to create a symbolically potent architectural vocabulary for a house for '*mūrti-pūjā*' worship, as in the ruined brick temple at Bhītārgāon. (Plate 4) The Śiva temple at Nachna, *c.* 465 A. D., still rooted itself on the altar platform of sacrificial ritual, built its masonry walls shaped like a mountain, enclosed its lower sanctum for an image with an ambulatory, and placed a second chamber as a 'high temple'—as a sign above the top.[38] The stone shrine in the pass at Darra, Rajasthan, *c.* 425-50 A. D., already had begun to use abbreviated forms—stone cornices for floors, *āmalakas* as aedicules—to suggest the palace.[39]

The culmination of these morphological experiments—working out a symbolic vocabulary in stone—had one landmark in the 'Gupta' temple at Deogarh, *c.* 525 A. D. (Plate 5) There the now much ruined superstructure of the temple reflected a veneer condensing references to palatial architecture into a coherent surface as body of an upper altar, and sheath for the shaft of the emerging pillar that must once have carried an *āmalaka* at the top.[40] The Deogarh sanctum, set in the centre of a 3 x 3 platform, had sub-shrines at ground-level beyond the corners, making the plan one of 64 squares. *Bhadra* projections carried images of Nārāyaṇa saving a king, represented as an elephant, from a lotus pond on the north; conversing with the ascetic Nara high in the Himalayas on the east; and reclining on the cosmic ocean (a snake) on the south; in its sanctum was perhaps an image of *viśvarūpa* Viṣṇu, making the universe manifest.[41]

Similar experiments occurred in other regions, from Saurashtra to the Salt Range in the sixth century, and we find their best preserved regional expression at Bhubaneswar in Orissa by the end of the century.[42] There the Paraśurāmeśvara temple represents the earliest well preserved Nāgara temple in India, but brick experiments at Sirpur (Plate 6) and Rajjim provide even more detailed evidence of '*Kūṭinā*' palatial references for Nāgara form.[43]

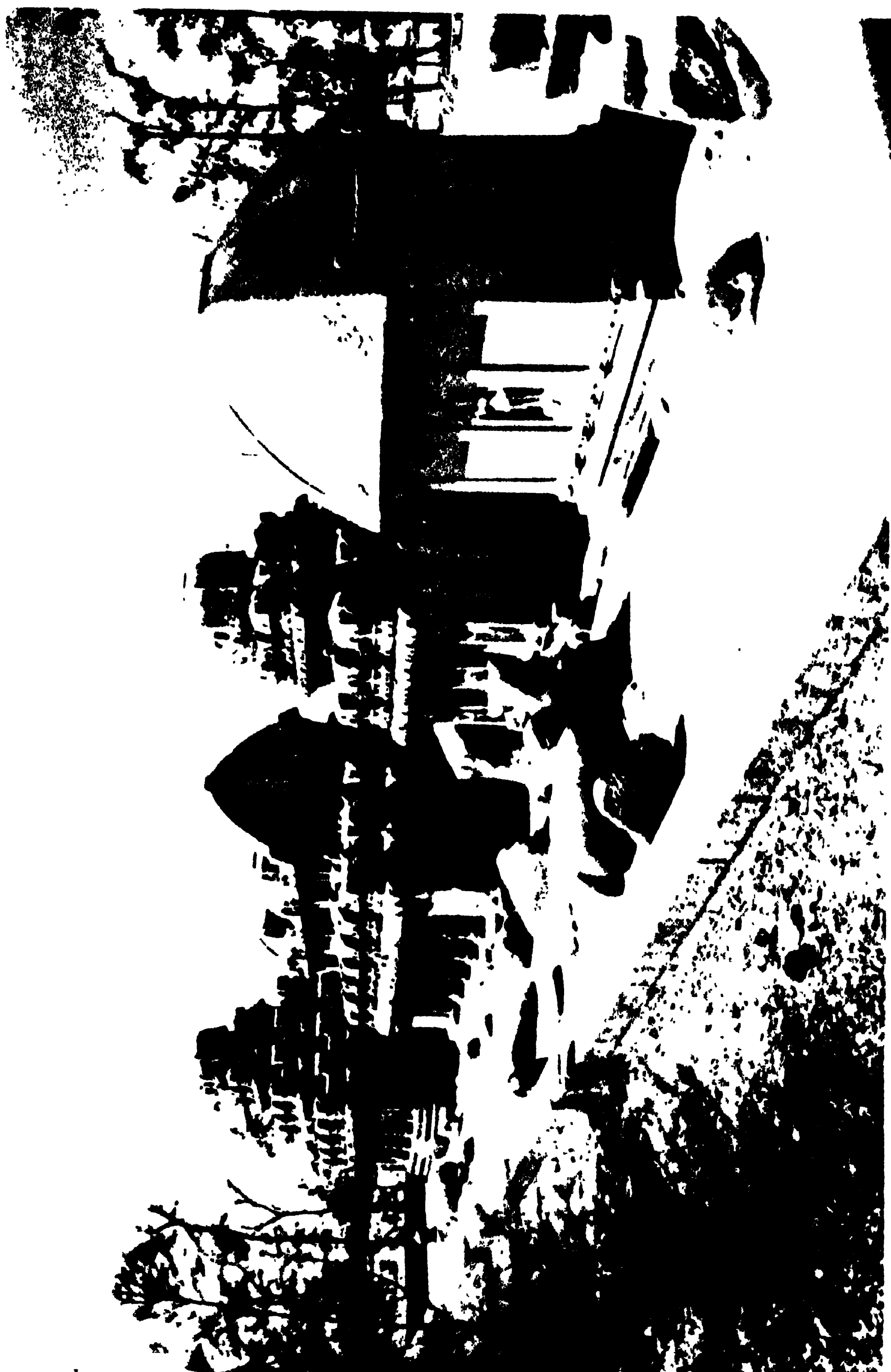
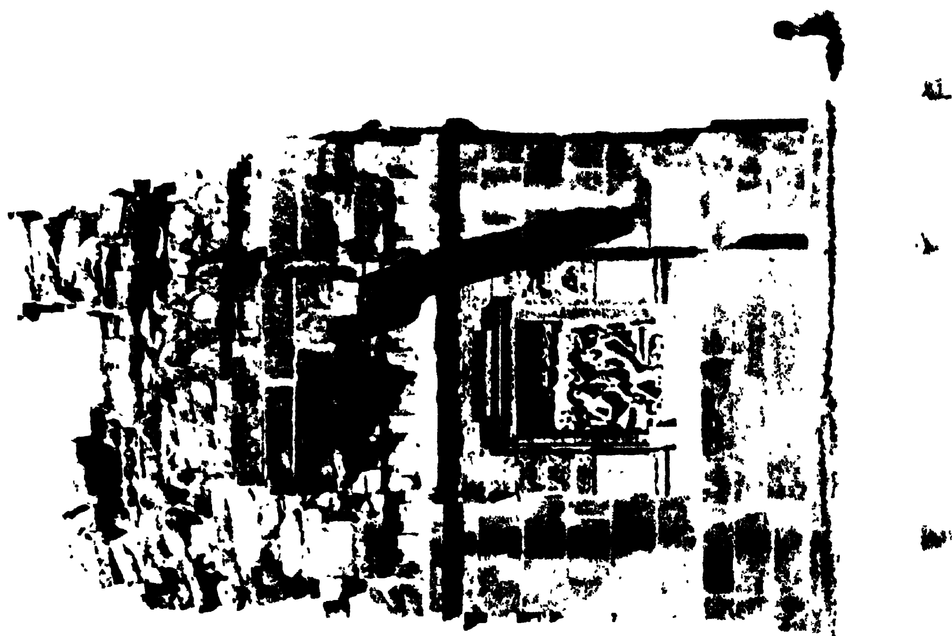


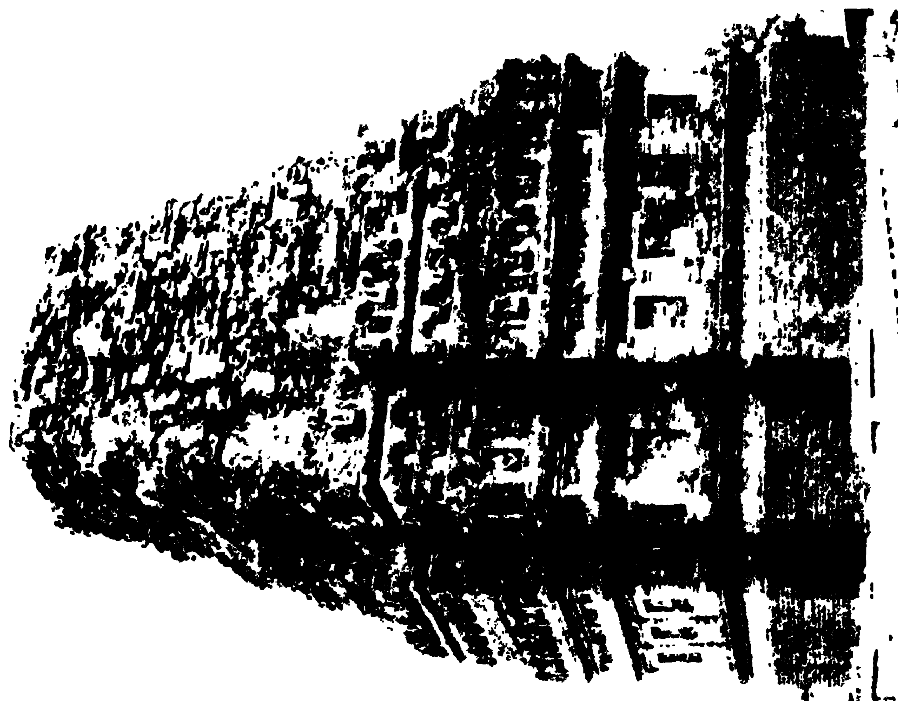


Plate 2 Udayagiri Cave, Shrine 19, c. 425 A.D.



Plate 3 Sañci temple 17, c. 400 A.D.





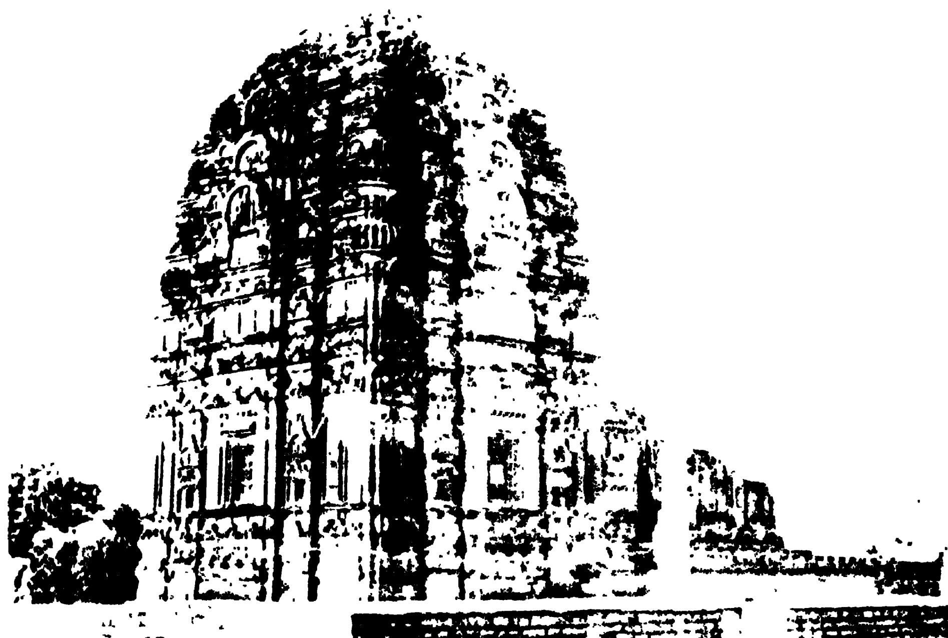


Plate 6 Laksmana temple, Sirpur, c. 625 A.D.



Plate 7 Galaganatha temple, Pattadakal c. 685-96 A.D.

The architectural experiments of the fourth-to-sixth centuries represented an attempt to formuiate the significance of the temple before fixing its form; then to form its architectural vocabulary around that significance.[44] At first cryptic, abbreviated, condensed, if also ordered, potent, and compelling, this developed vocabulary can best be seen detailed in monuments of the mid-to-late seventh and early eighth centuries preserved at Mahua in central India and Alampur in Andhra Pradesh and Paṭṭadakal in Karnataka.[45] (Plate 7)

Stone temples from the fifth to seventh centuries in northern India followed the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā's* prescriptions, with wall-thickness half the width of the sanctum, as at Bhubaneswar—a dimension dictated by philosophical not constructional needs. As with the detailed visualization of an architectural veneer, the application of a proportioning *maṇḍala* to this new structure took time to work out. At Mahua in the mid-seventh century, the Śiva temple no. 2 matched *bhadra* and *pratibhadra* projections on its walls to the dimensions of the sanctum's interior; its central *bhadra* projections, framed as if windows to the interior, were extensions of the central four squares in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā's* 64-square grid, the 'place for *brahman*'.[46]

In south India, *maṇḍala* planning was less obvious, but centred the temple on the central square of an odd-numbered grid.[47] Concentric squares formed walls and ambulatory paths in such temples as the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal and Kailāsanātha at Kāñcī early in the eighth century. In this way, the potential for the south Indian temple incrementally and ritually to incorporate the city around it, as in later centuries, had already begun.

Very fewer temples have survived before 750 than in the centuries following, but it is in this period that the rigorous foundations for temple worship and architecture were formed. Consolidating the austere cosmogonies of ritual sacrifice, making visible the human face of devotion, giving space to an increasing congregation, temples became the essential frame the essential body—for contemporary Hinduism.

Year of writing: 2001

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

Courtesy: A.I.I.S., Gurgaon

6

NĀGARA TEMPLES

INTRODUCTION

NEARLY all over northern and central India one comes across a type of upright buildings used for religious purposes, which have a number of distinctive features. The compartment within is square in plan and so is the outside. But portions of the outer surface are progressively projected forward as one proceeds from the outer edge of any one face of the building towards its middle. These vertical strips disposed in several planes are called *pagas*. They run from the base to below the crown. The planes are sometimes distinguished from one another by the nature of their decoration. But the outermost *pagas* on any face of the tower are very frequently divided from bottom upwards into a number of storeys, the upper ends of which bear an ornamental moulding called *bhūmi-āmlā* or *bhūmi-āmalaka*, 'the *āmalaka* which marks the *bhūmi* or level'.

The tower is thus like an extended cubical structure; but as it rises upwards, it also develops a convex curve inclined inwards. Above the tower is the capital in which the most conspicuous element is a flattened and ribbed spheroid known as the *āmlā* or *āmalaka*.[1]

This type of temples has been given several names by historians of Indian architecture. For instance, James Fergusson called it Northern or Indo-Aryan.[2] A. K. Coomaraswamy used the terms Nāgara and Āryāvarta.[3] In the canonical books of Orissan architecture, the terms used are *Rekha* and *Śikhara*. In recent times, the term Nāgara has apparently gained more popularity, and will therefore be adhered to in the present chapter.

The Nāgara temple is found from the Punjab Himalayas to Assam in the north, and from Gujarat and Maharashtra in the west to Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in the centre. One comes across rare examples in the northern districts of Mysore and the central districts of Andhra Pradesh. But the river Krishna may be regarded as roughly forming the southern boundary of its extension.

The earliest examples belong to the 7th or 8th century A. D. The latest classical examples were built in the 13th century in Orissa. But derivative forms

are built even now in some portions of northern and central India. It is natural that when the area is so extensive and the span of time as wide as a thousand years or more, the parent stem will give rise to many branches diverging fairly widely from one another.

It will be our purpose in the present chapter to describe these varieties and indicate their geographical distribution and age, when it is possible to do so on epigraphic evidence. Then a method will be described, by means of which, the story of its evolution can be satisfactorily reconstructed.

In the classification, simple forms will be placed at one end and increasingly complex ones at the other. There is no suggestion that simple forms are necessarily earlier and complex ones later. In particular instances, this may or may not have been so. For, besides time, other factors were also operative, so that several kinds of forms were built at the same point of time. In the present brief account, it is not necessary to become involved in the intricacies of this problem.

DEUL

Perhaps the simplest variant of the Nāgara Order is one popularly called the *Deul* in Bengal. It has a square ground-plan, the *pagas* are well defined; but they are not given the prominence in projection noticeable in some other types of the Nāgara Order current in Gujarat or Madhya Pradesh, for example.

The wall rises vertically from the ground up to a certain height to form a cubical structure. It ends below a sunken horizontal frieze which divides it from the tower above. The tower has linear *bhūmi-āmlās* in the outermost segments of its face; and two such adjacent mouldings meet usually at right angles to one another. The square-bodied tower rises perpendicularly for the greater part of its height, and then curves convexly inwards in a rather sharp manner.

In all probability the capital was formed of a neck and a rather small *āmalaka*. It might also have ended in a short point, at which a finial might be placed in the form of a *kalaśa* or water-vessel.

Nearly all *deuls* which have survived have lost their crown; one in Boram in Purulia District retains a replica of itself on its frontal face (Plate 1). There was apparently some defect in construction at the upper end. Or the defect may have been due to the use of brick which did not allow a sharp convex curve built by corbelling, and not with voussoirs, to survive. One example which has survived intact at Para in Purulia District, Bengal, is surmounted by a short neck and flattish, small *āmalaka*. But this may have been added in a subsequent repair, of which there are proofs. Another example of brick in Satdeulia,

Burdwan District, Bengal (Plate 2) has an object on top which looks more like the cylindrical drum of a *stūpa* than a 'neck' of the Nāgara. This temple was apparently built between the 9th and 11th centuries A. D. to which period some of the inscribed images found nearby belong. But in that age, the drums of Buddhist *stūpas* were often ornamented with deep mouldings, of which no sign was visible from below in the element in question. This leaves us rather uncertain about the crowning member of *deuls*, although the probability is that it was the usual neck and *āmalaka* as in other varieties of the Nāgara Order.

The interior of *deuls* built of brick is corbelled inwards up to a point below the crown and does not have a beam of any kind to bind opposite walls. The only exception known to the writer is a brick-built *deul* in Ranipur-Jharial in Bolangir District, Orissa, where a series of flat slabs of stone have been applied to form a ceiling over the cella. These are laid diagonally in several courses upon one another. Such a construction is quite common in the Nāgara temples of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Examples of the *deul* are fairly widespread. They are present in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Purulia and 24-Parganas in West Bengal; Gaya in Bihar; Fatehpur and Kanpur in U. P.; Raipur, Raigarh and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh; Puri and Bolangir in Orissa; while a variant has also been reported from some districts now forming part of Pakistan.[4] On the whole, surviving examples are more common in the northern plains of India, and their immediate vicinity in the Plateau rather than farther south.

Some of the *deuls* have been assigned to an early age by Coomaraswamy. Thus, in his opinion, the brick temple (*deul*) of Sirpur 'may perhaps be assigned to the reign of Harṣa'[5] (i.e. 606-648 A. D.); although the numerous 'brick towers in the Punjab and Ganges valley . . . date between the eighth and twelfth centuries, and continue the series represented by the earlier Gupta and early medieval temples of Bhitargaon, Sirpur and Nalanda'.[6]

The evidence on which age is based is usually the nature of the associated sculpture, including the decorative *caitya* arches, and the pronounced or subdued character of the storeys constituting the tower. When other kinds of evidence are wanting, it is permissible to use a measuring scale of the above kind for purposes of relative dating. But the underlying assumption needs a careful examination.

That assumption is that each period in history is marked by characteristics of sculpture confined to that period alone. But this has firstly to be established by a careful and extensive series of observations. Dates of temples have to be fixed by epigraphy and not on *a priori* grounds. When enough care has been

taken to determine their distribution in time and space, then only can a scale be employed for dating a new example. Every fossil in geology is not an index-fossil. It will therefore be wise to establish a dependable scale by means of the same care which is bestowed in Palaeontology or Historical Geology.

The caution is particularly necessary because it has been the experience of the present writer that elements of construction and of decoration have widely different rates of change. The manner in which the interior of towers is constructed may continue without significant modification for several centuries, while integrally unrelated elements like superficial schemes of decoration may change their style at a faster rate. It is even more difficult to combine such discordant scales for purposes of dating. The results obtained can only be provisional.

MAHĀBODHI

The Mahābodhi temple of Bodhagaya is rightly regarded as an example of the Nāgara Order (Plate 3). Although it has been subjected to many repairs, it is still believed to retain some of its original characteristics, which were restored by subsequent builders.[7]

The Chinese pilgrim, Hsüān-Tsāng visited the temple in about 637 A. D. He states that the *vihāra* (temple) was 160 to 170 feet high. It was built of brick and coated with lime plaster. On top was set a gilded *āmalaka*-shaped finial.[8] Fā Hsien, who visited India in the fifth century, also refers to the 'great pagoda' at the same place; but we do not know if any major alteration took place between his time and that of Hsüān-Tsāng. A terracotta plaque with an inscription in Kharoṣṭī (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) was discovered near Patna. It contains a representation of the Bodhagaya temple itself or of a kindred example. It is a square-bodied tall tower crowned by a terrace upon which rests a *stūpa*. There is no *āmalaka*.

On the basis of Hsüān-Tsāng's evidence, we may therefore confidently say that temples crowned by *āmalaka* were in existence in the early part of the seventh century A. D.

The last major alterations in the tower of Mahābodhi took place in 1876-79 A. D.; and it is said that care was taken to keep true to the original form. The body is square in section, and built in several storeys, each marked at its upper end by *bhūmi-āmlās* and decorated with *caitya* arches set in horizontal, parallel rows. The four faces of the tower, or their intersections, do not bend convexly inwards and upwards. Their inclination is in straight line. The crown is formed of an element which resembles the *āmalaka*, but is not identical with it. It is then surmounted, not by a *kalaśa*-finial, but by a well-designed *stūpa*,

surmounted by a progressively shortening series of circular umbrella-like ornament. This *stūpa* in the crown recalls the wide cylindrical object noticed on the *deul* of Satdeulia.

There are several temples in Pagān, Burma, resembling the Mahābodhi temple.[9] These are the Kubyauk-gyi (1113 A. D.) and the Mahābodhi temple built in 1210-34 A. D. The temples of Ānanda (1091 A. D.) and Shwegugyi (1131 A. D.) also have a curvilinear tower on a broad terrace, surmounted by a *stūpa*.

Indian examples of this type are rare except in small replicas belonging to the Pāla period. The temple of Tārā next to the Mahābodhi was identified by Cunningham as belonging to this type. R. D. Banerji considered the Śiva temple of Konch in Gaya District to be like the Mahābodhi. But a later examination clearly shows that its kinship is with the *deul* instead.

From the rarity of examples, it would thus appear that the curvilinear tower became more popular in later times than the flat-surfaced one at Bodhagaya.

PARAŚURĀMEŚVARA

The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara (Plate 4) belonging to the 7th or 8th century A. D.[10] is one of the most well-known examples of the third variety of the Nāgara Order. Examples are fairly numerous in Orissa;[11] but they can be divided into four kinds depending on the character of internal construction, and of the presence or otherwise of an associated hall in front.

The face of the temple is commonly divided into three *pagas*, rather than into five or seven as in later and larger temples. The wall itself is composed of three vertical components, namely, the *pābhāga* (*pāda*)—foot, *jāṅgha*—shin and an upper series of mouldings known collectively as the *baraṇḍa*.[12] Then the wall is marked off from the tower by a distinctive frieze which may or may not be recessed as in the *deul*.

The tower gently curves upwards with a convex sweep towards its upper end. But the uppermost curvature is not of the order found in *deuls*. The neck is therefore of fairly large diameter. It is surmounted by a flattish *āmalaka* and then crowned by a finial. This finial is frequently of the nature of a short stump, carved on its surface with several mouldings, one of which may be like an *āmalaka*. This finial reminds one of a *liṅga* rather than a water-vessel.

The body of the tower is marked by *bhūmi-āmlās* in the outermost segment or *paga*. They are straight and meet at right angles from two adjacent sides. Temples of this type also have an exaggerated projection in front. This extends in front of the lower half of the medial *paga* on the frontal face of the temple. The vertical face of this projection carries a *caitya* arch embellished

with figures. An excellent example is presented by Mārkaṇḍyeśvara in Bhubaneswar (Plate 5).

The internal construction varies widely in Orissa.[13] The temple of Siṁhanāth near Baramba in Cuttack District has no ceiling; so that the corbelled construction over the cella can be seen from below up to the end of the tower within. The three temples, known as the 'Śatrughneśvara Group' near Ramesvara in Bhubaneswar have similar towers, but there is also a ceiling. In this instance, a thick and broad beam of stone is laid between the left and right walls, as the visitor faces the deity. The gaps left at the sides are covered by comparatively thin, flat slabs of stone. The ceiling is thus formed in two planes.

Paraśurāmeśvara has also a ceiling; but it is in one plane, formed of several flagstones. The temples of Mārkaṇḍyeśvara and Mohinī in Bhubaneswar also have ceilings; but the latter has the added distinction of a second ceiling above, which creates two chambers above the cella.

In Orissa, there is clear proof that the method of internal construction was altered, and ceilings added at different levels within, as the height of the tower was increased in course of time. The *Bhuvanapradīpa* carries specifications of a type of temples in which the height from foot to finial is three times the length of the square cella. The wall of such a temple has three vertical components as in Paraśurāmeśvara.

In Paraśurāmeśvara itself, this proportion is 1 : 4.2. In Siṁhanāth, it is 1 : 4.8, although the method of construction is 'simpler' than in the Śatrughneśvara group. The temple of Someśvara in Ranipur-Jharial in Bolangir District has a proportion of 1 : 4.1. Thus, even within temples belonging to a single class, there may be significant differences, not observable from outside, but disclosed by measurement. It is also of great interest that the last temple has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the 10th-11th centuries.

If heights and proportions are arranged in a simple series from lower to higher values, such a scale does not necessarily agree with a similar series based on internal construction. For instance, Siṁhanāth has the simplest of constructions but its proportion is higher than that of Someśvara or Paraśurāmeśvara. A method of building may have been continued in some cases even after changes had taken place in other directions.

Another element has been regarded as a distinctive feature of the Paraśurāmeśvara type by several authors. The temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Mohinī, Mārkaṇḍyeśvara, Śiśireśvara, etc. in Bhubaneswar have a hall in front with rectangular ground plan, and a roof which is pierced, in some instances, by clerestory windows. Someśvara in Bolangir and Siṁhanāth in Baramba also have similar halls.

However, some examples of this class do not have a hall in front. Thus, the temples of Suvarṇajāleśvara, Śatrughneśvara and its companions or Gaurī-Śaṅkara-Gaṇeśa near Liṅgarāj are without it, at least at the present time. The presence or absence of a rectangular hall with a flat roof is thus not a distinctive characteristic of the present class; although it is interesting that where such a hall occurs, it does so in association with the Paraśurāmeśvara type rather than with other types.

It is necessary now to indicate the distribution of the Paraśurāmeśvara type. It has already been said that the range of variation in internal construction is wide; and it does not form a neat parallel series with other observable elements. Authors have also not been able to equate examples with one another by means of several characteristic traits. When the equation is unreliable, a study of distribution also becomes defective. Yet it is worthy of an attempt.

The type is best represented in Orissa in the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Dhenkanal and Bolangir. One temple in Barakar, Bengal (Plate 6) has been regarded by S. K. Saraswati as belonging to this class.[14] The equation is based on two facts, namely, the threefold (*tri-aṅga*) division of the wall, and the presence of a rectangular, flat-roofed hall in front.

When one, however, examines the temple in detail, the proportion of cella to height is found to be 1 : 5.5+. The interior has a closed ceiling, and nothing is known about its construction higher up. A third feature is that the *bhūmi-āmlās* in the tower, as well as capital, are formed of segments which have concave surfaces bounding them at the sides instead of convex, as in Orissa. A few *bhūmi-āmlās* have also convex lateral sides. Concave surfaced segments are well known in Osian in Rajasthan, Ālampur in Andhra Pradesh and at Udayeśvara temple in Gwalior (11th or 12th century A. D.), i.e. in temples not belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara type. Another extraordinary feature of the Barakar temple is that a short series of *bhūmi-āmlās* is carved on the intermediate *paga* besides the marginal one. Osian in Rajasthan, an obscure temple bearing extraordinary features at Pashtar in Gujarat, and another Nāgara temple in Andhra Pradesh, also bear the same trait. In the face of these discrepancies, it is perhaps difficult to regard the Barakar example as belonging to the present type.

The Nāgara temples of Aihole and Paṭṭadakal in Mysore, Ālampur in Andhra Pradesh, and Bajaura have similarly been held to belong to the present type. We shall, however, deal with them as separate classes, on account of several distinctive features possessed by them.

RODA

We have referred to the high projection in front of the medial *paga* in Mārkaṇḍyeśvara. But such a projection does not form the roof of a porch anywhere in Orissa, except perhaps in the Rāmanāth temple in Baud where a brief porch rests on two pillars in front. In Gujarat, Rajasthan, the Punjab Himalayas, as well as in Madhya Pradesh, the projection may overlie an extension of the doorway, or a full-fledged porch may take its place as in Roda in Sabarkantha District (Plate 7), Gujarat and in Osian in Jodhpur District, Rajasthan.

One temple measured in Roda yielded a proportion of 1 : 4.8. The Roda type has a wall formed of three vertical components, *tri-aṅga*, as in Paraśurāmeśvara. The recessed frieze separating wall from tower is as pronounced as in the latter or in the *deul*. In one example, the porch is prolonged by an extended series of pillars. In another, it is enclosed by a wall, so that a rectangular hall, similar to those in Bhubaneswar, comes into being.

The internal construction of the Roda is, however, very different from that of Orissan temples. There is a ceiling above the cella, formed of about three or more courses of stone slabs laid diagonally upon one another. The opening is gradually reduced by the encroaching courses until the last square slab covers the gap completely. Above the 'dome' the chamber is empty until one reaches the upper end of the corbelled interior.

Structurally, such a ceiling does not bind together the opposite walls; it is like an umbrella or dome-like cover over the cella. In a few highly ornamental temples, the lower surface of this dome-like construction is carved into the form of petals or full-blown lotuses as in the case of Sunak Nīlkaṇṭha temple, Gujarat (Plate 8).

Cousens has described this as a prevailing mode of construction in Cālukyan architecture.[15] We shall have more to say about this mode of construction, as it was widespread in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

An elaboration of the Roda type appears in Modhera in Gujarat. The temple of the Sun in Modhera apparently belonged to the Somnāth Type described subsequently. But there are small shrines (Plate 9) which are similar to the Roda in several respects.

In one such shrine, the wall has three vertical components, *tri-aṅga*. But the number of *pagas* is five as in Roda; and this is in contrast to the Paraśurāmeśvara type. Not that either Roda or the shrine in Modhera in question are of large dimension; but the method of treatment of the surfaces is distinctly separate.

The separation of wall from tower in the Modhera example is not merely by a recessed frieze, but in addition, by a short, inclined element representing the caves of a cottage, *chajjā*. In the illustration, it will also be observed that the extra projection of the frontal, medial *paga* is repeated on all four faces instead of being limited to one.

OSIAN

A close kindred of the Roda appears in Osian in Jodhpur District, Rajasthan.

The frontal porch with supervening projection of the medial *paga* is also present here. The vertical wall has three components, *tri-aṅga*; but the horizontal surface is broken up into five instead of three *pagas*. The recessed frieze between wall and tower is pronounced, and carries a series of well-carved figures (Plate 10).

There is a basement on which the temple and porch are situated. The tower carries *bhūmi-āmlās* not only in the outermost *pagas* but also in the intermediate ones. The decorated medial *paga* ends above in a point. Sometimes this pointed extremity ends *below* a flat terrace at the base of the neck; sometimes it ends at the terrace, and sometimes projects beyond towards the *āmalaka*. It may be noted here that this important feature of the medial ressaut is shared by many examples in Gujarat, Khandesh, Gwalior and Khajuraho.

The *āmalaka* has a special character in some examples in Osian. Its segments have concave lateral surfaces, as has already been noted in the discussion on Barakar.

One temple in Osian has four smaller associates of its own kind at the corners of its square basement. This arrangement, known as *pañcāyatana*, is observable in widely separate areas like Bhubaneswar, Khandesh and Khajuraho.

Another temple in Osian carries an inclined backrest beside a bench in the hall in front. This element is known as the *kakṣāsana*, and will be dealt with in connection with Khajuraho.

KANGRA

At Bajaura in Kangra District, Himachal Pradesh, there is a temple with seven instead of five *pagas* on its surface (Plate 11). The medial projection is similar to that in the small shrine in Modhera, and is likewise repeated on all four faces to give them a buttress-like appearance. Underneath, one has to pass through a short covered passage before gaining access to the door of the cella.

In this respect, the temple has a close relationship to both Roda and Osian temples.

The temples of Chamba in the Himachal Pradesh and of Almora or Garhwal District in Uttar Pradesh are also related to the Nāgara of Bajaura. Only, they are simpler. The *pagas* have a smaller projection, so that the square character of the body becomes more pronounced, although the projected member before the frontal medial ressaut creates a break in it. The *bhūmi-āmlā* mouldings at the margin are straight, and sometimes even inordinately extended a little beyond the surface of the temple, as in the two examples from Chamba town.

The temple of Baijnāth in Baijnāth-Paparola in Kangra District has a rectangular hall with a low pyramidal roof (Plate 12). This building has four small Nāgara structures attached to its corners as ornament. This feature is also present in a temple of a different Order in Bhubaneswar, namely, in the Vaital.

The *āmalaka* of Baijnāth is thick and short, and somewhat like the *āmalakas* of similar temples in the Krishna basin dealt with in the following section. But the *āmalaka* of Baijnāth has a small, disc-like *āmalaka* capping it, and this is an arrangement associated with Khajuraho and its related types towards the west.

KRISHNA BASIN

The southern boundary of the Nāgara Order is represented by a number of important examples in an area which may roughly be designated as the Krishna basin. The westernmost ones are in Aihole and Paṭṭadakal in Bijapur District, Mysore. Another group is present at Ālampur e.g. Viśva Brahmā temple (Plate 13), and Svarga Brahmā temple (Fig.1) on the Tungabhadra near its confluence with the Krishna. A third is present near Digumavetta railway station in the Karnool District of Andhra Pradesh.

There are two kinds of Nāgara temples present in this region. One has an enclosed path of circumambulation round the cella, while the other is without it. The latter are generally not of large size. The path of circumambulation is roofed by sloping slabs of stone. The enclosing walls are pierced by windows in a few cases.

The tower is divided into a small number of storeys, each marked by thick, nearly right-angled *bhūmi-āmlā* mouldings. The inclination of the tower begins from near its base, except in the case of Temple No.9 in Aihole. The tower is surmounted by a neck of rather small diameter, when compared to Orissan temples of approximately similar height. The *āmalaka* is generally short and

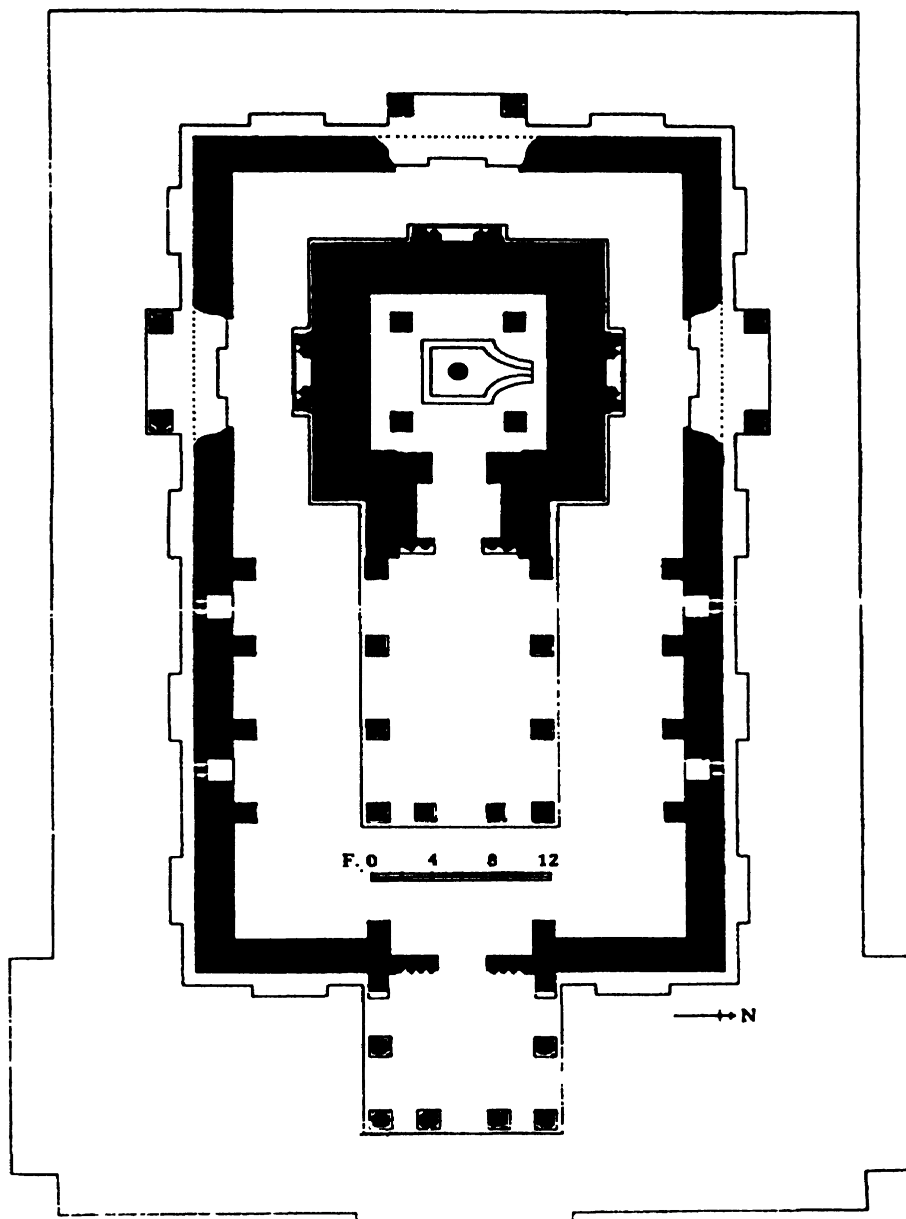


Fig. 1
Ālampur Svarga Brahmā temple, plan (After Krishna Deva)

bulbous. Its segments have often concave lateral surfaces, as in Ālampur, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Mahākūṭeśvara.[16] A new feature appears in some of the segments of the *āmalaka*. Instead of being a segment of a circle, in some instances it tends to become like an inverted lotus. The object surmounting the *āmalaka* may either be a *kalaśa* —water-jar, or a short pillar-like object, as in Ālampur, having affinities with the finials illustrated with Paraśurāmeśvara.

These Nāgara temples are almost in all cases accompanied by pillared halls, the plans of which are square, rectangular or apsidal. The roof is formed by a small course of horizontal components, the lowermost resembling the eaves of a cottage. The uppermost member is flat and broad, so that the appearance is like that of rectangular pillared halls as in Paraśurāmeśvara.

The dates of temples in the Krishna basin are not known with certainty. On palaeographic grounds, the Durgā temple with an apsidal plan in Aihole has been assigned to the end of the 7th century A. D.[17] Temple No.9 at Aihole has similarly been placed in the 8th-9th centuries. Pāpanātha in Paṭṭadakal is approximately of the 7th century A. D. Nāgara temples evidently continued to be built in this region till the 10th century and after. The Gaṇapati temple in Haṅgal has several features in common with the comparatively late Somnāth type of Gujarat.

There are other proofs also of the fact that the upper Krishna basin shared elements in common with the temples of Gujarat and Khajuraho. The inclined backrest, *kakṣāsana*, has been used in Haṅgal in a Nāgara temple. It is also found in temples of a different Order in Lakkuṇḍi, Haṅgal and Aihole.

Although confined mainly to the South, an example resembling the type in Krishna occurs in Sutrapara in the Saurashtra peninsula of Gujarat.

KHAJURAHO

The principal temples of Khajuraho (Plate 14) share one feature in common with the temples of Ālampur. The cella is comparatively small and surrounded by an enclosed path of circumambulation. The curvilinear tower rises, as in the Viśvanātha temple (Plate 15), from beyond the circumambulatory path. The ceiling over the cella is formed by the same method of construction as was encountered in Roda (Fig. 2).

When comparatively high temples were built in Orissa, the construction of the interior was suitably modified. Beams of stone alone, or thinner plates of stone reinforced at their junction underneath with iron beams, extended from one wall to another. They created a bond at suitable levels while spanning the gap over the cella. The interior of the tower thus became divided into two, three or even more compartments one above the other.

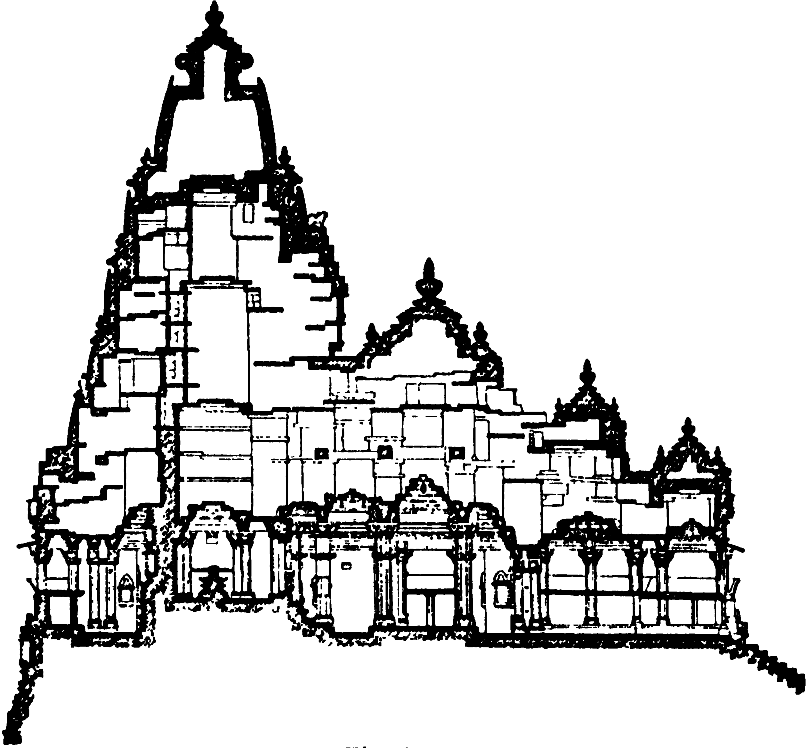


Fig. 2
Kandārīya Temple, Khajuraho (After Stella Kramrisch)

In small temples of the Khajuraho type as in Bilaspur District, or in Gujarat, the dome-like ceiling is not repeated again at higher levels. When high towers are built, a flattish ceiling is laid over the cella which may be repeated once more above. Over the room thus formed, the tower is perhaps kept hollow.

The sides of the room within are not left free. The path of circumambulation within has transverse beams or small rooms laid over by beams or slabs, so that the void between the two walls of the cella and outer encasement becomes a series of narrow galleries, along which one can make one's way as through a maze.

The weight of the neck and crown perhaps rests, not on a fully corbelled structure, but on long curvilinear uprights which begin to form the sides of the tower near its upper extremity. The internal construction of the upper end of the towers within the great temples of Kandāriya Mahādeva or Lakṣmaṇa in Khajuraho has not yet been observed from this point of view. But from what is known about smaller temples of the same type, the guess is that the construction in question was as described above.

If the guess were correct, one can realize why the neck and *āmalaka* were reduced in both size and weight, when compared with examples in Orissa which attained a similar height.

In conformity with the demands of such a construction, significant changes are also effected in the outer shape of the tower. At Ālampur, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, the temples are comparatively small, and the curve of the tower does not appear exaggerated although the crown is small. The smallness of the *āmalaka* is partly compensated by its increased thickness.

The towers of Khajuraho attain a greater height. If the towers had been left with an unbroken surface as in Ālampur or Paṭṭadakal, the small crown would obviously look disproportionate in comparison with the broad base from which the tower springs. The artistic device which is consequently adopted is to break up the surface outside by a series of *śikharas*, disposed in several compositions at various levels of the tower.

The sweeping upward curve of Orissan temples is thus replaced in Khajuraho by a succession of curves which being at a broad base, shoot up to the end of one series of *śikharas* at a particular level, and then begin over again higher up from a more restricted horizontal base. The many interrupted, upward curvilinear movements are thus combined into an agglomerate converging towards a central point, in place of the deep and powerful, unbroken lines of Liṅgarāj, Bhubaneswar.

Khajuraho retains another peculiarity which was observed in Paraśurāmeśvara and the temples of the Krishna basin. This is the exaggerated projection advancing before the medial *paga* in front.

Moreover, accompaniments in the shape of halls or *maṇḍapas* with pyramidal roofs form an integral part of the Khajuraho type. As the temple rises to greater and greater heights, as its body becomes encrusted with *śikharas*, structure after structure is added in front in order to maintain the feeling that the main tower does not shoot up unexpectedly from the ground. It rises by rhythmic stages towards the sky in association with companion buildings with which it attains an integrity of form. And the whole of this integral composition is set a little above the earth upon a broad and high basement, just like a richly jewelled ornament in a valuable case which invited appreciation from an audience struck by amazement by the amount of labour and skill displayed.

Historians hold the view that the Khajuraho group of temples was constructed from the 8th to the 11th century A. D. The type exercised a considerable influence over the surrounding country to the east, south and west. The influence also extended to the north, as is proved by ruined examples of

temples and sculpture belonging to the same style in parts of the southern districts of Uttar Pradesh. It was apparently responsible for giving rise to sister styles in Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west.

A few structural peculiarities shared by Khajuraho with other types may be briefly referred to here. Reference has already been made to the circumambulatory path which is common to Khajuraho and Ālampur. Gujarat also has examples of the same kind. There is reason to believe that some temples in Saurashtra as in Ghumli or Gop had, at one time, a circumambulatory path round the cella encased, in all probability, by a wooden encasing wall and covered by wooden, sloping roofs.

Along with the dome-like construction over the ceiling, Khajuraho shared the inclined backrest with many temples in Gujarat, the Malwa plateau and even in the districts of Dharwar and Bijapur where the order is different.

The double or multiple *āmalaka* is very common in Khajuraho. It occurs once in Baijnāth in Kangra District. It is present in a few of the *śikharas* adorning the tower of Rājārāṇī in Bhubaneswar. Examples are also present in Mukhaliṅgam in the Srikakulam District in Andhra Pradesh, and at Bruddhikhol near Buguda in the Ganjam District, Orissa. In the last two examples, the second *āmalaka* is of the same size as the principal one, and consequently it appears as a rather ugly form of crown.

SOMNĀTH

A type somewhat related to Khajuraho appears in Rajasthan and Gujarat at a comparatively late date. Percy Brown has illustrated examples from Kirādu in Mewar.[18] There are reasons to believe that the temple of Somnāth in Dvārakā, and of the Sun in Modhera, both in Gujarat, also belonged to this type. Both these have been ruined; the former is being rebuilt at the present moment in conformity with its last shape. As both of these famous examples can be regarded as type-specimens, the name of one of the most celebrated ones has been given to the variety in question. The present temple of Raṇchoḍjī in Dwaraka also belongs to the same class.

The principal characters may be stated to be as follows. The temple with its accompanying structures is usually set on a high basement as in Khajuraho. The *maṇḍapa* in front is a pillared hall with a richly carved dome built by corbelling diagonally. It is usually open at the sides; but there may be benches all round with inclined backrests. In the case of high temples, the *maṇḍapa* may even be in two or more storeys, as at Ghumli in Gujarat or in the Raṇchoḍjī temple in Dwaraka. Excellent examples of this type are present in Sidhpur, Harṣadmātā, Rajasthan (Plate 16), Galteswar, Sunak or Ghumli (Plate 17), all in Gujarat.

The treatment of the tower is distinctive. The *pagas* are in high relief, and they are embellished from bottom upwards by a series of *śikharas* also in high relief. The *śikharas* may or may not be disposed in parallel rows. But in the next type, namely, Udayeśvara (Plate 18), they are.

There is much to be learnt about the internal construction of these temples from ruined examples in Miami, Harṣadmātā, Chithora, all in Gujarat. In the Khajuraho and Somnāth types, the sweeping curvilinear line from base to crown is replaced by an agglomerate of convergent, but briefer lines. The *śikharas* are rendered progressively smaller in size as one mounts towards the capital.

It is the belief of the present writer that this device was adopted in order to give the visitor a false appearance of great height attained as his eye followed the rows of gradually shortening *śikharas* one above the other.

Orissan walls are built from base to below crown by means of corbelling. Even when a closure has to be applied above the cella, the simple method of corbelling is not abandoned. Upper layers often consist of longer blocks of stone than the ones below. But the new device employed in Miami, or for example in the Śītalāmātā temple at Piludra in Baroda (Plate 19) was entirely different.

The tower is not wholly built by corbelling, but by setting blocks of stone cut into curvilinear form, upright on one of their ends particularly in the upper reaches. Much weight is thus taken off, and heights attained more economically. In small temples, the tower thus becomes a shell enclosing a void above a dome-like ceiling. The *āmalaka* is made to rest on something like a stand converging from four sides. Some of the *āmalakas* of *śikharas* are no more than carvings on horizontal blocks, as in one example from Miami (Plate 20).

It is interesting and of great significance that in some instances in Gujarat, the hollow interior of the tower is strengthened by crossed beams of wood as in Chithora, or by slender iron beams laid at different levels in a parallel series as in the temple of Sunak.

When Orissan architects built, they wanted the building to last 'as long as the sun, moon and earth endure'. Weight or cost was of less consequence than permanency of duration. But the upper end of towers in the Somnāth type is evidently more flimsy in comparison. Perhaps this explains why the crown of Galteswar, or Harṣadmātā has fallen down, to be replaced in subsequent ages by flat terraces put up by those who repaired. It is in small temples like Sunak where the crown has survived.

Comparing notes, one may be permitted to say that the crown of the *deul* fell because it was a corbelled structure of brick, where the convex curve was

sharply inclined inwards. In the present type, the defect lay in resting a crown on uprights. A delicate balancing can hardly survive rude shocks to which a building may be subjected.

UDAYEŚVARA

A local variant of the Nāgara was designated by R. D. Banerji as the 'Un' or 'Khandesh' type. It is present in portions of the Malwa plateau and Maharashtra in western India.[19] It would be better perhaps to name it after the famous Udayeśvara temple in Udaipur, Gwalior; for it is not limited to Khandesh but occurs up to the eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh.

The Udayeśvara type is closely related to the Somnāth type described above. But it has some distinctive features of its own. For instance, the medial *paga* of the tower has a flat surface with incised geometrical ornaments, while the other *pagas* have a series of *śikharas* carved in high relief and disposed in parallel rows from bottom upwards. In some instances, the ground plan is nearly star-shaped.

An interesting feature of the Udayeśvara temple[20] in Udaipur is that its *āmalaka* has segments with concave lateral surfaces, and is surmounted by a cone formed of a progressively diminishing series of *āmalaka* mouldings similarly marked by concave segments.

According to Banerji, the 'Un' type is characterized by an absence of the path of circumambulation round the cella, and the 'lines of the outline of (its) *śikhara* are perfectly straight'.

Examples of the 'Un' or 'Khandesh' type have been given by Banerji from the old Gwalior State. Percy Brown also presents illustrations from Udaipur in Gwalior and Jhogda near Nasik.[21]

LIṄGARĀJ

The celebrated temple of Liṅgarāj (Plate 21) in Bhubaneswar may be regarded as representative of a type (Fig. 3) which followed the Paraśurāmeśvara in Orissa. The temple of Jagannātha in Puri and the original Sun temple of Konarak of which only about sixty feet stand today, belong to this type. Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta Vāsudeva are other celebrated examples in the town of Bhubaneswar.

Most of the temples of the Liṅgarāj type are accompanied by subsidiary structures in front which are surmounted by a pyramidal roof composed of a series of horizontal elements arranged in groups separated by short vertical walls. There may be one or more halls of this nature. In the Liṅgarāj and Jagannātha temples, the third among four such structures, has a flat roof and rectangular ground plan. But this is not usual in the type.

In Orissa, the Nāgara does not have a path of circumambulation round the cella. The tower springs directly from the walls enclosing the cella. The marginal

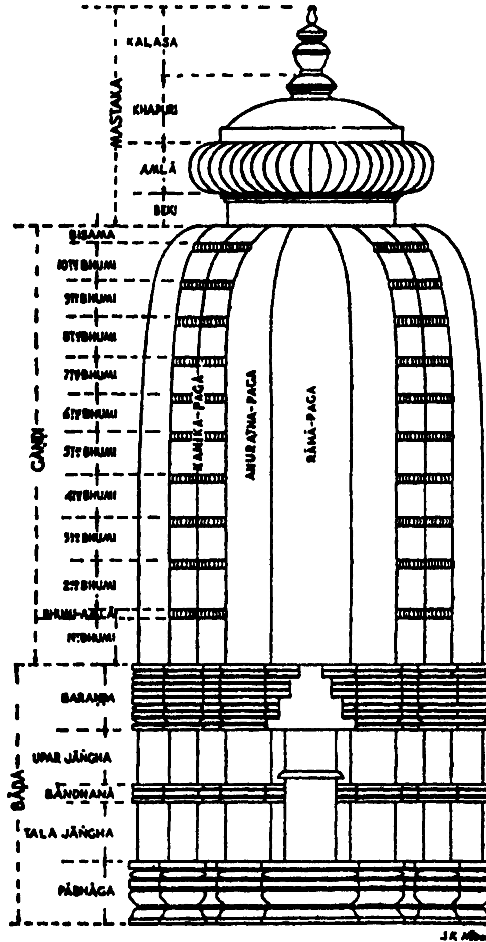


Fig. 3
Principal segments of *Rekha Deul*
(After Debala Mitra)

planes are marked by *bhūmi-āmlās* at the end of each storey. In small temples these are arcs of circles; while in large ones, a part of the moulding is linear, while it becomes a segment of a circle where it meets its counterpart from the adjacent side. The curvature of the tower begins from a little above its base; it is slight in the beginning and increases rapidly near the upper end.

NĀGARA TEMPLES



Plate 1 Boram, Purulia, West Bengal, 10th/11th century A. D.



Plate 2 Satdeulia brick temple, Burdwan, West Bengal, *c.* 10th century A. D.

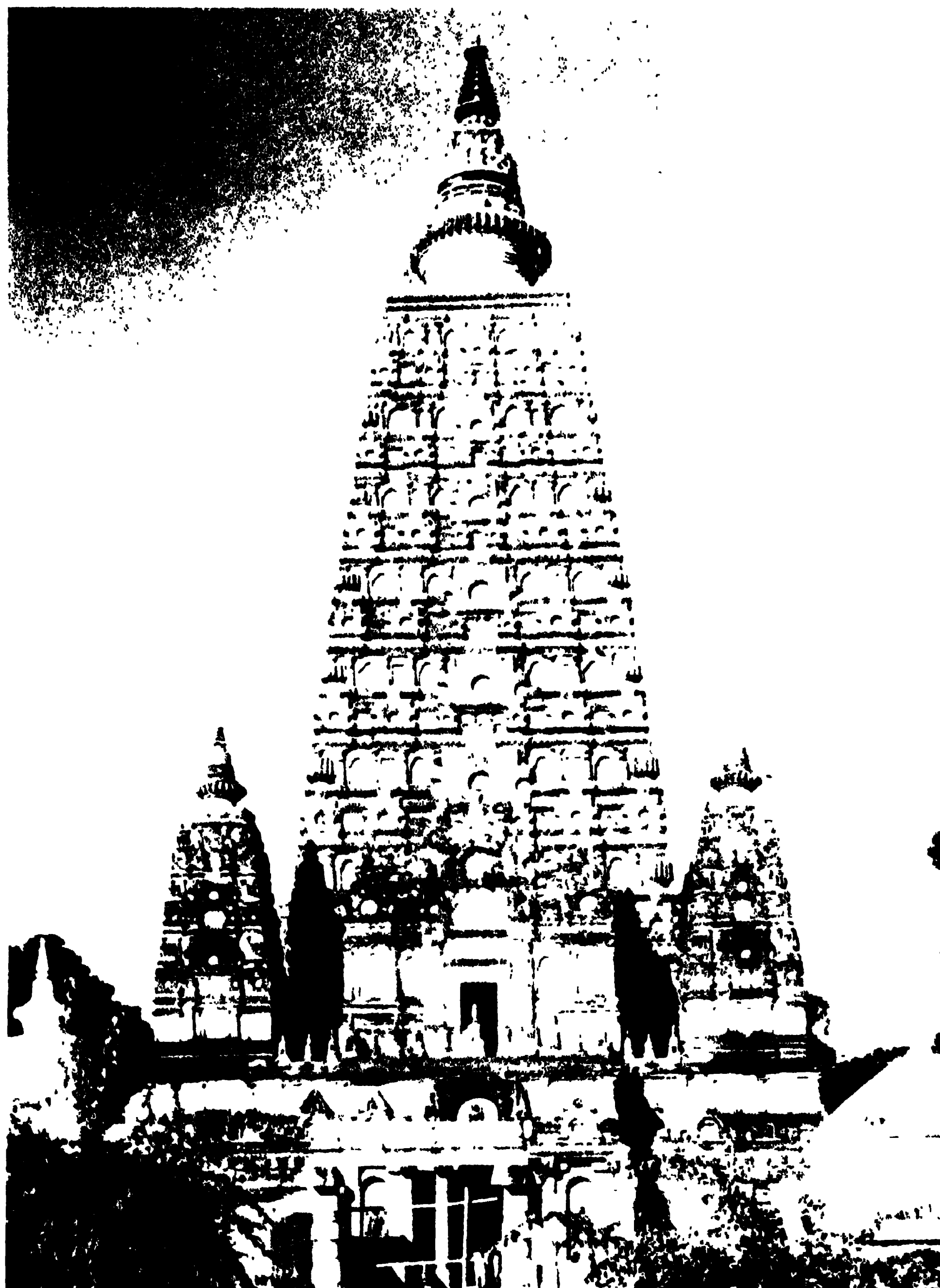


Plate 3 Mahabodhi temple, Bodhagaya, Bihar, *c.* 600-625 A. D.

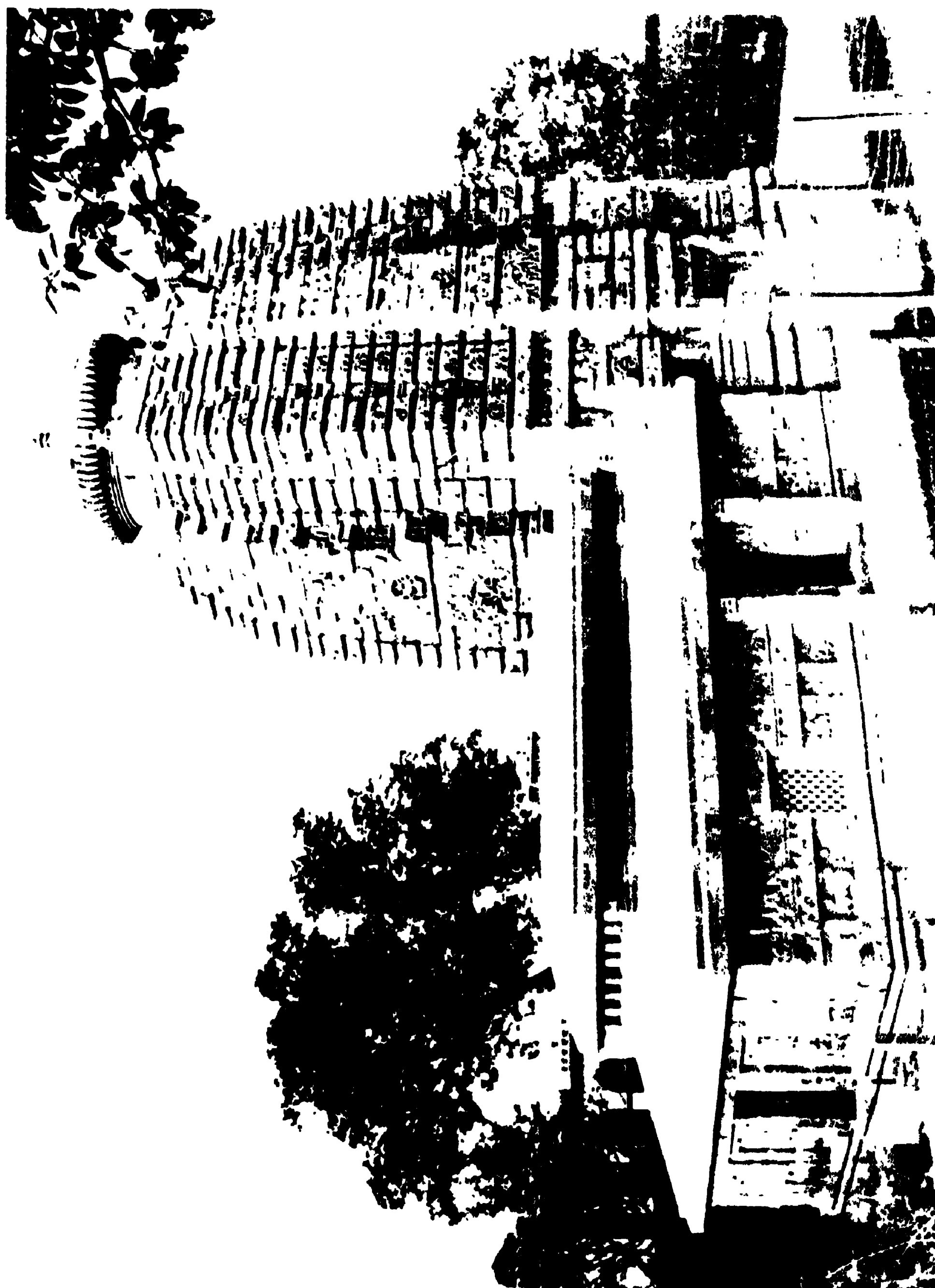




Plate 5 Markandyeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, c. 7th century A. D.



Plate 6 Barakar temple, Burdwan, West Bengal, 9th century A. D.

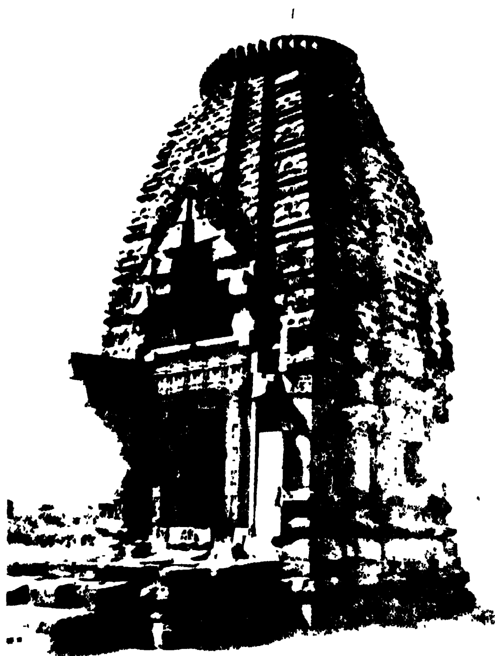


Plate 7 Roda temple No. III, Sabarkantha, Gujarat, c. 775-800 A.D.

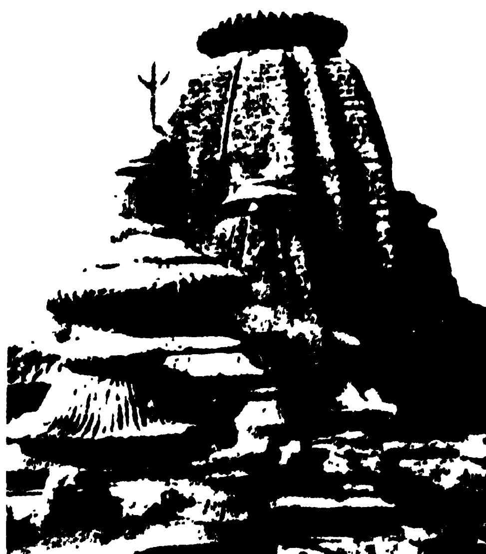


Plate 8 Nīlakaṇṭha temple, Sunak, Gujarat, late 10th century A.D.

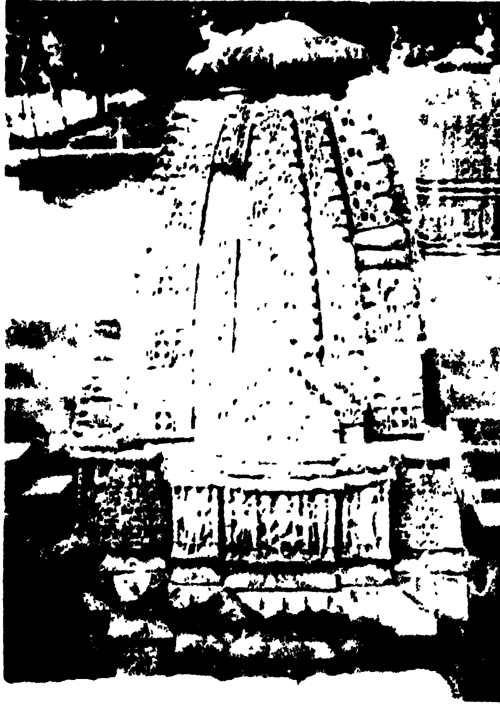


Plate 9 Small shrine in Modhera, Gujarat, 11th century A. D.

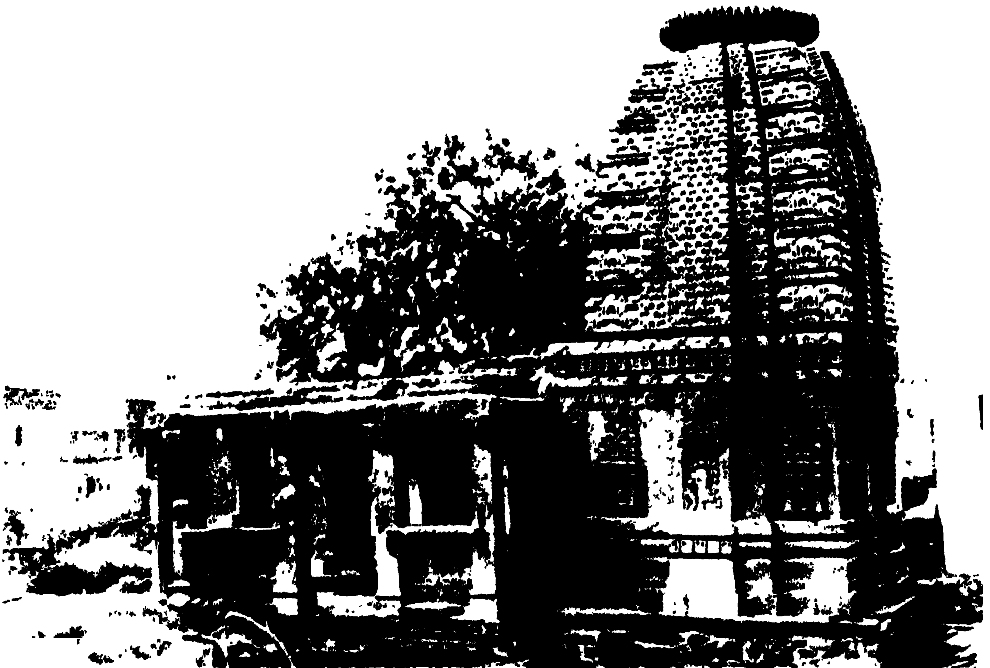


Plate 10 Sun temple, Osian, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, c. 750-775 A. D.



Plate 11 A temple at Bajaura, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, c. 850 A. D.

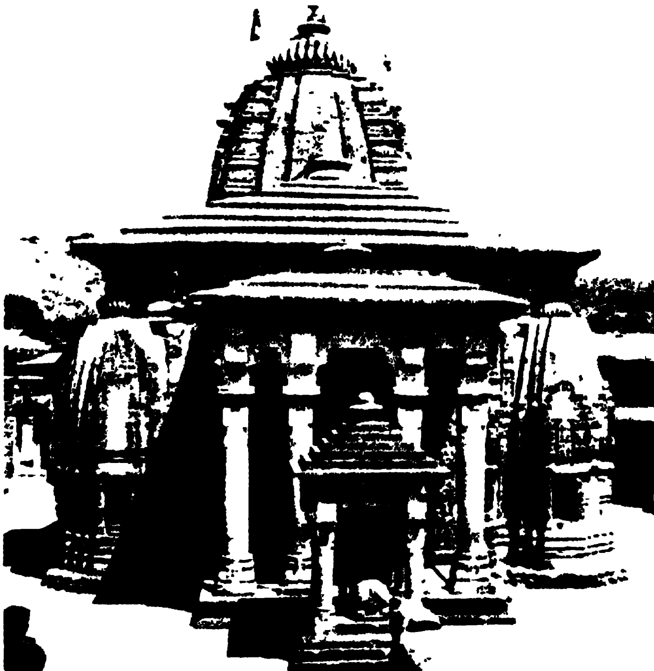


Plate 12 Baijnāth temple, Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, 9th century A. D.

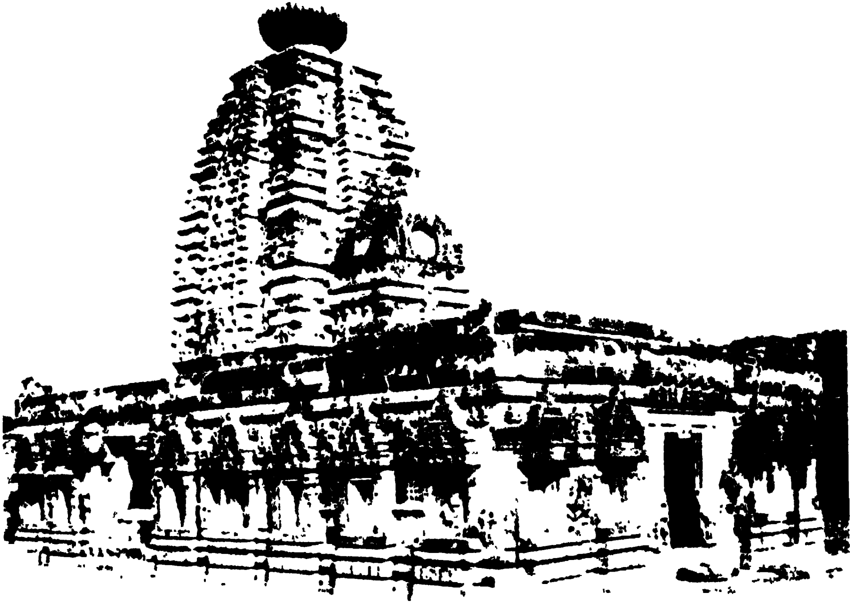


Plate 13 Visva Brahmā temple, Alampur, Andhra Pradesh, c. 696-733 A. D

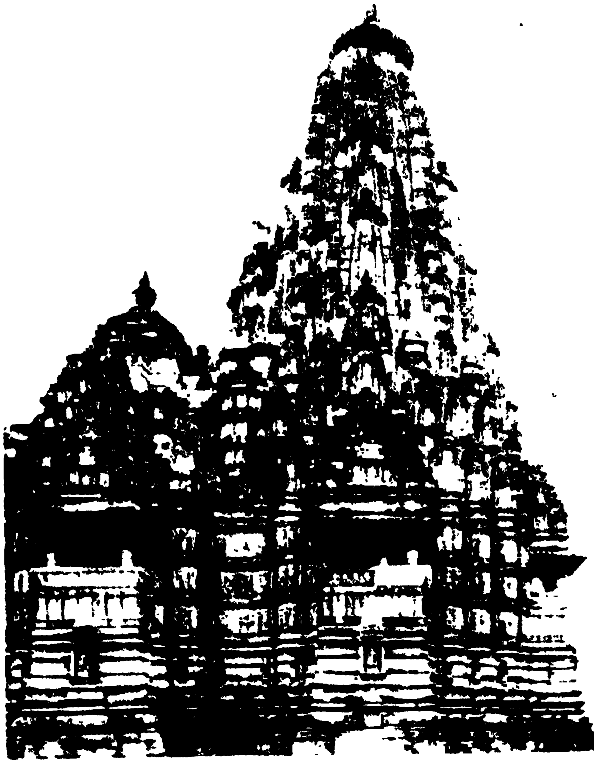


Plate 14 Kandariyā Mahādeva temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, c. 1025-50 A. D

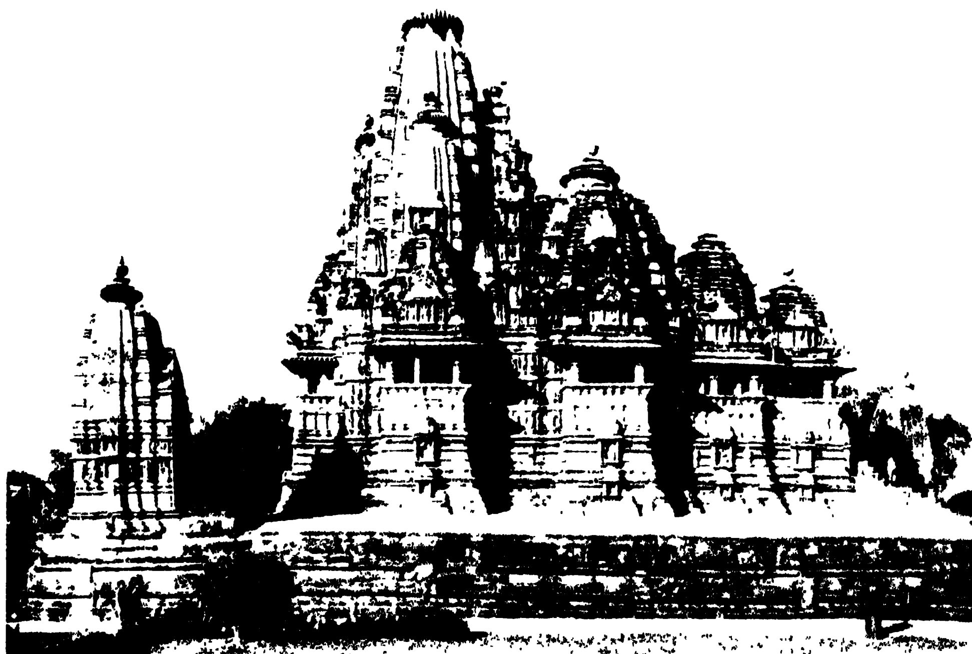


Plate 15 Visvanatha temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh 9th/10th century A.D.

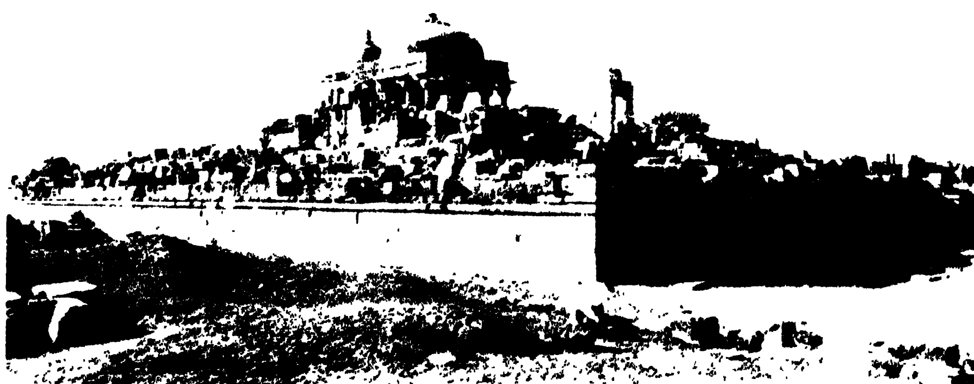


Plate 16 Harṣadmata temple, Rajasthan, c. 800 A.D.

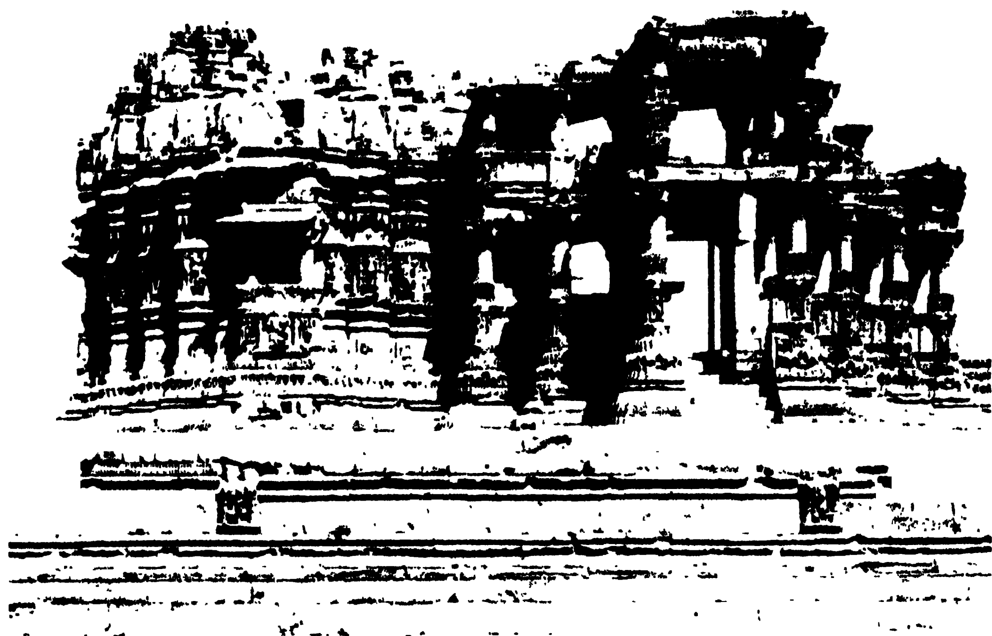


Plate 17 Ghumli, Jamnagar, Gujarat, *c.* 1175 A. D.

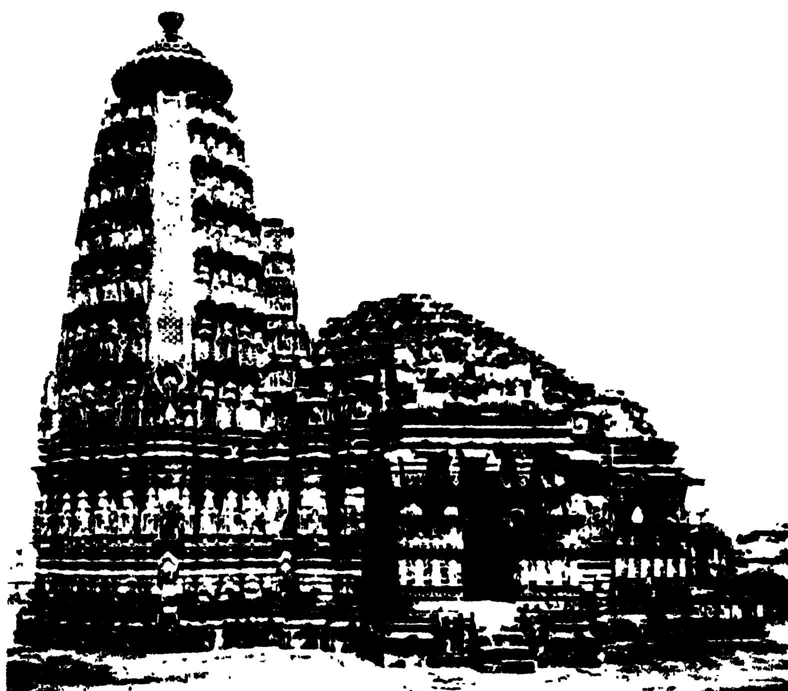


Plate 18 Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur, Madhya Pradesh, *c.* 1070-80 A. D.



Plate 19 Śītalamātā Temple, Piludra, Baroda, Gujarat, *c.* 1130 1140 A. D

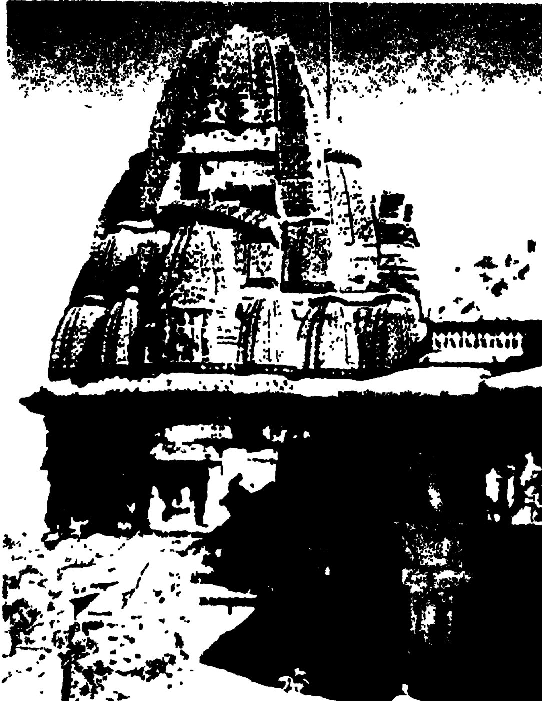
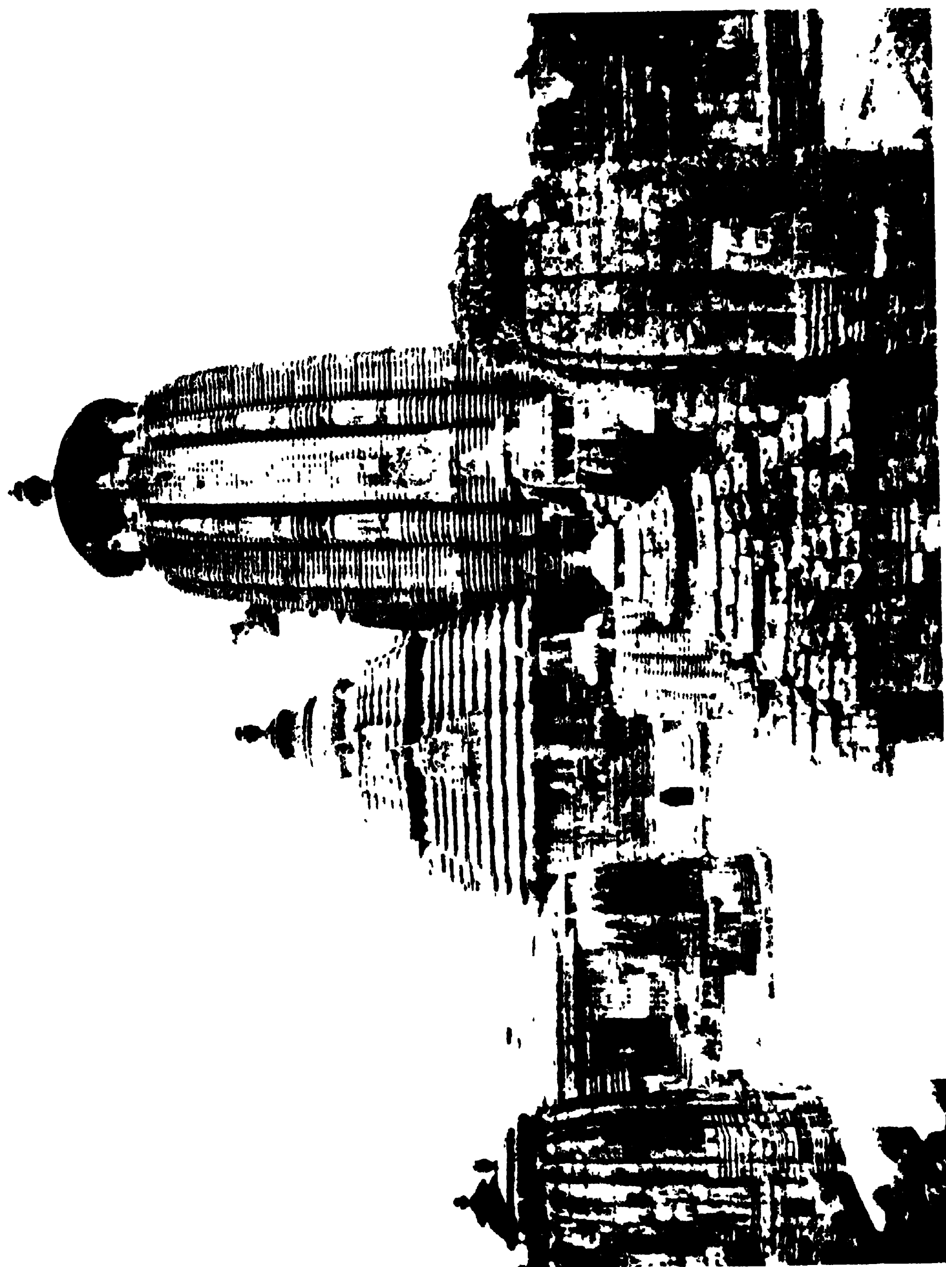


Plate 20 Nīlkaṇṭheśvara Temple, Miani, Gujarat, *c.* 1234 A. D.



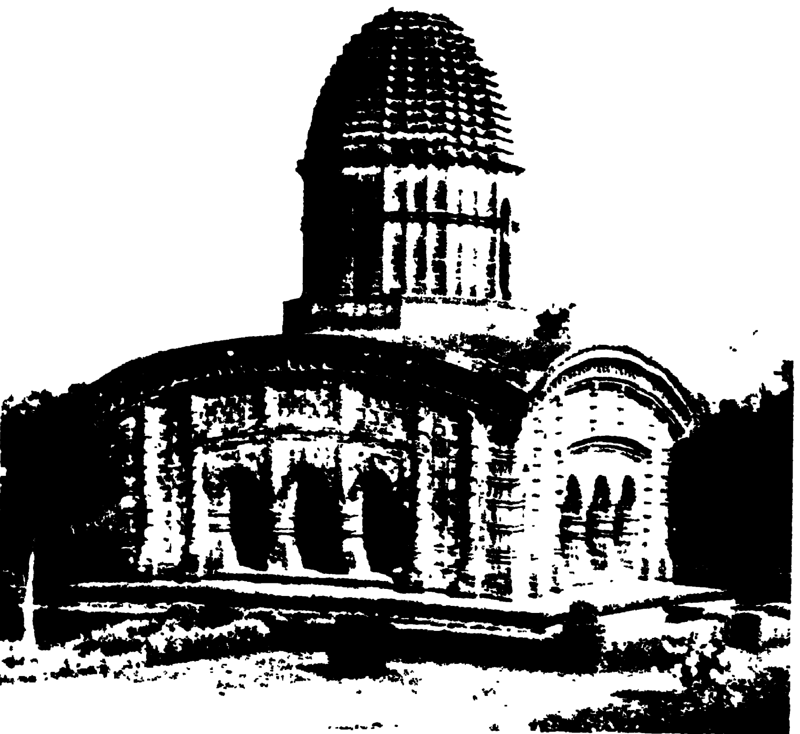


Plate 22 Nandalāla Temple, Vishnupur, Bankura, c. 17th century A.D.



Krsna Candrai Te[illegible]ple, Kalna, Burdwan, early 19th [illegible]ry

The *āmalaka* is wide and proportionately thicker than in the Paraśurāmeśvara type. It is crowned by a flattish conical object, the sides of which are formed by a low reverse ogee. The element is designated as the *khapuri* or calvarium. The finial or *kalaśa*—water-vessel is placed upon this, and is in turn surmounted by the particular mark of the deity enshrined within. Thus, it is the trident in the case of Śiva, a discus in the case of Viṣṇu, and a lotus flower in the case of Sūrya, the Sun-god.

In the tower, the intermediate *paga* bears *śikharas* in many examples; some are also crowded at the base from which the tower springs. But the *śikharas* are never given the prominence which they attain in Khajuraho, or the Somnāth types. They therefore leave the curvilinear outline unimpaired. The vertical lines are deeper and stronger than the horizontal lines in the tower itself.

The internal construction has already been described in the sections devoted to Paraśurāmeśvara and Somnāth, and need not be repeated here. One point may however be noted. When a temple is of large size, it may not be possible to span the wide distance between walls by means of single slabs of stone. Then there is corbelling inwards until the gap is narrowed sufficiently to apply a closure. But in no case is corbelling abandoned as in some of the middle Indian and western types.

In Orissa, it was possible by retention of the method of construction referred to above, to raise the height of temples considerably. While temples like Paraśurāmeśvara were no more than 30 or 40 ft. high, Liṅgarāj itself is 147 ft., while the crown of the Nāgara in Konarak was nearly 200 ft. including the basement, as is evident from a measurement made in 1627 A. D. by an officer of the King of Puri named Suṅgāsiya Nāth Mahāpātra.[22] This Nāgara temple has now fallen into ruins, while the accompanying building with a pyramidal roof alone has survived. Even that is 129 ft. high.

While the proportion of cella to height is 1 : 4.2 in Paraśurāmeśvara, it rises to higher values in the Liṅgarāj type. Megheśvara, built at the end of the 12th century, has a proportion of 1 :5.0. In *Sarideul* it is 1 : 5.3. Brahmeśvara was built in the 11th century by Queen Kalābatī, and has a proportion of 1 : 6.6. In Liṅgarāj itself, it is 1 : 6.7, while in the Nāgara of Konarak, it was 1 : 6.1, if the measurement of 1627 A. D. is reliable.

A high ratio between length of the cella and height of the temple also means that individual components on its face are treated in a different manner. It is not necessary to deal with these details in the present brief summary; but two important features may be alluded to, as they have been employed elsewhere in order to distinguish the Paraśurāmeśvara from the Liṅgarāj type by the present author.[23]

The wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara type is divided vertically into three components, namely, *pābhāga*—foot, *jāṅgha*—shin and a series of mouldings collectively called the *baraṇḍa*. The *pābhāga* is composed of three mouldings in Paraśurāmeśvara, and usually of five in the Liṅgarāj type. The *jāṅgha* is also rendered higher, and divided into an 'upper' and 'lower' one separated by a band or *bāndhanā* formed of from one to three mouldings.

These distinctions between the walls have been employed in the classification of Orissan Nāgara temples into the *Tri-aṅga* and *Pañcāṅga* classes, i.e. those with three and five components in their walls. By the same token, the Khajuraho type is *saptāṅga* because its *jāṅgha* is frequently divided into three recessed components separated by two bands instead of one as in Orissa.

Such superficial distinctions are useful for taxonomic purposes. But in the study of architecture they should never be allowed to obscure deeper distinctions arising out of different methods of construction, or distinctions due to varying proportions between significant parts of a temple.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Konarak was built a little after 1250 A. D. and the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva in Bhubaneswar in 1278 A. D.[24] The plains of the Gaṅgā had by that time already passed under the sway of Muslim rulers who destroyed many religious buildings. Yet, ruins have survived to indicate their former presence in many parts of northern India. Thus, there are ruins of a small Nāgara temple, with affinities to Khajuraho, on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Gaṅgā at Vindhyachal in Mirzapur District. The city of Banaras also contains remnants left by destroyed Nāgara temples, so that one can say that the classical age of temple building came to a close in the North with the 13th century A. D. Temples of large size were still built in the South for another four or five hundred years; but there the Order was different.

The Nāgara of the North was broken down into several minor branches, which will be briefly referred to now. The art of temple building did not suffer as much in Rajasthan as in Uttar Pradesh. So, cheaper models of the Nāgara continued to be built in the former, while Uttar Pradesh developed the Banaras variety of which numerous examples are present in the city of Banaras and its neighbourhood. It is a slender derivative of the Nāgara in which many of the original elements can be recognized in spite of its excessively ornate and flimsy character. Banaras has sometimes a domed porch in front, and sometimes a pyramid-shaped roof.

One comes across recent examples of this type from Rajasthan to Bihar[25] and Bengal, and from the foot of the Himalayas to Madhya Pradesh.

Another form derived from the Nāgara is prevalent in Maharashtra and parts of Madhya Pradesh or Gujarat which came under the influence of Maratha rule. The departure from the parent stock is great, and there may be some justification for considering it as more closely related to the Southern Orders. The ground plan is octagonal or polygonal; but the crown contains elements derived from the Nāgara.

The polygonal plan is perhaps due to the influence of a Southern Order common in the neighbourhood of Dharwar, of which the temple of Dodda Vasappa in Dambal may be regarded as a classical example. The Maratha type also retains a pronounced storeyed arrangement in the tower, a Southern feature, although some of the capitals show a character reminiscent of Udayeśvara in Gwalior.[26]

In the 16th century, Bengal developed its own Order, namely, the Gauḍīya. This is characterized by a roof which has convexly bent eaves and ridge. Later on, during the reign of the Mughals, the Bengali roof, called *Baṅgālī chatrī*, was adopted as an ornamental element in civic architecture and spread from Agra and Delhi to the feudatory courts of Rajasthan, central and upper India.

In Bengal itself, the Gauḍīya roof was treated in many ways.[27] One such treatment was that a replica of the Nāgara was built upon the bent roof as an ornamental tower. Such a turret is known as *ratna*, gem. Those with five such are *pañca-ratna*, those with nine being *nava-ratna*, and so on. Two illustrations are given from Vishnupur (Plate 22) and Kalna (Plate 23) in Bengal.

The Nāgara Order thus petered out into several local varieties from after the 13th century in portions of northern India, both in the west and the east.

GENERAL REVIEW

Speculations have been made from time to time about the origin of the Nāgara Order. Readers are advised to consult the writings of Fergusson, Simpson, Havell, Coomaraswamy, Chanda, Banerji and Ganguly if they feel interested in the problem. Our purpose has, however, been different. The Nāgara Order is characterized by numerous elements of construction, ornamentation and composition. We have tried to isolate these elements by means of comparison. We have also noted that each of these elements shows a fairly wide range of variation; but the study has not been pursued very far in the present brief account. Yet, for future work, it may be pointed out here that the ground plan, for example, varies from a simple square to nearly the form of a

cross. One square may also be superimposed upon another after rotation through a small angle, and if the process is repeated with squares or polygons, the resulting plan becomes star-shaped, or very nearly like a circle in the end. The *āmalaka* may also be of several kinds. There are examples with convex and concave lateral segments. Some have strings of beads separating one segment from another; others are adorned with a continuous horizontal band which runs along the middle of the segments. The walls, the *pābhāga*, and the mouldings by means of which they are composed, also show wide ranges of variation. The curvature of the tower, or the treatment of its surface in either the vertical or horizontal direction may likewise be dealt with in a systematic manner.

When the origin, location and distribution of these distinguishable and separable elements are studied, it also becomes evident how some of them are not exclusively limited to the Nāgara Order. Apsidal or stellar ground plans occasionally met with in Nāgara temples are perhaps more characteristic of Buddhist *caityas* and Cālukyan architecture respectively. Even the square ground plan of Nāgara temples is shared by it with flat-roofed Gupta temples and with Pṛhā temples, the two belonging to very different ages in the architectural history of India.

Instead of dealing with the 'elements' in the manner described above, we have rather tried to indicate how some of them became clustered together into a distinguishable 'constellation of elements'. This we have designated as a 'type'. In naming the types, we have avoided geographical or dynastic associations as far as possible. To name a type after some famous example avoids some of the difficulties arising out of other practices.

Each of the combination of elements, distinguished as a 'type, must have begun in some place, in a certain period of time, and then exercised its influence upon the neighbourhood, before subsequent modification and disappearance'.

While describing the history or mutual relationship of types, we have tried to avoid one thing by implication. It has been usual for many scholars in the past to deal with Nāgara temples belonging to different parts of India as a united family, in which one generation followed another along a single line of evolution. Our description aims at showing that, even in the earliest examples, there was sufficient regional diversity, as for example, between Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat and the Krishna basin. Some of these differences later on became accentuated on account of local developments under conditions of comparative isolation. Indeed, evolution did not follow one course, but branched into several courses.

The evolution of the Nāgara Order has been rather imperfectly studied. If it is done, first analytically, and then synthetically, it would add greatly to our present knowledge about the history of the Order, when the fragmentary synthetic picture will emerge of one of the most fascinating chapters of the history of Indian art and civilization.

Year of writing: 1965

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[17] *Ibid.*, 38.

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Review, September, 1930, Calcutta, pp. 252-54, Cf. Bandyopadhyay, 1342 B.S., pp. 461-67.

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7

DRĀVIḌA AND CĀLUKYA TEMPLES

HISTORICAL

THE middle of the sixth century A. D. when India, south of the Vindhyas, came under the political hegemony of three powerful empires—the Cālukyas of Bādāmī in the Deccan, the Pallavas of Kāñcī on the eastern littoral and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai in the far south—marks an important epoch in the history of its architecture, and art traditions resulting from the almost simultaneous adoption of the rock or stone medium and the initiation of the mode of rock architecture[1] for the Brāhmaṇical and Jaina gods.[2] The inception of the new vogue was when Cālukya Maṅgaleśa excavated his first rock-cut cave-temple for Viṣṇu in the soft sandstone cliffs of Bādāmī and Pallava Mahendra Varman I created the first cut-in cave temple iṇ the hard granite rock of Maṇḍagapaṭṭu for the Trimūrtis. Since the stone material was different in the two cases the corresponding techniques, the tools used and amount of labour involved were necessarily different and, consequently also, the size and magnitude of the temples that resulted. The Pāṇḍyas of the south soon followed the Pallavas both in respect of the hard rock material and general design as did the other contemporary minor dynasties and later empires of the south, while the Rāṣṭrakūṭas followed the methods and the soft stone tradition of the Cālukyas, and likewise, their successors in the Deccan and Mysore, viz. the later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, the Kākatīyas and the Hoysalas, till a uniform hard-stone tradition was adopted for the whole of the south with the advent of the Vijayanagara empire, a tradition which is continuing till the present times.

With the experience derived in the working of hard rocks and before they could perfect the technique of quarrying such rocks and building them up into structures and almost simultaneously with their further excavations of cave temples, the Pallavas started the creation of diverse monolithic *vimāna* forms, the so-called *rathas*, by carving down rocks from apex to base, a process that was the opposite of structural building up. With the more tractable material and with the experience in working such soft rocks that had gone before in the Deccan and north India for nearly a millennium, the Cālukyas could soon quarry

blocks of size, cut and mould them and build up structural edifices in the fine sandstone. Because of their geographical position astride the northern part of the peninsula stretching almost from sea to sea, the Cālukyas, as a rising dynasty, could not have been immune to the direct influences of the Gupta and post-Gupta traditions of north and central India and as such their temples assimilated and incorporated many of the northern art-architectural trends even in their southern *vimāna* forms. Simultaneously more temples came up in this region in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who displaced the Cālukyas after about a century and a half. The Pallava-Pāṇḍyas of the farther south and their successors could obviously maintain and sustain the *vimāna* form in all its variants and its developments in an unbroken chain on relatively purer lines and in greater conformity with the *śilpa* and *āgamic* canons of the south relating to such *vimāna* temples. As such a comparatively more detailed consideration of this cohesive series of *vimānas* will help in the understanding of the trends in the regional schools of architecture in the entire south.

In such a context (and also from what is being mentioned in the sequel) and in the light of evidences afforded by the very early demonstrative models and the almost contemporary recognition in the extant early southern *śilpa* and *āgama* manuals of the ternary classification of *vimānas* as *drāviḍa, nāgara* and *veśara*, the often adopted classification of the southern temples into 'Cālukya', 'Drāviḍa' etc. would be somewhat confusing.[3] In view of the marked contrast between the predominant temples of the two parts, north and south, of the sub-continent in essentials of design, form and features (though isolation on considerations of regional characters and trends of the styles could be made for more detailed studies of individual and related styles in the two groups), it would suffice here, on merits of simplicity, to call the temples of the south as Southern Temples, and deal with them briefly under four categories viz., (1) the Pallava-Pāṇḍya *vimāna* temples and (2) the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa *vimāna* temples including the cohorts and derivatives of both series in some detail and (3) the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa *prāsāda* temples and (4) other kinds briefly.[4]

THE SOUTHERN *VIMĀNA* TEMPLE

The southern *vimāna* temple extant in large numbers, spread over a period of thirteen centuries, in its common genre and diverse style, has its own distinct features that would distinguish it from the northern forms. In its unitary form, as preserved from the beginning of the seventh century A. D. it would consist of the *vimāna* or the temple proper containing the consecrated deity in its *garbhagṛha* or cella and a *mukha maṇḍapa* or front hall or porch. It is by

additions, axial and peripheral, to this nuclear structure of auxiliary *maṇḍapas*, subsidiary shrines and the enclosing *prākāra* wall with *gopura* entrances, either simultaneously or in the course of time, that the characteristic 'temple complex' of the south has resulted.

By the term *vimāna* it is here comprehended the entire structure from base to finial, i.e., from the *upāna* or the lowermost part of the *adhiṣṭhāna* or pedestal to the crowning *stūpi* or *uṣṇīṣa*-like finial over the *śikhara* or ultimate roof, as connoted in the earlier southern texts on *āgama* and *śilpa*, and described in related inscriptions till about the late medieval times.[5] In its simplest or typical *ekatala* form it would consist of six *aṅgas*, viz., *adhiṣṭhāna*, or pedestal, *bhitti* or wall or *pāda* or pillars (according as the top of the structure stands on the walls with pilasters or on pillars with screen walls between), *prastara* or architrave (and the peripheral parts of a flat-topped terrace), *grīva* or clerestory or attic rising from the centre of the terrace of the cella or *garbhagṛha*, *śikhara* or the ultimate sloping roof (curvilinear or angular) and *stūpi* or crowning finial. Projected from the *grīva* and *śikhara* faces, like rectangular bay-windows with arched dormer tops, are the *nāsikās*, originally intended for light and ventilation of the cella below, but in later convention occupied by sculpture or relief motifs. Such fanes are exemplified in earlier Buddhist bas-reliefs and in the miniature bas-relief *vimānas* in Pallava sculpture between A. D. 630-700 at Mahābalipuram. The types with domical roof or *śikhara* converging to the apex and ending in a single *stūpi* or finial would conform to the *kūṭa*. The *kūṭa* form may besides being square or *samacaturaśra* in plan, from base to *śikhara*, be polygonal (hexagonal or *ṣaḍaśra* or octagonal or *aṣṭāśra*) or circular or *vṛtta* uniformly from *adhiṣṭhāna* to *śikhara*, or with *grīvas* and *śikharas* alone of such plans over a square body. The form that is oblong or *āyatāśra* in plan with a wagon-top *śikhara* carrying a row of *stūpis* over its ridge and the elliptical forms with inverted keel-shaped roofs would conform to the *koṣṭhā* or *śāla* type, while those with apsidal plan would be the *nīḍa* or *pañjara* type.

The more complex derivative forms of such a simple type of the south Indian *vimāna* are those exhibiting a typical storeyed construction of the superstructure, the tiered storeys or *talas* gradually diminishing in size. Each *tala* including the ground floor or *āditala* has a *hāra* or string of miniature *vimāna* replicas placed over the *prastara* of each storey and which surrounds the base of the next higher storey or *tala-harmya*. The component elements of the *hāra* are the *kūṭas* at the corners, hence called *karṇakūṭas* and *śālas* or *koṣṭhas* in between in the earlier phases or in the simpler forms of *vimānas* of

the Pallava-Pāṇḍyas and their cognates in the far-south and of the *Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of the Deccan. At a slightly later phase, chronologically well marked, the third *anukāya* or appendage element is added to the *hāra* composition in the form of a miniature apsidal *vimāna*, the *nīḍa* or *pañjara*. The *kūṭa-koṣṭha-pañjara* elements are connected by a cloister or balustrade-like wall of lesser height called the *hārāntara* with *nāsikās* on them. The top *tala* carries the *grīva* on a *piṇḍi* or base, *śikhara* and *stūpi*, conforming to the *kṣudra-alpa vimāna*. While the top *tala* in the earlier phase also carries a *hāra* of *karṇakūṭas* and *bhadra śālas* encircling the base of the *grīva*, a total or gradual atrophy of its element is to be observed soon when, from about A. D. 700-730, the top *hāra* element is found to be generally eliminated, its place being taken by representations of the *vāhanas* or vehicles, or *lāñchanas* or cognizant symbols appropriate to the principal deity consecrated in the sanctum below. The *hāras* at the level of the various *talas* may be *arpita* or applique on the body of the *tala-harmya*, or may be *anarpita*, if standing detached from the *tala* body with an interspace or *alindra* behind, forming an open ambulatory between the *hāra* and the *tala-harmya*. This would generally be the case in the *sāndhāra vimānas* with double walls, the outer *bāhya bhitti* and the inner *āntara bhitti*, with a circumambulatory space in between as obtains in many Cālukyan fanes. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* too, with its flat terrace rising to the level of the *āditala prastara*, carries over its own *prastara* a *hāra* of *kūṭa* and *koṣṭha* and sometimes *pañjara* elements of lesser magnitude than those over the *āditala*.

The interposition of an additional *tala* with its *harmya* and *prastara* between the *āditala* of an *ekatala vimāna*, having its own *adhiṣṭhāna*, *bhitti*, *prastara* components below and its *grīva-śikhara-stūpi* region above would add two more *aṅgas* making the total eight and the resulting *vimāna aṣṭāṅga* or *dvitala*. The *aṣṭāṅga* class, conforming more to the traditional measure of the human body of eight spans, to which the *vimāna* is deemed analogous with corresponding nomenclature of the *aṅgas*, is more frequent among the earlier storeyed *vimānas*. The *talacchanda*, or the system of increasing the number of *talas* in due proportions, is generally up to four, making the *vimānas*, *jāti vimānas*, as opposed to the lesser *alpa vimānas* and the early texts that were only codifying what had been achieved in practice till their date of compilation, too, enumerate *vimānas* with the details of their *aṅgas* and *anukāyas* up to the fourth *tala*. It is only in the *Catuṣtala* or four-storeyed and larger forms or the *mukhya vimānas* that one finds the *pañjara* element invariably added in the *hāra* composition. The *nāsikās* projected from the top *grīva-śikhara* region,

with their frontal pilasters emergent from the *grīva* face and gable-like *toraṇa* arch from the slopy *śikhara* face, are the *mahā nāsikās* of equal dimensions on all the cardinals. Between the Pallava-Pāṇḍya and the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa *vimānas*, it is the latter series alone that develop the further forward projection of the front *mahā nāsikā* well over the similarly projected fronts of the *talas* below, all over the top of the *antarāla* or *mukhamaṇḍapa*, resulting in the characteristic *śukanāsikā*, a major feature that would distinguish not only between the two series of *vimānas* but also their cognates and subsequent derivatives.

The pillars and pilasters conform more to the wooden originals including capitals of the 'order'. The shaft (of *kāl* in Tamil) emerging from the *oma* or pillar base, tetragonal, octagonal, polygonal or circular in section, has often a lotus band ornamentation at the middle height called the *madhya bandha* and a similar *padma-bandha* band with hanging loops of *mukta saras*, marking the top of the shaft which is called the *mālāsthāna*. The capital components constitute the pitcher-or vase-like *laśuna* or *kalaśa* on top of the *mālāsthāna*, the excrescent saucer-shaped *tāḍi* over it, the flattened bulbous *kumbha*, the platter-shaped doucine or *pāli*, also called *padma* (or the *idal* when its brim is drawn out into seriate petals as in later examples) forming the underside of the abacus or *phalaka* which is large, thick and square in earlier forms, becoming polygonal or circular and smaller and thinner later. From the centre of the top of the *phalaka* projects up the square *vīrakaṇṭha*,[6] entering into the base of the corbel or *potika* that supports the beam or *uttira*. Another important architectural feature would be the *toraṇa* or arched festoon of flowers, foliage, animals, *gaṇas* and other forms called variously *patra toraṇa*, *citra toraṇa*, *vidyādhara toraṇa* etc. issuing from the gapes of *makaras*, perched on the *phalakas* of the capitals of the supporting pillars or pilasters. These frame the niches or *devakoṣṭhas* on the projected bays of the walls of the *āditala* rising over the similarly projected *adhiṣṭhāna*, the bay projections being analogous to the *ratha* projections of the northern style *prāsāda*. The most prominent member of the *prastara* is the *kapota* or flexed cornice adorned at intervals with the arched tops of *nāsikās*, hence termed *alpa nāsikās* or better known as *kūḍu* arches. These are in their primary form small *makara toraṇas* with a characteristic finial on top of the arch.

The earliest extant monolithic or structural *vimāna* type temples of the times of the early Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pallava-Pāṇḍyas, though derived from common brick-and timber prototypes and identical in essentials eventually come to have distinctive regional variations indicated by the divergent proportions,

shapes of parts like pillars, corbels, door frames etc. The divergence becomes more pronounced over space and time when regional styles lineal and cognate develop. Their main vertical components are essentially alike, the characteristic feature being the successive receding *talas* in the multi-storeyed *vimānas*, the top of each *tala* being fringed by the characteristic *hāra*. The temple complexes show also essentially similar horizontal components, such as *maṇḍapa*, enclosure-wall or *prākāra*, cloister or *parivāra* shrines and *gopura* entrances. In the earlier Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava-Pāṇḍya examples the *hāra* on top of the first *tala* of the *vimāna* extends over the edge of the roof of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* or *antarāla* and often the *mahāmaṇḍapa* where one is present. While this becomes the common feature in the derivatives of the southern Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa *vimānas*, the later derivatives of the Pallava-Pāṇḍya genre have the *hāra* confined only to the *vimāna* with forward extension in very rare exceptions. Again, in the earlier examples of both the series, the topmost *tala* has a *hāra*, surrounding the *grīva* and *śikhara*, the components of which are *kūṭas* or *śālas* or both. While in the Pallava series these *kūṭas* and *śālas* rise only to the height of the *grīva*, in the Cālukyan examples they are much taller so that the top *kūṭas* surround the *grīva* and a large part of the *śikhara* and are often set close to them as in the temples of Bādāmī and Mahākūṭeśvara. After about A. D. 700, as noticed in such architectural landmarks as the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, the Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram, the Veṭṭuvāṅkovil at Kalugumalai and the Kailāsa at Ellorā, the topmost *tala* ceases to have such a *hāra* but carries at its four corners the *vāhana* or *lāñchana* appropriate to the deity enshrined in the *vimāna*, such as *nandis*, *bhūtas* etc. The early Cālukyan temples of the southern and northern styles have, almost from the outset, a *śukanāsikā*, an exception being the Saṅgameśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal, which is the earliest of the three well-known southern style temples in that place inspired, perhaps, by the Pallava examples at Kāñcipuram. If the absence of *śukanāsikā* in the Saṅgameśvara (*c.* 725) and its presence in the two later ones, Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna built between 745 and 784, are any indication, the Bādāmī and Mahākūṭeśvar temples would be the earliest of the series. The Pallava examples and their subsequent derivatives, on the other hand, lack the *śukanāsikā*. There is, however, a semblance of *śukanāsikā* or the form of a *mukhaśāla* in a few pre-Cola and early Cola temples. Like the *śukanāsikā* characteristic of the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa series and their derivatives and cognates, their door frames are elaborated by over-doors consisting of diverse components called the *śākas*, with representations of the two River goddesses (Gaṅgā and Yamunā) at

their bases, often in addition to other sculptures. The door lintel carries the *lalāṭa-bimba* or crest icon and over it a string of miniature shrine replicas on top which are absent over the simple door frames or those occasionally fronted by a *toraṇa* frame of the Pallava-Pāṇḍya series and derivatives in the farther south. These features are lineal continuations of the Gupta traditions of the north which the Cālukyas assimilated and passed down to later times. In both the series the projecting gargoyle-like water-outlet or *praṇāla* on the top of the *adhiṣṭhāna* with its chuts in level with the floor of the *garbha-gṛha* is absent as a rule in all the earlier examples. The projecting *praṇāla* becomes a constant feature in the later temples of both the series and its emergence, therefore, in each region is of chronological significance. The Durgā temple at Aihole has, among other late features, an original *praṇāla* on the prescribed northern side indicative of its later date than is usually attributed. While the *kūḍu* form of the *alpa nāsikā* becomes more the characteristic of the southern groups the coalescent forms called *udgamas* are peculiar to the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa series. The *maṇḍapa* patterns in the two groups of temples also differ. In the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa series it is essentially square being elaborated as a system of columniation in concentric squares by the multiplication of the peripheral rings of short squat pillars in alignment with the four nuclear pillars of the central bay, resulting in the *navaraṅga* and larger types. The Pallava-Pāṇḍya series on the other hand elaborated the shape, in addition to the square, as oblong *maṇḍapas* emphasizing linear rows of tall pillars on wide spans resulting in the later 'hundred-pillared' and 'thousand-pillared' *maṇḍapas*.

A study of the related sculptural contents of the temples, their style, iconography and disposition or polarization in specified parts or directions would also afford clues to the distinction of the affinities and classification of the regional styles which aspects can only be mentioned in passing.

VIMĀNA TEMPLES—ILLUSTRATIVE MODELS

The nine full scale monolithic *vimāna* models or '*rathas*' of Mahābalipuram in different stages of completion and dating from the time of Narasiṁha Pallava, Māmalla (630-668) to the close of the reign of Parameśvaravarman I in A. D. 700, and the nine bas-relief miniatures of *vimānas* found on them and also in the great Arjuna's Penance rock sculpture of Māmalla as well as on either side of the facade of the Rāmānuja *maṇḍapa* of Parameśvara, all in Mahābalipuram, illustrate much more clearly, than the early Cālukyan structural models, the different designs of plans and rise and the various *aṅgas* and *anukāyas* of the southern *vimāna* forms that had developed up to that time in such perishable

materials as brick and timber which have not endured as their petrified replicas have. These architectural examples and their assemblage in one place alone, as if it were the first experimental school of artisans working in the novel and hard rock material, would suffice to illustrate the fact that the foundations of the various forms of the *vimāna* including the ternary classification as *nāgara*, *drāviḍa* and *veśara* had been laid in the beginning of the seventh century, all of which came to be codified in the earliest of the southern texts on *āgama* and *śilpa*.

The three bas-relief architectural miniatures—one in the centre of the famous Arjuna's Penance (Plate 1) sculptural composition of Māmalla and two more, one on either flank of the facade of the Rāmānuja *maṇḍapa* cave-temple of Parameśvara I, depict the simple *ekatala vimāna* of the *kūṭa* type with all the six *aṅgas*. They are square in plan from base to finial and bring out well the brick-and-timber nature of the originals they represent and are unitary temples without the *mukhamaṇḍapa* being shown. The Arjuna's Penance *vimāna* model contains the standing figure of Viṣṇu while in the other two the cells are empty. The pilasters are simple, the *kūḍus* of the *kapota* and the *nāsikā* of the *grīva-śikhara* region are well brought out, the aperture or *ghāṭa-praveśa* being filled by trellis work indicating their original nature and function as ventilators or air passages (*nāsikā*). They would thus illustrate typical *ekatala vimānas* of the pure *nāgara* variety.

The three contiguous *vimāna* fronts of the Trimūrti cave-temple, dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā *śāstā* (in place of Brahma), complete in all details from *adhiṣṭhāna* to the *hāra* over the *prastara* of the *āditala* would illustrate the facades of what would appear to be *dvitala vimānas*, if their upper portions could be imagined beyond the top of the rock face.

The bas-relief miniature on the front end of the arch of the apsidal *śikhara* of the Nakula-Sahadeva *ratha* is an *alpa vimāna* of the *kūṭa* type which is hexagonal in plan from base to apex and as such a model of the pure *drāviḍa* variety. The two bas-reliefs one inside either end arch of the *śāla* roof of the Bhīma *ratha* are also representations of *ekatala vimānas*, also of the *kūṭa* type but with the lower parts or the body up to the *prastara* square in plan, and the *grīva*, *śikhara* and *stūpi* above, circular, illustrating the composite variety of the *veśara* in that the *śikhara* with the supporting *grīva* below is circular. The *dvitala* forms of the pure *veśara*, circular from base to apex, are illustrated by the tall replicas found inside either end arch of the *śāla śikhara* of the Gaṇeśa *ratha* of Parameśvara's time.

The nine *rathas* illustrate among themselves, besides other interesting features, the three basic plans—the *samacaturaśra* or square, the *āyatāśra* or oblong and the *dvyaśra* or *cāpā*-forms or apsidal[7] and are incidentally reminiscent of the three very basic forms of the *kūṭa*, *koṣṭha* (or *śāla*) and *pañjara* (or *nīḍa*) that go to compose the characteristic *hāra* of the storeyed *vimāna* of the south. As such the *tala-harmyas* with their surrounding *hāra* of *kūṭa*, *śāla* and *pañjara* inter-connected by cloister or wall as represented by the intervening *hārāntara* portions would suggest the elevation to the different storey-levels of the basic ground plan of the principal shrine surrounded by subsidiary shrines all round, with interconnecting cloister or enclosing *prākāra* wall, a concept that is found to be revived in the all-stone structural temple or *karralis* of the Pāṇḍyas and other dynasties of the south in the succeeding centuries.

The Draupadī *ratha* (Plate 2) dedicated to Durgā and facing west is a special type depicting a simple hut or *kūṭāgāra*, square on plan without a *mukhamaṇḍapa*. It has only four out of the six *aṅgas* of a typical *ekatala vimāna*, the *aṅgas* that are lacking being the *prastara* and *grīva* above the body and below the *śikhara*,[8] the four-sided curvilinear conical roof resting directly on the *uttira* over the wall and the four corner pillars, while the brim of the roof extends beyond as the over-hanging eaves or *avalambana*. There are no *nāsikās* or dormer windows projected from the *śikhara*. The only entrance on the west is flanked by pilasters, in place of jambs, and spanned by the lintel over their capitals carrying a flattened *makara toraṇa* arch.

A *dvitala vimāna* of the *nāgara* variety, a unitary temple with *mukhamaṇḍapa* and having *hāras* of four *karṇakūṭas* and four *bhadraśālas* over both the *talas* is illustrated by the incomplete Valaiyankuṭṭai *ratha* (Plate 3), carved out of a free standing boulder and facing east. The *hāra* extends over the *mukhamaṇḍapa prastara* also. The unrelieved walls have shallow central niches on the centre of each side framed by *stambha toraṇas*. These empty niches are flanked on either side by projected bay fronts, framed by a pair of pilasters with capitals and *prastara* and surmounted by a *nāsikā* top which in fact forms the *kūḍu* of the *kapota* of the main *prastara*, a feature found again in the structural temple of Olakkaṇṇeśvara of the time of Rājasiṁha in Mahābalipuram.

The northern of the two Piḍāri *rathas*, also a unitary temple with *vimāna* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* carved out of a free boulder, is likewise *dvitala* and *nāgara* of essentially the same type as the Valaiyankuṭṭai *ratha* but without a *hāra* over the second *tala*, thus exposing fully the sides of the square *grīva*.

The atrophy of the topmost *tala hāra* marks the advent of an important chronological landmark in the evolution of the *vimāna*. This feature would also make it the last of the *ratha* series, assignable to round about A. D. 700.

The southern Piḍāri *ratha* (Plate 4), with *mukhamaṇḍapa* facing east and carved out of a free boulder, and the Arjuna *ratha*, standing on the same *upapīṭha* as the Draupadī *ratha* in the 'Five *rathas*' series, with *mukhamaṇḍapa* facing west, are also *aṣṭāṅga* or *dvitala vimānas* that are *samacaturaśra* from base to top of second *tala*, with *hāras* over both the *talas* and the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, but with octagonal or *aṣṭāśra grīva* and *śikhara*. They would thus conform to the composite variety of *drāviḍa*. The southern Piḍāri *ratha* is an incomplete work, but the more finished Arjuna *ratha* is a finally proportioned and elegant model of the early *dvitala* type of *vimāna*. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, *āditala* walls and *prastara* are thrown forward on each side into a central and two corner bays corresponding to the four *karṇakūṭas* and four *bhadraśālas* of the *hāra* above, accommodating *devakoṣṭhas* framed by the forwardly set pair of pillars with capitals supporting the offset *prastara* above.

The Dharmarāja *ratha* (Plate 5) is a *tritala vimāna* with all the three storeys square on plan and functional in that they were designed to contain shrine-chambers and with *anarpita hāras* separated from the storey walls by an *alindra*, as against the non-functional and symbolic upper storeys with applique or *arpita hāras* of the *rathas* described above. The octagonal main *grīva* and *śikhara* would mark this *vimāna* as a composite variety of *drāviḍa*.[9] The *āditala* is pseudo-*sāndhāra* in having its shrine wall covered by a circumambulatory that is closed by walls at the corners and open in between on the sides with facade pillars and pilasters *in antis*. The *alindra* over the two upper storeys provide open ambulatories. The superposition of functional shrines one over the other would represent the mode of construction of such storeyed mansions in brick-and-timber.[10] In this *ratha*, while the lower *talas* remain unfinished except for their exterior, the topmost *tala* has a cella excavated that enshrines a Somaskanda bas-relief on its rear wall, characteristic of the times of Parameśvaravarman I (A. D. 672-700), whose inscription is found on the cella. Another inscription 'Māmalla' on the eastern side of the second storey would indicate that this *ratha* was commenced in his times (A. D. 630-668). The narrow *mukhamaṇḍapa* on the western side has a *hāra* which incorporates for the first time in its composition the miniature apsidal shrines element—the *nīḍa* or *pañjara*, in addition to the *kūṭas* and *śālas*, which two elements alone are found to constitute the *hāras* of the earlier *rathas* as

also the *maṇḍapas* of the Māmalla-type cave temples. The advent of the *nīḍa* in the *hāra* composition marks yet another turning point in the evolution of the southern *vimāna*.

The *ekatala* Bhīma and *dvitala* Gaṇeśa *rathas* of the times of Māmalla and Parameśvara respectively illustrate examples of the *āyatāśra* (oblong) *vimānas* with *śāla śikharas*, also of oblong section over oblong *grīvas*, having a linear row of *stūpis* on the top ridge and *toraṇa mukha paṭṭis* with finials framing their end faces. The Bhīma *ratha* (Plate 6), essentially, is an oblong *alpa vimāna*, with its shrine wall extended up as the *grīva* rather to an unusually great height, due perhaps to its early conception in the new stone medium, with an immense wagon-top *śikhara*. The shrine faces west with its only opening on that side. From each of the two linear faces of the *grīva-śikhara* region are five boldly projected *nāsikās* or bay window-cum-dormers in three orders of magnitude, the central one the largest, the two extreme ones middling and the two intermediate ones the smallest. The central and extreme *nāsikās* have over their pilasters, projecting from the *grīva* face, *prastara* elements in continuation of the brim or *oṣṭha* of the main *śikhara* carrying the semi-circular arch or dormer projection from the *śikhara* face with the characteristic *toraṇa* front. The two smallest of the *nāsikās* are devoid of this *prastara* element in their composition. The end faces of the *grīva-śikhara* region have on their barge boards bas-relief representations of the composite *veśara*, *ekatala vimānas* already mentioned. The *garbha-gṛha* wall below is surrounded by an ambulatory, all round, enclosed by corner walls with open facade on each of the cardinal sides between them with *vyāla*-based pillars and pilasters *in antis*, as in the Dharmarāja *ratha*, making this *vimāna* also pseudo-*sāndhāra*. The *prastara* of the circumambulatory carries a *hāra* of four *karṇakūṭas* and intermediate *śālas*, connected by the *hārāntara* lengths provided with *kṣudra nāsikās*. The *ratha* is incomplete and was perhaps intended for a reclining form of Viṣṇu. The Gaṇeśa *ratha* (Plate 7), a slightly later work carved out of a small rock, is more proportionate and well finished. Its *āditala* shows a series of pilasters on its straight walls and has a narrow *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front on the east, closed on the sides and partially in front, round the corners, by walls. The intervening opening on the west has two *vyāla*-based pillars and two extreme pilasters *in antis*, where the *vyāla* forms are shown with beaked faces. It has a *hāra* of *karṇakūṭas* and *śālas* on top, even as the *prastara* of the *āditala* has. The second *tala* also carries a similar *hāra*. From the two linear faces of the *grīva-śikhara* region on each side are projected three *nāsikās*, the central larger one with a *prastara* element in its composition and the two lateral ones without it. The end faces of the *grīva-*

śikhara accommodate the two tall bas-relief representations of *dvitala veśara vimānas*—circular in section from base to apex. The *toraṇa-mukha paṭṭis* forming the ends of the *śāla śikhara* carry *śūla deva* finials with the tricornuate head of the *deva*, a *Śaiva* symbol denoting the dedication of the temple to Śiva, as is also confirmed by its name Atyanta-Kāma Pallavāśvaragṛham in the inscription on it. The row of integral *stūpis* have been cut out in the final stage from the rock material intentionally left uncut at the commencement of the work making a step in advance in the technique by carving monolithic *rathas*. Both the *rathas* would conform to the *nāgara* variety in that they are four sided on plan from base to *śikhara*.

The Nakula-Sahadeva *ratha* (Plate 8) is apsidal or *dvyaśra* from base to *śikhara* and *dvitala*. Due to its rear aspect resembling the hind quarters of a standing elephant, as demonstrated by the large parallel sculpture of an elephant on its side, it is also termed *hasti*-or *gaja-pṛṣṭha*. This faces south with a *mukhamaṇḍapa* carrying over its *prastara* the usual *hāra* and having *vyāla*-based front pillars and elephant-based rear pilasters. The *āditala* wall is relieved by pilasters with capitals and carries a *hāra* of two front *karṇakūṭas* at the corners and *śālas* over the straight sides and round the *apse* end. The *hāra* of the second *tala*, however, has between the two front *karṇakūṭas* two *nīḍas* or *pañjaras* which are but miniature models of the main edifice, an innovation perhaps prompted by this type of *vimāna*. The apsidal *vimāna* became common in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, as earlier it was in the region to the north of it in the form of the Buddhist Caityas.[11] The appearance of the *nīḍa* or *pañjara* element in the *hāra* as in the rare case of Dharmarāja *ratha*, would indicate their dating or completion towards the end of the series in Parameśvara's time (A. D. 672-700).

I The Pallava-Pāṇḍya Vimāna Temples: With the accession of Pallava-Narasiṁhavarman II, Rājasiṁha (A. D. 700-728) the experimental prelude of making monolithic architectural models came to an almost abrupt end and a more rational and meaningful era of structural constructions was ushered in. The trials his predecessor, Parameśvaravarman, made in constructing structural models using granite slabs as in the square shrine of the Vedagirīśvara on top of the hill at Tirukalukunram, and the apsidal temple of Vidyā-vinīta Pallaveśvara at Kūram could not prove to be practical methods that could be elaborated. The former is a dolmen-like construction with three large granite slab walls on the sides and smaller ones on either side of the entrance in front, the whole roofed over by a top slab, with sculptures of the characteristic Somaskanda on the inside of the rear wall and others on the side walls.[12] The apsidal Kūram temple

as also the similar one at Kālambākkam exemplify a different mode. Here granite slabs of thickness varying from 4 to 9 inches are laid horizontally to form the *upāna* of the *adhiṣṭhāna* with strips set up vertically forming the *jagati*, and three horizontal layers of slabs over it with the upper and lower ones bevelled at the corners to form together the *tripaṭṭa kumuda*, a vertical course of short slabs on edge to form the *kaṇṭha*, topped by a horizontal slab for the *paṭṭikā*. The walls above are composed of alternating series of vertical slabs placed on edge, longitudinal and transverse, with horizontal slabs above forming coursed box-like cavities filled up with brick-work. The apsidal roof of brick work was perhaps supported as in the brick-built Kapoteśvara at Chejarla by a frame work of transverse slabs and vertical supports.

These methods should have proved to be too unsatisfactory soon, since Rājasiṁha took up to construction with dressed blocks probably broken from loose rocks since quarrying of hard stones was not sufficiently developed in technique. He, perhaps, experimented with four different kinds of hard stones in his area. Such temples built of hard stones, three in Mahābalipuram and one in Panamalai (district South Arcot), are his constructions in four varieties of hard stone fabric.

The Mukuṇḍa Nāyanār temple (Mahābalipuram), a unitary square *dvitala drāviḍa vimāna* with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* and with a *mukhamaṇḍapa*, all built of the granite of the place, is a plain structure devoid of any sculpture and even the cantoning pilasters with rearing *vyāla*-bases that are characteristic of Rājasiṁha's temples. The upper portions of the *grīva* and *śikhara* are lost and the rear wall of the sanctum has the characteristic Somaskanda relief. The *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālas* of the *āditala* extends over the *mukhamaṇḍapa* terrace also. This is almost a larger version of the northern Piḍāri *ratha*.

The Olakkaṇṇeśvara (Plate 9) on top of the hill at Mahābalipuram, with its superstructure lost and the outer shell of the *vimāna āditala* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* alone extant, is of a comparatively more tractable whitish grey granite, enabling easier sculpturing and carving. The cantoning pilasters are rampant *vyāla*-based, while some of the wall pilasters have *bhūta* bases. The *pañjara* tops of the *devakoṣṭha* niches coalesce with the *kūḍus* of the *kapota* of the main *prastara* as in the Valaiyankuṭṭai *ratha*.

The Tālagirīśvara (Plate 10) on top of the hill at Panamalai is a large temple, unitary, built of the local hard reddish granite and hence plain without sculpture, except for the cantoning rampant *vyāla* pilasters. It is square, *catuṣtala*, *drāviḍa*, with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. There are four buttressing *dvitala*

āyatāśra structures on the four sides of the *āditala*, built over corresponding extensions of the main *adhiṣṭhāna* with their walls engaged into the main massive wall of the *āditala* and with their top *grīvas* and *śālas* cleverly integrated into the main *hāra* over the *āditala* to form a harmonious series with the *karṇakūṭas* on the *āditala* corners and the *pañjaras* in between. While the two lateral abutting shrines, facing east like the main one, and the third rear one, facing west are shrines for Śiva, the one in front with a passage through serves as the *antarāla* entrance of the main shrine. The sanctum has a Somaskanda panel on its rear wall higher up in a niche above the height of the *dhārāliṅga* on the shrine floor. The two upper *talas*, have *hāras* of *kūṭas* and *śālas* and the top *tala* carried four *bhūtas* at the corners, now fallen down, as did the four corners of the *āditala kapota*. This system of engaged buttress shrines is a clever architectural expedient to strengthen and stabilize the massive construction in the novel heavy stone.

The Shore temple (Plate 11) (Fig. 1) at Mahābalipuram is a large temple complex of three nuclear shrines with accessory *maṇḍapas* and walls all built of a coarse, dark, hard stone and constructed in two phases. Of the three shrines the largest and later *catuṣtala vimāna* called Kṣatriya-siṁheśvara in its inscriptions, facing the sea on the east, and the smaller and earlier *tritala vimāna* called Rājasiṁheśvara in its inscriptions, facing west, are both dedicated to Śiva with Somaskanda panels and *dhārāliṅgas* inside them. Between them and built coevally with the Rājasiṁheśvara with engaged side walls and common rear wall and sharing the same rock-cut plinth, is a *maṇḍapa* shrine called Narapatisiṁha Pallava Viṣṇugṛham in its own inscription.[13] It has no superstructure and enshrines a previously rock-cut form of recumbent Viṣṇu of the *abhicārikā* variety. All the three have their own *mukhamaṇḍapas*. The larger *vimāna*, standing independently a little in front of the Viṣṇu shrine, has its own closely investing *prākāra* wall, of lesser height than its *āditala* and carrying a *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālas*. The *śāla* on the east over the entrance is larger and forms a simulated *dvāra śāla*. Both the *vimānas* are square from base up to the *grīva* and do not have *hāras* over the *āditala* and the top *tala* or *upagrīva* while the intermediate *talas* have one of *kūṭas* and *śālas*. The top *talas* of both have squatting *bhūta* figures at the corners. These are found again at the *āditala* corners of the smaller *vimāna*, while the larger one has in the same place squatting lions instead. The *grīva* and *śikhara* in both are octagonal, with similar *stūpis* of black basalt, making them both *drāviḍa*. The close-set *prākāra* with *hāra* over its coping and running round the larger Kṣatriya-siṁheśvara makes it appear to be a five-storeyed *vimāna* when

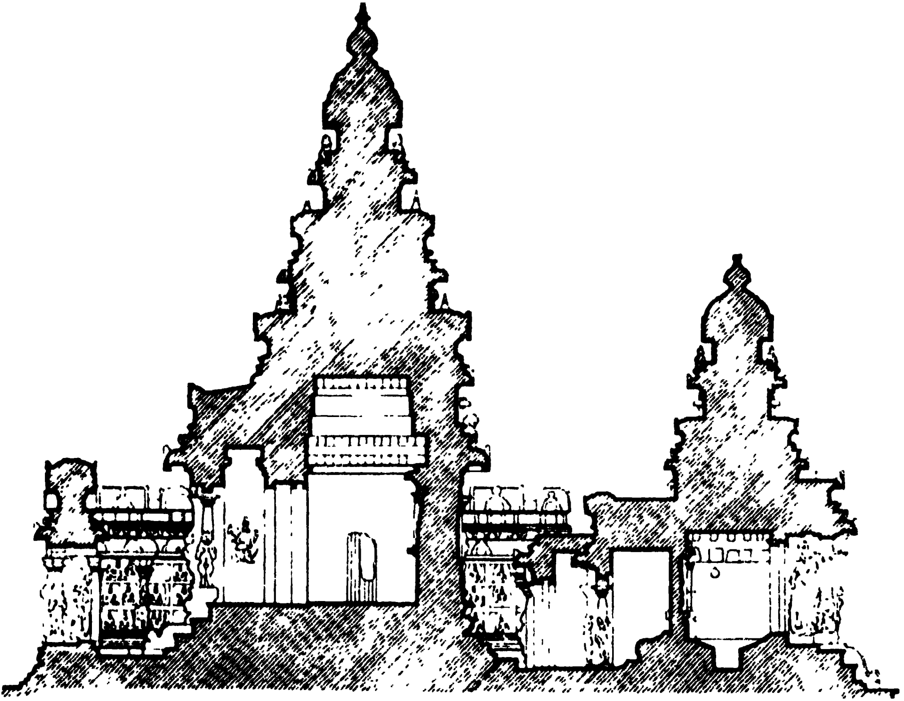


Fig. 1
Plan of Shore temple, section, Mahabalipuram (After A.I.I.S., Gurgaon)

viewed from outside, a device, perhaps, to balance the base-area-height proportion of this unusually lofty and graceful edifice with tall storeys.

Perhaps finding such hard stone constructions difficult and time consuming and actuated by a desire to keep pace with his Cālukyan rivals who were forging ahead with their fine grained sandstone structures, Rājasiṁha, in his short reign of twenty-eight years, should have taken to the local sandstone fabric, though coarse, friable and inferior, for his other constructions in his capital city of Kāñcī.

The Kailāsanātha temple complex (Plate 12) built of such fabric is his *magnum opus*. It would appear to be a joint effort of Rājasiṁha and his son Mahendra III, who predeceased his father. The nuclear Rājasiṁheśvara, an essentially square, *catuṣtala*, *sāndhāra*, *drāviḍa vimāna*, with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*, has, like the Panamalai temple, affluent *āyatāśra*, *dvitala* structures not only abutting and engaged into the four sides of the *bāhyabhitti* of the *āditala* and built over the oblong offsets of the *adhiṣṭhāna* but also

square *dvitala* ones at the corners over corresponding extensions of the *adhiṣṭhāna*. The oblong *grīvas* and *śāla śikharas* of the lateral affluents and the square *grīva-śikharas* of the gonal affluents are cleverly linked as the *bhadraśālas* and *karṇakūṭas* by the *hārāntara* lengths over the *āditala prastara*, so as to merge as the very *hāra* of the *āditala*. These extra constructional expedients *viz*. the double walling of the *āditala* and the addition of the corner buttress shrines are an advance over the arrangement found in Panamalai evidently because this larger structure was of weaker and friable sandstone. This scheme would also contribute to the harmonization of the base-area-height relation. The second *tala* has the usual *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *śālas* and *pañjaras* while the *hāra* over the third *tala* lacks the *pañjara* element. The top *tala* carries four bulls at the corners. While this nuclear *vimāna* and the detached oblong *maṇḍapa* standing in front and disposed transverse to the long axis were built by Rājasiṁha, the other accessories in the complex appear to have been contributed by Mahendra. While the large *āyatāśra*, *dvitala* Mahendravarmeśvara with *śāla śikhara* stands in front on the axial line simulating a front *gopura*, the open court round the nuclear structure is surrounded by a *prākāra*, leaving two passages for entry into it on either side of the Mahendravarmeśvara and having a real *dvitala* rear *gopura* on the west. All along the inside of the *prākāra*, is a chain of cloister subshrines, all *dvitala vimānas*. All of them are *kūṭa vimānas* with square *talas* and octagonal *grīvas* and *śikharas* and are dedicated to Śiva except the two opposite the north-south transverse axis of Rājasiṁheśvara which are *āyatāśra dvitala śāla vimānas* simulating small lateral *gopuras*, but really enshrining Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively. The frontal affluent of the main *vimāna* with a passage through its ground *tala* functions as the *antarāla* for entry into the sanctum, while the two front corners and two lateral ones, facing east, and the two rear corners and single rear one, facing west, are shrines with cells dedicated to Śiva. In front of the Mahendravarmeśvara is a small court, with a *prākāra*, having a small *dvāra śāla* entrance in front, two lateral openings near the two front corners and two *ayatāśra* shrines against the lateral walls inside. Outside the whole complex stands a detached row of eight *dvitala kūṭa vimānas* with square *talas* and octagonal *grīva-śikharas*, of a dedicatory nature. All the *dvitala* forms in the whole composition, including Mahendravarmeśvara, are *nirandhāra* and devoid of the *hāra* on any of their *talas*. The central shrines of both Rājasiṁheśvara and Mahendravarmeśvara have Somaskanda panels on the rear wall and *dhārāliṅgas* planted on the floor of the sanctum. While Brahmā, and Viṣṇu are sculptured on the inner walls of the *ardha maṇḍapa* or

antarāla of the Shore Temple and the Tālagirīśvara, a subordinate position in relation to Śiva as compared with the equal placement of the Trinity in Mahendravarman I Pallava's first cave temple at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu, the two gods are further relegated to the position of subsidiary deities in the two *āyatāśra* cloister *vimānas* in the Kailāsanātha temple.

The Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple (Plate 13) called Parameśvara Viṣṇugṛha, built by Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla (732-96) in Kāñcī, is another larger structure built of sandstone with the usual admixture of granite in the top and bottom courses of the *adhiṣṭhāna*. It is a *samacaturaśra*, *catuṣtala sāndhāra vimāna* with *drāviḍa* (octagonal) *grīva-śikhara* and *anarpita hāras* on the lower three of the superposed functional *talas*. These three superposed cells enshrine the three forms *sthānaka* (standing), *āsana* (sitting) and *śayana* (reclining), of Viṣṇu, each with a *mukhamaṇḍapa* while the top or fourth *tala* without *hāra* but with four Viṣṇuite *lāñchanas* being closed and non-functional serves solely as an *upagrīva* in order to raise up the *grīva-śikhara* and enhance the height of the *vimāna* in due proportion to its basal area. In design it is essentially a system of three concentric walls of increasing heights and with *prastaras* carrying *kūṭa-koṣṭha-pañjaras*, built one behind the other on each side, the innermost wall enclosing the three superposed cells separated horizontally from each other by terraces at the respective *prastara* levels. The *āditala* thus has two closed ambulatories between the *bāhya*, *madhya* and *āntara bhittis*, the *madhya tala* with an outer open ambulatory or *alindra* and an inner closed one between the *madhya*-and-*āntara-bhittis*, and the third *uparitala* with only an open circuit or *alindra* round it. The *āditala* and its *mukhamaṇḍapa* are surrounded externally again by a flat terraced and closely investing cloister standing on a moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* of lesser height than the main *adhiṣṭhāna* and carrying *vyāla*-based pillars on its inner edge and the enclosing *prākāra* wall on its outer edge with its *prastara* surmounted by a *hara* of *kūṭas* and *śālas*. This being of a lesser height than the *āditala*, as in the Shore Temple, lends a *pañcatala* appearance to the whole structure when viewed from outside, besides harmonizing the base-area-height ratio. The cloister has on its walls narrative sculptures depicting the history of the Pallavas, those, relating to the early period of Nandivarman particularly annotated by short label inscriptions. The *āditala mukhamaṇḍapa* has also a *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *śālas* and *pañjaras*. The *pañjaras* of the *āditala hāra* which could also be seen along with the *kūṭas* and *koṣṭhas* from the terrace of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* or from the outer *alindra* on top of the *āditala* present full aspects of miniature apsidal *vimana* elements with their rear *gajapṛṣṭha* forms.

The Mukteśvara (Plate 14) called Dharma Mahādevi-Īśvaram after the name of Nandi's queen, and the identical and almost contemporary Mātaṅgeśvara (Plate 15), both in Kāñcī, are alike *nirandhāra*, *samacaturaśra tritala*, *veśara vimānas* with *vṛtta grīva* and *śikhara* and with *karṇakūṭas* and *śālas* alone in the *hāras* of the lower *talas* and *nandis* on the corners of the topmost *tala*. Both are of the unitary type consisting of the *vimāna* and *mukhamaṇḍapa*, both with the *adhiṣṭhāna* raised over a high *upapīṭha* that enhances the total height of the structure in due proportion to the base. The base and top of the *upapīṭha* and the top of the *adhiṣṭhāna* are of granite, while the rest is of sandstone.

There are in Kāñcī a few other Pallava sandstone *vimānas* all unitary and of smaller stature and *nirandhāra* of the eighth century. The Iravātaneśvara (Plate 16) and the Tripurāntakeśvara are examples of *samacaturaśra, dvitala, nāgara vimānas* with square *grīva-śikhara*. The Piravātaneśvara and the Vālīśvara are *samacaturaśra, drāviḍa vimānas* of the composite variety with octagonal *grīva-śikhara*. While the former is *dvitala* the latter is *tritala* and also the latest in point of time, enshrining along with the *liṅga* a panel of Umā-Maheśvara, in place of the usual Somaskanda. The Kailāsanātha (Plate 17) at Tiruppaṭṭūr (district Tiruchirapalli) is a larger *vimāna* in sandstone, of the late eighth century that marks a provincial variety of the Pallava *vimana*. It is *samacaturaśra catuṣtala, drāviḍa*, with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*, the *āditala* being *sāndhāra*, with a small *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front.

The end of the eighth century and the commencement of the ninth, corresponding to the reign of Dantivarman Pallava (796-846) mark the decadence of Pallava stone architecture and a change over to brick structures on moulded granite *adhiṣṭhānas* in the case of the larger Pallava temples in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Sundaravarada Perumāl temple (Plate 18) (Fig. 2) in Uttiramerūr (district Chingleput) can be cited as an example. The Sundaravarada Perumāl *vimāna* is unique and has three superposed functional *talas* for the three principal forms of Viṣṇu with affluent side shrines engaged into the *āditala* wall on the south, west and north and a similar *antarāla* in front on the east, forming the *mukha bhadras* round the *āditala*, their *hāra* elements merging with the *anarpita hāra* over the *prastara* of the *samacaturaśra āditala*. These lateral shrines contain other forms of Viṣṇu. The access to the upper shrines is provided by flight of steps in the respective *mukhamaṇḍapas*. Since the *āditala* is also *sāndhāra* the *alindra* over it forms the circumambulatory for the second *tala*, which also has three smaller side shrines for three other forms of Viṣṇu. The top *tala* is surmounted by a *grīva* and *vṛtta*

śikhara, and has in front in place of a *mahānāsikā*, a bold *mukha śāla* projection called in Tamil *eruśālai*. The *vimāna* built in accordance with early Vaikhānasa *āgamas* is thus dedicated to the *navamūrtis*.[14]

However, smaller temples like the one at Sumaṅgali near Kāñcī continued to be built of the local sandstone and the latest example to be built in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam - the Vīraṭṭāneśvara in Tiruttani in the same district is wholly of hard black granite with an original *pravāla* on its northern side. This all-stone *samacaturaśra*, *ekatala*, *veśara vimāna* with apsidal *grīva* and *śikhara* over the square body and with a *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front was built by one Nambi Appi in the 16th year of Aparājita Pallava (885-903), one of the last Pallavas. This perhaps reflects more the hard stone tradition that was reviving in the

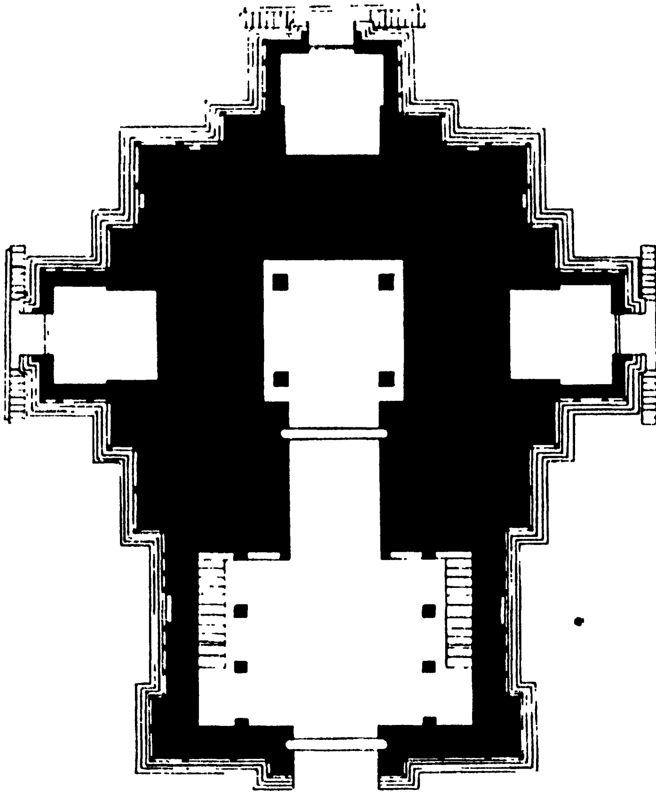


Fig. 2
Plan of Sundaravarada Perumāl temple, Uttiramerūr (After A.I.I.S., Gurgaon)

further south in the Cola and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalams and west in the Gaṅga-Bāṇa-area, its Pallava association, in those times of their waning power being only nominal. This will be evident from the style of its sculptures and also in the context of the fact that the Viṣṇu temple at Nenmeli nearby has only its plinth of the same black stone and its walls and superstructure of brick. The *ekatala* Śiva temple at Bāhūr (Pondicherry) of the time of the last great ruler Nṛpatuṅga Pallava (*c.* 859-99) with a *samacaturaśra āditala*, with *adhiṣṭhāna* and *āditala* in hard stone built over an *upapīṭha* of the same stone, reminiscent of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa mode, and superstructure of brick, indicates the same trend, more or less, on the southern borders of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in consonance with the all-stone constructions in hard stone prevailing further south.

The continuance of all constructions beyond the Pallava area, appears to have been in the wake of the carving in *c.* 800 A. D. of the single Pāṇḍya monolithic *vimāna*, the Veṭṭuvānkovil (Plate 19) at Kalugumalai (district Tirunelveli), a superb specimen in the hard local rock cut by the entrenching method as adopted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for their great monolithic version, the Kailāsa at Ellorā and the lesser one in the same place. This is a *samacaturaśra*, *tritala*, *arpita*-type composite *drāviḍa vimāna* with octagonal *grīva-śikhara* having a *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front over which the *hāra* extends also. It is noted for its fine sculpture and the definite polarization of the *vimāna devatās* on the cardinal points of the superstructure, a feature that became the general norm from this time onwards in the *vimānas* of the Tamil country as a whole. The lower parts of the *vimāna* and *maṇḍapa* are unfinished.

The numerous stone structural temples built in the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and Cola maṇḍalam between 800 and 1000 A. D. by the Pāṇḍyas, the early Colas, the lesser dynastics in the Pallava-Pāṇḍya marches the Muttaraiyars, Irukkuvels and others and the Imperial Colas that rose to power in their wake, formed, with the earlier ones in the Pallava country of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the main matrix of the great temples that came to be constructed in the south. They were the pioneers in the laying down of the norms and forms which were practised and codified in the *Śilpa* and *Āgama* canons. It will be possible to notice briefly only a few of these.

The small all-stone *ekatala* unitary type *vimānas* with *mukhamaṇḍapas* constructed in the first half of the ninth century at Panaṅguḍi, Kaliyāpaṭṭi, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr and Enādi, all in the former Pudukkoṭṭai territory south of the Kāveri form an interesting series of *nāgara vimānas*, square from base to apex. They often have a *mahāmaṇḍapa* added in front, a *prākāra* with a small frontal *dvāraśāla* entrance, and eight subsidiary shrines inside the *aṣṭaparivāra*

which include one for the *Saptamātṛkās* on the southern side which alone is *āyatāśra*[15] as against the square plan of the rest. Similar *ekatala* all-stone *alpa vimāna* forms, called Karṟalis in their inscriptions, but with circular *grīva* and *śikhara* are exemplified by the *vimānas* of Bālasubrahmaṇya temple (Plate 20) at Kaṇṇanūr, and the Śiva temple at Virālūr in the same area. The former is unique in having four elephant *lāñchanas* at the four corners round the *grīva* which are the *vāhanas* of Subrahmaṇya, an early feature corroborated by contemporary and earlier Tamil literary tradition.

The Talināthasvāmi temple at Tiruppattūr (district Ramanathapuram) is a typical and fine all-stone early Pāṇḍya structure and one of the very few preserved in all its parts up to its *stūpi*. It is *samacaturaśra dvitala* and *nāgara* with square *grīva* and *śikhara*. The *āditala hāra* is semi-detached from the second *tala harmya* which carries on its top corner four *kūṭas* or *tali* forms in the place of the usual *lāñchanas*[16] and has no intervening *śālas* or *hārāntara* to form a complete *hāra*. The Vālīśvara (Plate 21) at Tiruvālīśvaram (district Tirunelveli) is another fine all-stone Pāṇḍya *vimāna* which is *samacaturaśra dvitala* having octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. The *hāra* of the *āditala* composed of *karṇakūṭas* and *śālas* with *hārāntara* intervening, contains a fine series of sculpture panels in the *kūṭa*, *śāla* and *hārāntara* niches, including such forms as the characteristic *ānanda tāṇḍava Śiva* (Naṭarāja) which is perhaps the earliest depiction of this characteristic South Indian concept.

The Aivarkovil or Aintali Mahādeva temple (Plate 22) at Koḍumbālūr of the early ninth century, extant only in the stone *adhiṣṭhāna* of the original *vimāna* with its front *ardha maṇḍapa* and of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* added slightly later, is of unique design. It was a *samacaturaśra sāndhāra vimāna* facing west with square stone *bāhyabhitti* and a circular brick *āntarabhitti* enclosing the *garbhagṛha*. At the four corners were four affluent square *vimānas* forming full *karṇakūṭas*, all dedicated to Śiva. In between on the two lateral sides were *sopānas* or flights of steps leading to the main shrine ambulatory besides two more such *sopānas* at either end of the transverse narrow *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front on the west, giving access to the main as well as to the two front side shrines. The rear side shrines have each a *sopāna* in front on the east. The narrow landing connecting the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* have two more flights of steps on its north and south. The Vijayālaya Colīśvaram (Plate 23) at Nārttāmalai[17] is interesting with a *vimāna* plan much akin to that of the Aivarkovil but without the affluent corner shrines. It is an all-stone, *tritala sāndhāra vimāna*, essentially a *veśara* form tending

towards the pure *veśara* type in that the *āntarabhitti* of the *āditala* and the top *tala* are circular on plan, the *āditala* itself invested by a *bāhyabhitti* square in layout, leaving a narrow closed ambulatory in between and an *alindra* over its top thus making the *āditala hāra anarpita*. There is an attached square *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front on the west of lesser width and with the only entrance on its front wall, guarded by *dvārapālas*. The *āditala hāra* has the usual composition of rather tall elements, the *kūṭas* and *śālas*, which extends also over the *mukhamaṇḍapa* undiminished in size. This marks an early trait common to both Pallava and Cālukya forms that persisted in the Cālukyan area in the succeeding periods and disappeared in the Tamil area subsequently. These features and the marked Cālukyan affinities alone would help in placing the temple in the middle part of the ninth century. The second *tala* of lesser dimensions is again square, its walls resting on the arcs and the four pillars built against the four outer corners of the circular *āntarabhitti* below inside the *sāndhāra* circuit. This *tala* carries a *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālas*. The third *tala*, again circular, carries four *nandis* on its top corners along with the circular *grīva* and *śikhara* in its centre. The temple had an *aṣṭaparivāra* of separate, small *ekatala vimānas* set closer to the main *vimāna* and free from the *prākāra* wall, some of which are extant, all square with circular *grīva-śikharas* except the one on the south that was *āyatāśra* with *śāla śikhara* intended for the *Saptamātṛkās*. The *prākāra* had a main *gopura* or *dvāraśāla* entrance on the rear on the east located a little to the north of the median axial line so as to come at the head of the natural ascent over the rock slope. This would appear to be a Muttaraiyar foundation under Pāṇḍyan and Cālukyan influence.[18]

The Sundareśvara, called in its inscriptions Maṛavanīśvara-gṛham, in Naṅgavaram (district Tiruchirapalli) is, perhaps, another Muttaraiyar foundation of the second part of the ninth century. It is an all-stone *samacaturaśra tritala veśara vimāna* with *vṛtta grīva śikhara* and with the *hāra* of the *talas* consisting of *kūṭas* and *śālas* that are semi-detached from the *tala* walls. In its partially extant *aṣṭaparivāra* the shrine for Gaṇeśa is *gajapṛṣṭha* with apsidal *grīva-śikhara*, appropriate to Gajānana and that for the *Saptamātṛkās* oblong with *śāla śikhara* as usual while the rest are *samacaturaśra*. The *hāra* is absent over the *mukhamaṇḍapa*. The *veśara* character, the free-standing subshrines and other features would take it closer to the Vijayālaya Colīśvaram in style and point of time.

The Mūvarkovil (Plate 24) at Koḍumbālūr, built by the Irukkuvel chief Bhūti Vikramakeśari and assignable to the second half of the ninth century, is famous alike for its fine architecture and exquisite sculpture. It is a complex of

three nuclear *samacaturaśra, dvitala nāgara* all-stone *vimānas* of fine grained granite with their *mukhamaṇḍapas*, standing in a west facing row, with a common *mahāmaṇḍapa* in front and a *ṣoḍaśa parivāra* of sixteen sub-shrines built inside the *prākāra*, which had a small *gopura* in front. The *hāra* over the *āditala* has four *karṇakūṭas* of usual four *aṅga* dimensions but the four *bhadraśālas* are taller with six *aṅgas*, like miniature *alpa vimānas* reaching up to the full height of the tall second *tala harmya* and reminiscent of the Pāṇḍya *vimānas*. These contain fine sculpture in their niches, as in the *devakoṣṭhas* of the *āditala* below. The top *tala* carries four *nandis*. While the middle and southern *vimānas* alone are preserved in full the third northern *vimāna* and the rest of the complex are extant only in their *adhiṣṭhānas*. The iconographical influences are apparently both from the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya sides.

The Sundareśvara or Kaṛkuṛichchi Mahādeva (Plate 25), temple in Tirukkaṭṭalai or Tirukkaṟṟali (Pudukkoṭṭai—Tiruchirapalli), is a well preserved type-specimen of the Kaṟṟali or all-stone temple with the main *vimāna* and *ardhamaṇḍapa*, the *aṣṭaparivāra*, the *prākāra* and single *gopura* or *dvāraśāla* in front on the east, all preserved. The main *vimāna* is *samacaturaśra, dvitala nāgara* with *praṇāla* on its northern side. The *Saptamātṛkā ekatala vimāna* of the *parivāra* series is oblong with *śāla śikhara*, while the rest are square *kūṭa* forms. The *hāra* does not extend over the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. It is a foundation of *c.* 910 A. D. The Mucukundeśvara of Koḍumbālūr, a later foundation of the Irukkuvels when they had become Cola vassals, partakes of the features of the Mūvarkovil and the Tirukkaṭṭalai temple.

The Nāgeśvara (Plate 26) at Kumbakonam built in the last quarter of the ninth century which is *samacaturaśra nāgara dvitala* and the Koraṅganātha at Śrinivāsanallūr (district Tiruchirapalli) perhaps of the closing years of the same century and also *samacaturaśra nāgara dvitala* are two unique examples of temples noted for their fine portrait sculptures, some of them exquisite feminine forms, in addition to the other usual iconographic forms. The former is an all-stone structure, while the high second *tala* and *nāgara grīva-śikhara* of the latter are of brick over the stone *āditala*. The *āditala hāra* is *anarpita*, though the *vimāna* is *nirandhāra*, reminiscent of the Vijayālaya Colīśvaram on the one hand and the western Gaṅga temples on the other.

With the advent of Parāntaka I Cola (A. D. 907-955) and the stabilization of Cola rule after his conquest of the Pāṇḍyan territory and, the stage was set for many architectural enterprises by the Cola royalty and the subordinate chieftains. Śembiyan Mahādevī, the dowager queen of Gaṇḍarāditya Cola, who

lived long till the times of Rājarāja I (985-1016) and Kuṇḍavvai, Rājarāja's sister, were responsible for the reconstruction of many earlier brick *vimānas* in stone. These early Cola temples while basically after the prevalent brick forms of the region, partake much of the idioms of the Pallava-Pāṇḍyas and the Muttaraya-Irukkuvels who were great stone temple builders and had their long influence over the Cola maṇḍalam. The temples at Kīlaiyūr, Vālikaṇḍāpuram and Tiruveṛumbūr all in the Tiruchirapalli district, those at Koviladi, Tiruviśalūr, Puñjai and Pullamaṅgai in the Tañjāvūr district and the Elumbeśvara in Eṛumbūr in the South Arcot district would be some of the many that could be assigned to this period between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. Of the twin temples at Kīlaiyūr, two fine all-stone structures, the *samacaturaśra tritala nāgara vimāna* of Agastīśvara (Plate 27) would be slightly earlier than the similar Aruṇācaleśvara, also square in its *talas* but with *vṛtta grīva* and *śikhara*. Both of them, foundations by the local Paluveṭṭaraiyar chiefs, would belong to the last quarter of the ninth century though the earliest donatory inscription mentioning both the temples is in *c*. 893 of the time of Āditya I Cola. The Divyajñāneśvara at Koviladi and the Piplikeśvara at Tiruveṛumbūr were built by the same person, both in the middle of the 10th century. The Koviladi temple is *samacaturaśra ekatala* with *vṛtta grīva* and *śikhara* and like the similar Piplikeśvara, has an *upapīṭha* at the base, both forming very much the arche-type of early Cola temple forms, with an *aṣṭaparivāra* set-up.

It would be better to consider briefly in this context the peripheral areas, to the west and north of the Tamil country. Of the few contemporary temples of the Western Gāṅgas of Talakāḍ in South Mysore, all in hard stone and much resembling those of their Pallava compeers in form though with essential differences in features, the earliest would be the twin *ekatala nāgara vimānas* of Jain character incorporated as the northern annexe of a later larger temple on the Chandragiri hill at Śravaṇabelagola (district Hassan). They are of small size, each two metres square at base standing at either end of a rectangular *adhiṣṭhāna*, their hind walls extended over the intervening gap and forming a square flat-roofed cell in between. All of them open into a common rectangular *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front. The *grīva* and *śikhara* are devoid of a *śukanāsikā*. The Cāmuṇḍarāya basti (Plate 28), to the north of the above in the same place, is a more impressive structure built in *c*. 982-95, a *samacaturaśra*, *tritala*, *sāndhāra vimāna* that is *drāviḍa* with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. The closed *mukhamaṇḍapa* is built on the forward extension of the same moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* as also the *agra-maṇḍapa* or portico in front on the east. The *āditala* and second *tala* are functional, enshrining Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* and the

anarpita hāra of the *āditala* with well formed *kūṭas, śālas* and *pañjaras* is extended over the front *maṇḍapas* also. The closed *sāndhāra* circuit of the *āditala* corresponds to the open *alindra* circuit of the second *tala*. The third *tala* is of the nature of an *upagrīva* and non-functional. This structure is noted for its fine sculpture. The *maṇḍapa* is of the *navaraṅga* type with four polished central pillars, but not lathe-turned as in the later Cālukyan forms. The twelve peripheral pillars are of the usual cave-temple or *maṇḍapa* type, square at base and top and octagonal in between.

The most interesting Gaṅga temple, perhaps earlier to the Cāmuṇḍarāya basti, would be the Jaina temple at Kambadahalli near Śravaṇabelagola in the same district. It is a *trikūṭācala* type of three all-stone *ekatala*, square *vimānas* built on the east, south and west of a common *mukhamaṇḍapa* and all opening into it, the main common outer entrance being on the fourth or northern side of the *maṇḍapa*. The square, octagonal and circular *grīvas* and *śikharas* over the square *āditalas* respectively of the three constituent *vimānas* would again illustrate and emphasize the practical application of the ternary scheme of classification as *nāgara, drāviḍa* and *veśara* enunciated by the southern texts. The *maṇḍapa* of the *navaraṅga* plan with a carved ceiling slab in the central bay depicting the *dikpālas*, a Cālukyan feature, has an open pillared porch in front with lateral *sopānas*. A little to the front and connected by a common passage in between are two more independent *ekatala vimānas*, added later and facing each other. This gives the name Pañca Kūṭa basti to this temple complex (Plate 29). The whole complex is surrounded by a *prākāra* with a *gopura dvāra* in front, again a southern feature. The fine temple at Narasamaṅgala (district Mysore) at the extreme south of the plateau is an all-brick construction of the Gaṅgas of the 10th century, perhaps one of the very few standing old temples of brick preserved to this day. It is noted for its fine stucco icons and the separate *mātṛkā* shrine at its rear on the west.

The granite temples at Nandi (district Kolar), the capital of the Bāṇas, are much of the Gaṅga vintage. The Yoganandīśvara is a small and simple *ekatala vimāna* on the top of the Nandi-hill, an example of plain architecture. The Bhoganandīśvara (Plate 30) and Aruṇācaleśvara (Plate 31) *vimānas*, forming the nucleus of the temple complex at the foot of the hill with later additions of axial *maṇḍapas*, *prākāras*, *gopura*, cloisters etc. are more elaborate *vimānas*. Of the two, the Bhoganandīśvara, evidently a total renovation in granite of an earlier structure, is a *samacaturaśra tritala nāgara vimāna*, with its *āditala hāra* of *kūṭas*, *koṣṭhas* and *nīḍas* extending over the *prastara* of the *ardha-* and *mahā-maṇḍapas* in front. The second *tala* has a similar *hāra*, while the

top *tala* carries four polished black-stone *nandis* at the corners. The *mahānāsikā* niches contain similar black-polished stone sculptures of the appropriate deities. The lower *tala* niches contain some exquisite sculptures of granite, as also elaborate decorative motifs. The Aruṇācaleśvara is almost a copy, but later in point of time. As in the case of the twin *ekatala vimānas* of Śravaṇabelagola, these two *vimānas* both facing east are connected by an intervening screen wall, in this case later and extending from the region of their *ardha maṇḍapas*.

The Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī, a collateral branch of the early Bādāmi Cālukyas, have left a few early stone temples immediately to the north of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam of the Pallavas and as such conforming to the southern tradition. The most interesting would be the group at Biccavolu (district East Godāvarī) and Pondugala (district Guntur). The earlier group at Biccavolu, namely, the ruined temples called Kansaraguḍi, Nakkalaguḍi (Plate 32), and a third without a name, are perhaps of the times of Guṇaga Vijayāditya (848-891) and his successors. They are *samacaturaśra*, *tritala*, *nāgara vimānas* with four *karṇakūṭas* and four *bhadraśālas* on their two lower *talas*, the *pañjara* among them, as also the *śukanāsikā* being absent, features which would indicate affinity and proximity to the Pallava type, though their distinct regional characters and Cālukyan family traits would be evident from other features and the general stature of the *vimāna* form. The *makara toraṇas* are emphasized in detail by the addition of a pair of *makara*-heads at the apex of the arch on either side of the finial. The three other temples in the same place, the Goliṅgeśvara, the Candraśekhara (Plate 33) and the Rājarājeśvara, belong to the second and later group (*c*. 950-1050), the last being named, perhaps after Rājarāja Narendra (1019-60). They are also *samacaturaśra*, *tritala*, *nāgara* forms, but with the superstructures restored partially or totally in later times and all heavily plastered over obscuring many original diagnostic features. The Goliṅgeśvara has some interesting sculpture. These temples have all a typically Cālukyan plinth form, and are *dvi*-or *tri-tala* structures, *nirandhāra* and with *ardhamaṇḍapa* narrower than the *āditala*. The niches have sculptures and they are all of Śaiva affiliation. The *śikhara*, however, is square and in some cases as in the Rājarājeśvara the *talas* are devoid of the *hāra* over the *prastara*. Thus, the earlier group would be derivative in the *śikhara* form from the upper Śivālaya at Bādāmī.

The Bṛhadīśvara temples (Plate 34) at Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram mark the acme of southern *vimāna* architecture and are early examples of the simultaneous design of axial and peripheral adjuncts of a large southern temple

complex. The Tañjāvūr temple, the Rājarājeśvaram as it is called in its inscriptions, was conceived on the grandest scale by its imperial builder Rājarāja I in the design and stature, alike, of the *vimāna*, the *liṅga*, the *nandi*, the *gopuras*, the cloister *vimānas* and shrines as also in its embellishment by painting and sculpture including those pertaining to dance (*Bharata-nāṭya*) that was associated with the temples of the times.

The main *vimāna* with a bold *adhiṣṭhāna* raised over a lofty *upapīṭha* is a *mukhya vimāna* facing east and *samacaturaśra drāviḍa* since the ultimate *grīva* and *śikhara* are octagonal. It is *sāndhāra* in its *āditala* and in the equal sized second *tala* rising vertically over it as its upward extension. The massive *bāhya*-and *āntara-bhittis* approximate each other gradually in the third *tala* region by a system of inward corbelling or *kadalikākaraṇa* on the converged apex of which the further superstructure of thirteen *talas* of proportionately diminishing sizes rises as a graceful pyramid carrying on top the octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. The *hāras* over the *talas* made up of *kūṭas*, *koṣṭhas* and *pañjaras* are to be found only in the *prastaras* of the second and higher *talas*, the *āditala* being marked off from the second *tala* only by a bold *kapota* of its *prastara*. The central *bhadra* projections on the three sides of the *bāhyabhitti* have door openings in both the lowest vertical *talas* while in front the massive walls form an *antarāla* passage across the *sāndhāra* circuit and leading to the *garbhagṛha*. In front of the *antarāla* of the *āditala* is a north-south transept, with *sopānas* at either end, while on its front is the main door communicating with a large closed *mahāmaṇḍapa* that has an open *agra maṇḍapa* or porch in front with lateral and frontal *sopānas*. All the axial *maṇḍapas* stand on the forward continuation of the main *adhiṣṭhāna* and *upapīṭha*. All these are two storeyed in design to conform with the two vertical basal *talas* of the *vimāna*. The transept has a third smaller storey, rectangular likewise, with an elliptical *śāla*-top and a *nāsikā* front, applique to the base of the rising pyramid, in the form of a *mukhaśāla* (*eruśālai*) reaching up to a third of the height of the pyramid and gradually merging into it. The interior of the pyramid is rendered, hollow up to the *stūpi* base, the *talas* rising up by the *kadalikākaraṇa* method of corbelling, an expedient to reduce the weight of this 60 metre high structure resting on a 30 metre square base, in addition to the massiveness and double-walling of the two basal *talas* and their corbelling up in the third *tala* calculated to bear and distribute the weight and thrust of the superstructure evenly on both the walls. The cloister or *mālikā* along the inner face of the two-tiered *prākāra* is double storeyed likewise, and strings up seven *dvitala*, *drāviḍa vimānas* each with a square body and octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* and located at the

four corners and three sides, dedicated to the *dikpālas*, the eighth *dikpāla* shrine in front on the east merging into the inner face of the inner *gopura*. While the top *tala* of the main *vimāna* carries the bull *lāñchanas* at its corners, the *dikpāla vimānas* have other *lāñchanas* or *vāhanas* appropriate to the respective *dikpāla* enshrined. The twenty-eight other shrines of the *mālikā* were also two-storeyed with flat roofs on top. To the north of the transept *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the main *vimāna* is a free-standing all-stone *vimāna* for Caṇḍikeśvara, the *mūlabhṛtya* or chief steward of Śiva. Caṇḍeśa who figures in Śiva temples even from the time of Rājasiṁha Pallava (A. D. 700), as in his Kailāsanātha temple and also to be found in one of the *aṣṭaparivāra* shrines in temple complexes of subsequent times, now comes to have a more forward and fixed position on the north of the massive *praṇāla* of the main *vimāna* and a little to its east. This becomes a fixed convention from this time onwards. In front of the all-stone *gopura* on the east of the *prākāra*, is a larger *gopura* of the same type. Both have hollow interiors in their superstructure resulting from the *kadalikākaraṇa* design as in the case of the main *vimāna* superstructure. In addition to the front *gopura* on the east, the *prākāra* has ordinary openings, which are *toraṇa* gates incorporated into the walls, on the other three sides opposite to the three sides of the main *vimāna*. The lower *sāndhāra* circuit contains the well-known Cola frescoes and the upper *sāndhāra* circuit has a series of relief sculptures of Śiva, four-armed, demonstrating the various *karaṇas* or dance poses of *Bharata-nāṭya* and sage Taṇḍu, the author of Tāṇḍava is also shown in some panels as watching the demonstration. All the other structures in the court inside are later additions.

The Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple (*c.* 1025) is only a lesser version of Rājarāja's great temple of Tañjāvūr, built by his great son Rājendra I Cola (1012-1044). It is *samacaturaśra* in its *talas*, the lowermost two vertical are *sāndhāra*. The tapering superstructure of seven *talas* crowned by circular or *vṛtta grīva-śikhara* and rendered hollow inside by the *kadalikākaraṇa* mode of construction assumes an embowed or concave outline at the corners in contrast with the straight corner lines of the Tañjāvūr *vimāna*. This is achieved by the clever interposition of octagonal *kūṭas* in the *hāra* elements of the upper *talas* as the *karṇakuṭas* at the corners. This temple is noted for its better sculptural content on its walls and superstructure, depicting varied iconography exhibiting the best forms of Cola sculptural art. The peripheral cloister and *gopura* in front are ruined.[19] Two smaller temples, the Uttira and Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa temples on either side of the main *vimāna* and the *Caṇḍeśa vimāna* are also of the same period.

The period following Rājendra's reign marks the advent of another very important and characteristic addition to the temple complex, namely, the *tirukkāma-koṭṭam* or separate *vimāna* shrine with *āyatāśra grīva-śikhara* for Devī represented as the divine consort of the god consecrated in the main *vimāna*.[20] This is a peculiar feature of the Tamilian temples and is referred to as the Amman shrine popularly. Though the two Bṛhadīśvaras did not have contemporary Amman shrines as in the subsequent cases of temples built in the Tamil country or wherever their influence spread, these were added later.

The Airāvateśvara (Plates 35a, 35b) at Dārāsuram and the Kampahareśvara at Tribhuvanam, both in the Tañjāvūr district, exemplify the last of the great Cola temples with all-stone *vimānas*. The Airāvateśvara built by Rājarāja II Cola (1146-1173) and the Kampahareśvara built by Kulottuṅga III Cola (1178-1216) are essentially lesser versions of the two Bṛhadīśvaras but with some conspicuous features showing Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa affinities. The Airāvateśvara shows in its *vimāna* superstructure of five *talas* a very clever variation of the corner elements in the *hāras* of the different *talas*. They are *karṇakūṭas* of square, octagonal and circular plans, conforming to the *nāgara*, *drāviḍa* and *veśara* patterns, in addition to the lateral aspect of the apsidal *nīḍas* with inwardly turned *nāsikā* fronts exposing the flanks in one of the lower storeys. The topmost *tala* carries four *nāgara karṇakūṭas* flanked by a pair of recumbent *nandis* one on either side. This feature was an innovation of Rājendra Cola I in his later temples and persisted for some time till the end of the Cola rule in some temples only to disappear again leaving the *nandis* or other cognizant *lāñchanas* alone. The *vṛtta grīva* and *śikhara* carry a metal *stūpi* on top. The *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *koṣṭhas* and *pañjaras* of the *āditala* is also extended over the top of the *maṇḍapas* in front of the transept, a Cālukyan feature. The open porch-like *agramaṇḍapa* on the south of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* simulates a chariot on wheels. This temple also contains fine sculpture in basalt-like, black, polished stone, different from the fabric of the structure, the best being the Kaṅkalamūrti group including the *Ṛṣi patnīs*, now transferred to the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery. The coeval Deivanāyaki Amman temple, adjoining, has appropriately a *śāla śikhara* and in addition is characterized by *vyāla*-based pilasters cantoning the corners of the structures as in Rājasiṁha Pallava's temples.

The Kampahareśvara (Plate 36) is similar to the Airāvateśvara in many respects including the *vṛtta grīva-śikhara* over the square *talas* and the wheeled porch with its ornate pillars, the feature of the *hāra* elements extending over the top of the axial *maṇḍapas* and the coeval Amman and Caṇḍikeśvara

vimānas. The temple is a veritable gallery of sculpture of varied iconography including some fine dance poses. The complete and tall outer *gopura* on the east, the ruined smaller inner *gopura* of that side and the rear *gopura* on the west are contemporary structures with characteristic features of the late Cola period.

Quite a number of new temples were built with brickwork superstructure over the stone bodies of *vimānas* and *gopuras* in the succeeding times of the later Pāṇḍyas and of the Vijayanagara and the Nāyaka rulers till right up to modern times. But the more prominent contribution during these periods would be the elaboration, both axially and peripherally, of the already existing temple units into larger temple complexes, as for example those at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Chidambaram, and even temple cities like Śrīraṅgam and Madurai. The two-storeyed cloisters or *mālikās* and *gopuras* that had come in even in Cola times were surrounded by more outer *prākāras* with larger *gopuras*, often on all the four sides, with a number of minor *vimānas* and pillared *maṇḍapas* disposed variously in the different enclosers to accord with the increasing demands of rituals and festivals. The *Utsava maṇḍapas*, *anapanamaṇḍapas*, *nṛtta maṇḍapas*, *kalyāṇa maṇḍapas*, *sabhāmaṇḍapas*, *dolotsava maṇḍapas*, *vyākaraṇa maṇḍapas*, *ātūra śālas* (hospitals) and the like would, as their names suggest, testify to the ever growing importance of the temple as the very centre of the religious and socio-economic life of the people living around it. The 'hundred'-and 'thousand-pillared' *maṇḍapas* and the large *gopuras*, often of eleven storeys, are characteristic of the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods. The finest example of a Nāyaka period temple would be the Subrahmaṇya temple inside the court of the Bṛhadīśvara at Tañjāvūr. Built of fine grained granite it is a small temple unit with *ardhamaṇḍapa*, transept and *mukhamaṇḍapa* all built over a raised *upapīṭha*. The superstructure of the *vimāna* is in brick and stucco. The ornate pilasters, the intricate and chased work on the walls and mouldings and the delicate sculptures would mark the temple as a unique example that formed the pattern for the modern temple builder or *sthapati* of South India. The most noteworthy feature would be the hexagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* over the square body and *talas* and the hexagonal *karṇakūṭas* of the *tala hāras* appropriate to the Ṣaṇmukha aspect of the deity enshrined. During these later phases, characteristic changes could also be noticed in the architectural members. The *potikā* or corbel comes to assume gradually a floral shape resulting in the characteristic *puṣpa potikā* of the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka times. The recesses on the walls of the structures are adorned with what are called *kumbhapañjaras*, motifs with *pūrṇaghaṭa* bases with emerging pillar shaft carrying a *kūṭa* or *pañjara* front on top over its capital, an

elaboration of the earlier and simpler decorative pilaster without the *kumbha* base and with the less ornate top as found in the Cola temple from the time of Rājarāja I. The *devakoṣṭhas* on the walls, instead of having *toraṇa* tops over the framing pilasters, come to have '*pañjara*' tops, often of the *śāla* but sometimes of the *kūṭa* or *nīḍa* varieties. The Vijayanagara and later *kapotas* are large double-flexed cornices with elaborate ribbing work on their undersides and monolithic chains dangling from the corners. The *maṇḍapa* pillars are huge monolithic columns with the large central shaft surrounded by lesser ones or with large equestrian and other statuary or of life-size portrait sculptures attached. The *kūḍu* arches also develop characteristic changes, becoming mere conventional decorative designs.

II. The Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vimāna Temples: The earliest Cālukyan temple type is provided, though on the rock-cut medium, by the caves at Bādāmī, Aihole, Ellorā, and Elephanta. They show mainly three variants besides the simple *maṇḍapa* temple type with cella and *maṇḍapa* attached. The first would be those with a *sāndhāra* circuit for the cella, an *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a large frontal transverse corridor with two shrines or subsidiary carved chambers, one at either flank. The second would be those with a *sāndhāra* cella circuit, with a large axially disposed front *maṇḍapa* generally taking a *triratha* lay-out with carvings in panels on the wall faces. The third variety has a simple *sāndhāra* shrine with a front pillared *maṇḍapa*, the cella itself being either square or rectangular.

Without passing through an intermediate phase of carved out monolithic *vimānas* from the earlier phase of excavated cave-temples in their 'rock-architecture' mode as the Pallavas did, the Cālukyas soon erected structural stone temples in the sandstone medium, that could be easily quarried and moulded. The earliest southern *vimāna* types of all-stone structural temples of the Cālukyas are to be found in their capital city of Bādāmī and in the adjoining Mahākūṭeśvara.

The earliest of this class in this group would be the Mālegiṭṭi Śivālaya at Bādāmī (Plate 37), a massively built *vimāna* composed of large blocks of stone with an attached closed *maṇḍapa* of equal width and an open four-pillared porch of lesser width in front all standing on a common moulded *adhiṣṭhāna*. The *vimāna* is *tritala*, square in its storeys or *talas* with a heavy octagonal *śikhara* that is squattish and of almost the same width as the short *grīva* below and without a clear splayed brim or *oṣṭha* forming the *avalambana* or eaves-like projection, a general early Cālukyan feature. The *āditala* and the *maṇḍapa* in front carry over the *prastara*, a *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālas* of equal magnitude,

the front *karṇakūṭas* of the *āditala hāra* forming the rear ones of the *maṇḍapa hāra*. The *āditala* and its *adhiṣṭhāna* below are relieved thrice on each side to correspond with the position and width of the corner *karṇakūṭas* and the central *śālas* above on each side and these reliefs contain niches for sculpture. The side-walls of the *maṇḍapa* are likewise relieved alternately in consonance with the *kūṭas* and *śālas* above. The central bays on each side-wall of the closed *maṇḍapa* as also its re-entrant front walls, flanking the *maṇḍapa* entrance, accommodate niches for sculptures. The recesses on the north and south walls have perforated windows. In interior aspect, though the *maṇḍapa* has four central pillars and twelve pilasters in axial and diagonal alignment to them, the lay-out is not a *navaraṅga* pattern with a central square and eight surrounding bays as is usual in later times, but one that provides a central nave with a clerestory roof for this part and two side aisles with slopy roofs. The *vimāna* is *nirandhāra* with *arpita hāra*. In addition to the four tall *karṇakūṭas* and four tall *śālas* of the *hāra* of the second *tala*, the octagonal *grīva-śikhara* with four *nāsikās* projected from the cardinal faces has four large *arpita kūṭas* of an incipient third *tala* in high relief appressed on the diagonals obscuring much of the low *śikhara*. The *śukanāsikā* is absent. The second *tala* is proportionately higher, its *prastara* standing clear above the *hāra* of the *āditala*. This is characteristic of the Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples, where the second and third storeys are high and thus the *prastara* and *hāra* of the *āditala* are well set off from the *pādās* (*kuḍyasthambas*) or pilasters of the *harmya* of the second *tala* which is only of slightly lesser height than the lower. Likewise the next *tala* is only slightly shorter than the one below. The ultimate or top *tala* becomes very short relatively, indicating a sudden reduction, to carry the *grīva* and *śikhara* perhaps in order to give a rounded sky-line. It is this characteristic feature of the *talacchanda* that makes the four-or-more-storeyed *jāti vimānas* of the Cālukyan area, including many of the Eastern Cālukyan ones described before, appear to be seemingly tall, though only three-or-four-storeyed at best. This would be in contrast with the even rhythm of *tala* proportions with reference to basal width and height, the objective being a gradual diagonal recession of the super-structural profile, to be found in Pallava-Pāṇḍya *vimānas* and their derivative and affiliates in the Tamil country further south.

The Bāṇantiguḍi temple on top of the low hill in front of the enclosure of the Mahākūṭeśvara group is of a similar type, with a *dvitala vimāna*, square in plan from base to top including the *grīva* and *śikhara* and devoid of a *śukanāsikā*.

The Makuṭeśvara (Plate 38), or the main temple of the Mahākūṭeśvara group standing opposite the main entrance of the massive enclosure that

contains a score or more of other temples of both northern and southern types and a masonry pond, is another early example. It has a *vimāna* with a much wider and closed *maṇḍapa* and an open porch in front on the east, all on the same type of *adhiṣṭhāna*. The *maṇḍapa* is of the *navaraṅga* lay-out with four central pillars and twelve peripheral pilasters forming nine bays, one central and eight peripheral. The *vimāna* has a *sāndhāra āditala*. The outer wall is slightly relieved thrice at the centre and at the ends with two intervening recesses. While the bays are provided with niches the recesses on the north and south sides contain perforated windows framed between pilasters carrying a *prastara* with prominent *kapota* ledge above. The *kapota prastara* of the *jālakas* in the eastern recesses of the north and south walls respectively carries a southern *hāra* motif of *kūṭas* and *śālas*, that of the *jālakas* in the western recesses or *salilantaras* carries the northern motif of *udgamas* and *āmalakas*. The hind wall has no such *jālakas* on either side of the central relieved sculpture niche. The *āditala prastara* carries four *karṇakūṭas* and four *śālas* in its *hāra* all round. The second *tala* is high and carries a similar *hāra* of four *kūṭas* and four *śālas*, while the octagonal *grīva* and large *śikhara* above have four prominent *kūṭas* applique on the diagonals and four *nāsikā* fronts on the cardinal faces. There is no *śukanāsikā*. The *maṇḍapa* wall on each side has niches for Śiva on its central reliefs and perforated windows in the recesses. The presence of an *abhiṣeka* water outlet in the form of a rectangular opening, though a projecting *praṇāla* is absent in this and all the other temples inside the enclosure, is indicative of a later date[21] in addition to the other slightly advanced features such as the elaborately carved door of the shrine entrance noticed in this temple and in the Mallikārjuna at the other end of the enclosure as compared with the Mālegiṭṭi Śivālaya.

The Mallikārjuna temple at the south end of the enclosure is better preserved and very much of the same type as Makuṭeśvara, except for some minor variations in architectural detail and sculptural content. It is also *sāndhāra tritala*, square in its basal parts, octagonal in its *grīva* and *śikhara* and without a *śukanāsikā*.

The upper Śivālaya on the hill top at Bādāmī and the lower Śivālaya below, as they are termed for want of any other specific name, present a variant type of the early Cālukyan structural temple in the southern style. The upper Śivālaya has a *sāndhāra nāgara vimāna*, square on plan from base to *śikhara*, with the *bāhyabhitti* of the *āditala* extended forward over the moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* to enclose a large closed pillared *maṇḍapa* with a central nave having a flat roof in front of the *vimāna* and slopy roofed side aisles that form direct continuations

of the closed circumambulatory round the *āditala*. The circumambulatory also has a slopy roof or *alindra*. The external walls of the *āditala* and *maṇḍapa* are alternately relieved and recessed with cantoning pilasters on the reliefs to correspond to the widely separated *kūṭas* and *śālas* of the *hāra* above. The recesses have pilaster reliefs of lesser height carrying *nāsikās* on top that constitute the corresponding *kūḍus* of the main *kapota* or cornice. The second *tala* is tall rising as the upward extension of the inner wall or *āntarabhitti* and does not carry a *hāra* over its *prastara*. The third *tala* too, only of lesser height is devoid of the *hāra* elements. The *grīva* and *śikhara* are square with four *nāsikās*, the *grīva* being short and the *śikhara*, flattish. There is no *śukanāsikā*. The lower Śivālaya is a smaller structure and almost similar to the Mālegiṭṭi Śivālaya to which it is nearer in point of time but is *sāndhāra* in its *āditala*. The *hāra* elements are present in all the *talas* and the *grīva* and *śikhara* are octagonal, with the applique *kūṭas* of the top *tala* and without the *śukanāsikā*.

The Saṅgameśvara (Plate 39) (Fig. 3), Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples in Paṭṭadakal exhibit to a great degree the development of the southern *vimāna*-temple complex type under the early Cālukyas reflecting much that had been crystallized in the contemporary Pallava temples while continuing the traits as embodied in the earlier Cālukyan forms. The Saṅgameśvara, the earliest of the trio was built by Cālukya Vijayāditya (697-733) and is nearer to the Pallava form in having no *śukanāsikā*, while the other two, which possess this feature, are the earliest of the Cālukyan southern *vimānas* and their derivatives possessing this characteristic architectural member, as again found in the Kailāsa monolith at Ellorā. This would appear to be a feature derived from the contemporary northern style constructions of the Cālukyas in their twin mercantile metropolitan cities of Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. Both the Saṅgameśvara and the larger Virūpākṣa *vimānas* are similar to each other in being square on plan from base to *śikhara*. The Virūpākṣa, built by the queen of Vikramāditya II (733-46), would thus be the earliest dated southern *vimāna* temple with the *śukanāsikā*, being closely followed by the Mallikārjuna built by another queen of the same ruler.

The main *vimāna* of Saṅgameśvara is *tritala nāgara* with *sāndhāra āditala*, the second storey being an upward projection of the inner wall is tall as usual with Cālukyan forms, with a slightly shorter third *tala*, of lesser width, carrying on top a short *grīva* and *śikhara* both four sided with a stone *stūpi* above. The *āditala* outer wall on each side, like the *adhiṣṭhāna* below, has four relieved bays with three intervening recesses to correspond to the two

karṇakūṭas and two *śālas* and the three *pañjaras*, the odd *pañjara* coming at the centre. This scheme alternates with the two *karṇakūṭas* and central *śāla* over the relieved walls of the second *tala*, while the third *tala* has only four *śālas*, one each on the centre of each side. The absence of the *karṇakūṭa* in the topmost *hāra* is perhaps the first step in the ultimate elimination of the *hāra* elements over the top *tala* before the appearance of the cognizant *lāñchanas*, which is a feature parallelled in the Pallava examples noted earlier. The *lāñchana*, however, is absent in this case. The *bāhyabhitti* of the *vimāna āditala* is extended forward over the *adhiṣṭhāna* to form a transverse *antarāla* with four pillars in the centre and two rectangular shrines, one for Gaṇapati and another for Durgā on the south and north. It is to be noted that in the case of the later Pallava temples and their derivatives, further south, these two deities get oriented in the south and north niches or *devakoṣṭhas* on the exterior wall faces of the *antarāla* or *ardhamaṇḍapa*. This feature is to be found in all the three temples and becomes the fore-runner of the polarization of Gaṇapati and Durgā as *pārśvadevatās*.[22] Beyond the *antarāla* the wall widens out to enclose a larger closed *mahāmaṇḍapa*, square and of the *navaraṅga* pattern. This has a central group of four pillars with two concentric peripheral rings of twelve pillars

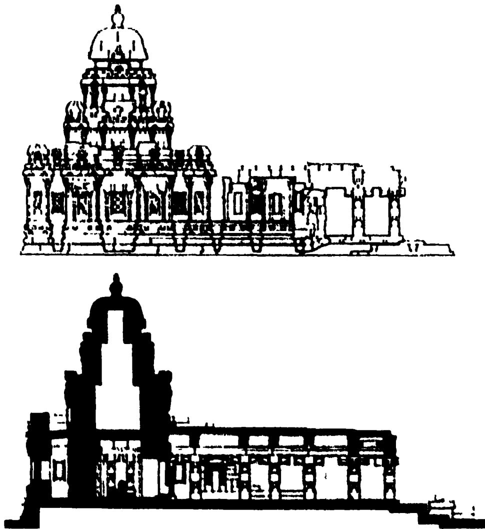


Fig. 3
Plan of the Saṅgameśvara temple, section and elevation, Paṭṭadakal (After A.I.I.S., Gurgaon)

and twenty pilasters respectively in alignment with the nucleating central group and with an additional row along the rear line. To the north of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is an open pillared porch. The exterior walls of the *āditala* as also the *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa* have *devakoṣṭhas* containing sculptures of varied iconography.

The Virūpākṣa (Plate 40) is a larger complex consisting of a tall *catuṣtala vimāna*, square from base to *śikhara*, with *sāndhāra āditala* and rectangular *ardhamaṇḍapa* formed by the forward extension of the *āntarabhitti*, while the widened frontal extension of the *bāhyabhitti* encloses a multipillared closed *mahāmaṇḍapa* with porch extensions on the three sides. There is a detached *nandi maṇḍapa* in axial position. This axial group is surrounded by peripheral sub-shrines, the whole enclosed by a *prākāra* wall, with *gopura* entrances in front and behind. As such this is the earliest extant temple complex of the southern variety in the Cālukyan series, even as the squat *gopuras* are the earliest in this region. The *parivārālayas* are two-storeyed and are of the *kūṭa* and *śāla* type, square and oblong on plan, originally thirty-two in number. The outer wall of the *āditala*, like the *adhiṣṭhāna* below, is thrown out on each side, south, west and north into five bays with four intervening recesses. The bays are cantoned by pilasters with capitals of the order and enclose *devakoṣṭhas* within their *kūṭa*, *śāla*, *pañjara* or *toraṇa* frames, while the recesses have, variously, either niches or perforated windows. The *hāra* is extended over the front *maṇḍapa* and its three cardinal open porches. The central *śālas* over the porch facades have an additional storey rendering them taller than the rest and thus forming *dvārapālas* simulating *gopuras* of a lesser order. The *maṇḍapa* is multi-pillared with six linear rows of pillars each row consisting of five pillars and two pilasters with an additional row of pilasters one inside each side-wall. All of them are of the *maṇḍapa*-pillar type and richly carved or sculptured. In line with the *ardhamaṇḍapa* entrance and addorsed to the inside of the *bāhyabhitti* at its front ends are two oblong shrines for Gaṇapati and Durgā. The second *tala* which is an upward extension of the *āntarabhitti* has its front projected over the *ardhamaṇḍapa* as the base of the *śukanāsikā*. On top of this *tala* comes a *hāra* of four *karṇakūṭas* at the corners and three *bhadraśālas* on the three sides except on the *śukanāsikā* front. The third *tala*, of lesser width and height, has relieved walls, again repeating the same *hāra* scheme as over the second *tala*, the projected front going to form the corresponding tier of the *śukanāsikā*. The fourth storey, still smaller, carries only four *karṇakūṭas* at the corners exposing the three sides of the square *grīva* and the base of the *śikhara* to full view while the fourth side is projected

in front to form the top *śikhara* member with arched front of the *śukanāsikā*, which is just an apse form merging by its rear into the superstructure of the main *vimāna*. The elimination of the *śālas*, in preference to the elimination of the *kūṭas* as obtaining in the case of the Śaṅgameśvara, over the top storey is not only another alternative step leading to the ultimate total elimination of the *hāra* over the top *tala* and eventual replacement by the cognizant *lāñchanas* but also dictated by the introduction of the *śukanāsikā* element in front. The *prākāra* follows the outline of the axial structures, is massive and carries a row of *kūṭas* and *śālas* as in the case of the Pallava Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram and the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñcīpuram, a device which would lend an apparent *pañcatala* look to the main structure.

The Mallikārjuna (Plate 41), built immediately after and behind the Virūpākṣa, is a smaller and elegant structure, a *catuṣtala vimāna* square in its *talas* but with circular *grīva* and *śikhara*, the height of the respective *talas* following the general Cālukyan pattern as noticed above. The general plan is similar to Virūpākṣa, with *ardhamaṇḍapa* of lesser width than the *āditala* exterior, being a forward projection of the *āntarabhitti* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* forming a forward projection on the same width as the *bāhyabhitti*. The columniation inside is of the *navaraṅga* pattern, the outermost peripheral series of twenty being pilasters set against the inner faces of the *maṇḍapa* wall. An additional pair of pilasters stand behind in front of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and between the outer corners of the oblong Durgā and Gaṇeśa shrines that are located at the rear corners inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The three sides of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* have projected, open, pillared porches, laid cruciform. A prominent *śukanāsikā* superposed over the *ardhamaṇḍapa* is projected from the front of the second, third and fourth *talas*. The *hāra* over the *āditala* outer wall as also over the *maṇḍapa* is composed of *kūṭas*, *śālas* and *pañjaras* and the *śāla* over each porch front is double-storeyed to form prominent *dvāraśālas*. The second and third *talas* have *kūṭas* and *śālas* above while the top *tala* is totally devoid of a *hāra* marking the final stage of its total elimination at this level, prior to the introduction of the cognizant *lāñchana*.[23] The *grīva* and *śikhara* are thus exposed to full view with their cardinal *nāsikās*.

The Durgā temple at Aihole (Plate 42) (Fig. 4) is essentially a *vimāna* structure of the southern type, with a later incongruous northern type of superstructure of square plan imposed upon its apsidal *āditala*. The temple structure as a whole is raised over a high moulded *upapīṭha* or sub-base also apsidal on plan. The *upapīṭha* carries a peripheral row of heavy *maṇḍapa*-type pillars on its edge that surrounds the moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* and the *bāhyabhitti* of the apsidal *sāndhāra āditala* of the *vimāna* proper and its forward

projections as the closed *antarāla maṇḍapa* as also the frontal *agramaṇḍapa* on the further extension of the same *adhiṣṭhāna*, in which region it narrows, thus forming a covered outer ambulatory with a sloping roof of slabs. The *upapīṭha* terminates in front as a still narrower landing platform with lateral flights of steps and a frontal banister. These peripheral pillars of the front *maṇḍapa* section and those at the forward and flanking the inner edge of the *sopāna* landing have large statuary on them, while the rest are without such and they are all connected by interposed *kakṣāsanas* or seats with back-rest, as is common in Cālukyan structures. The apsidal *adhiṣṭhāna* inside is moulded with all the components and carries the apsidal *bāhyabhitti* and its forward extension as the walls of the *antarāla maṇḍapa* of equal width and *agramaṇḍapa* of lesser width. The *āntara bhitti* of typical *cāpā* (or short apse) form encloses the cella and in alignment with its two side walls are two rows of four pillars each inside the *antarāla maṇḍapa* that divide the internal space into a central nave and two lateral aisles. The *cāpā* ends of the *āntara bhitti* are turned in to form the narrow front entrance of the *garbhagṛha* even as the front ends of the *bāhyabhitti* or the longer apse are turned in to meet the door-frame of the front entrance of the *antarāla maṇḍapa*. The *agramaṇḍapa* is carried on four pillars set on edge over the *adhiṣṭhāna* with a short clerestory roof. The central nave of the *antarāla* has a flat slab roof raised over a sort of clerestory in front of the cella entrance and the two lateral aisles have sloping slab roofs in continuation of the *alindra* spanning the space between the outer and inner walls of the cella. Thus this section of the roof is set below the level of the central clerestory roof and above the level of the slopy slab roof of the outer open circumambulatory making the whole three-tiered. The aisles of the *antarāla* are continuous with the *sāndhāra* ambulatory round the cella. The *adhiṣṭhāna* as also the walls of the *vimāna* and *antarāla* parts are relieved at intervals. They are three each on either linear side wall, three more round the rear curve of the apse and two in front one on either side of the *antarāla* entrance. These carry niches cantoned by pilasters with capitals of the order. The intervening recesses are provided with perforated windows. The niches or *devakoṣṭhas* in the eleven bays on the walls are framed by shrine-fronts of all the patterns of the southern style *vimānas* and northern style *prāsādas* - -*kūṭa*, *śāla*, *pañjara*, *udgama* etc. and contain bold sculptures of gods. This developed feature coupled with the presence of a projecting *praṇāla* or gargoyle-like water outlet over the *adhiṣṭhāna* level on the northern side of the apse end of the *bāhyabhitti* in continuation of the water chute or channel on the floor of the cella and the floor of the *sāndhāra* ambulatory will alone indicate a

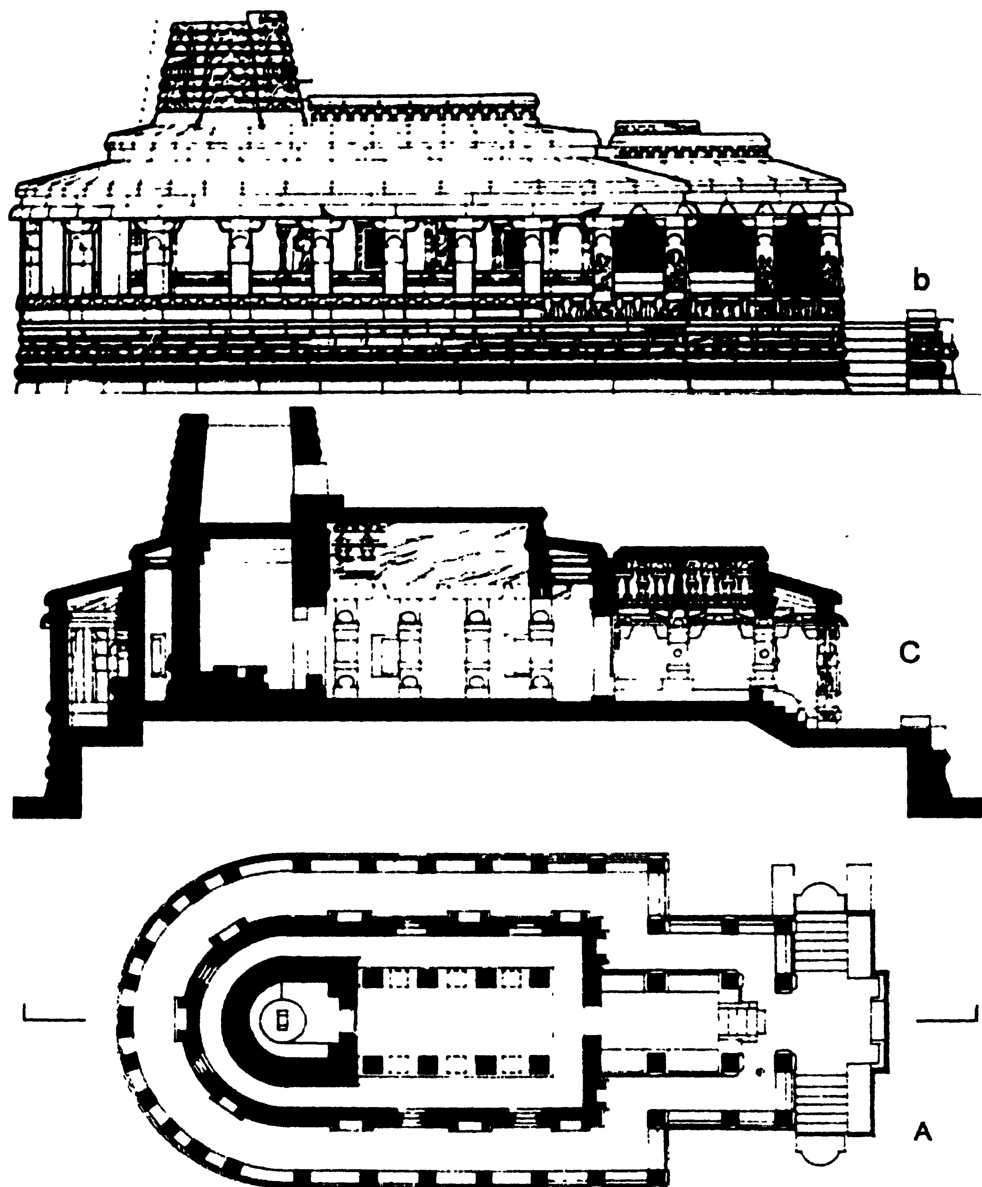


Fig. 4
Plan of the Durgā temple, Aihole (After A.I.I.S., Gurgaon)

later date for this temple than is usually assumed, not to speak of other advanced features like the diverse corbel forms and style of sculpture. This is also indicated by the inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya II (733-46) on the ruined *gopura* at the south-eastern part of the *prākāra*. Over the inner wall of the cella perhaps rose an apsidal *grīva* and *śikhara* as in the similar brick temples of Ter and Chejarla, that was wholly filled up inside or supported by internal props. The earliest stone apsidal temple of the Cālukyan area would probably be the sub-shrine of that type to the south-west of the Rāmaliṅgeśvara in Satyavolu (district Kurnool). This has an inscription of the seventh century A. D. on its wall. Perhaps along with the wholly square plans of the Śaṅgameśvara and Virūpākṣa including the *grīva-śikhara*, the square plan with circular *grīva-śikhara* of the Mallikārjuna and the square plan with octagonal *grīva-śikhara* of the earlier Mālegiṭṭi, Makuṭeśvara etc. temples the wholly apsidal as one of the fundamental plans was conceived for as a variant of the Durgā temple in the same early Cālukyan period.

A truly Cālukyan *vimāna* almost conforming to the southern type is found at Hallur, near Bhagalkot. It has an octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*, *śukanāsikā* and *hāra* parapets and the *vimāna* is *tritala*. The *ardhamaṇḍapa* has an internal columniation of two free pillars and two pilasters and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is of the *navaraṅga* pattern with a central *aṅgaṇa* surrounded by peripheral bays. It is *nirandhāra* and is perhaps of the mid-late eighth century A. D.

The Tārakabrahma temple among the group of temples at Ālampur (district Mahbubnagar) is a solitary example of the southern Cālukya *vimāna* type standing amidst the group of northern style Cālukyan temples. It has a simplified front *maṇḍapa* and *dvitala* superstructure. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is moulded with the usual *aṅgas* and the shrine wall has three niches on its three sides with *śāla* tops over their shorter pilasters, while the corners are cantoned by tall pilasters. The lower *hāra* is made up of four *karṇakūṭas* and four median *śālas* and the upper consists only of the *śālas* as in the Śaṅgameśvara, Paṭṭadakal. There is a *śukanāsikā* projected in front. The *śikhara* is lost. This temple may belong to the first quarter of the eighth century.

The so-called Pārvatī temple at Sāndūr (district Bellary) is again a Cālukya *vimāna* of the southern type, probably *catuṣtala*, but renovated on top later. It is *nirandhāra* with a large-sized *śukanāsikā*. The niches on the relieved walls of the *vimāna āditala* and the front *maṇḍapa* as also those on either side of the front door jamb are carved with sculptures. It is not later than the eighth century A. D. and is probably slightly earlier.

The Kailāsa at Ellorā (Plate 43) (Fig. 5), a Rāṣṭrakūṭa creation under Kṛṣṇa I in the second half of the eighth century, is the largest monolithic version of the southern *vimāna* of the Cālukyan genre. As at Kalugumalai in the Pāṇḍya country, entrenching vertically into the hill flank on all sides round a rectangle (60 x 30 metres) resulted in a central mass of rock about 30 metres high being isolated from which could be carved out the components of a temple complex. This comprises the *vimāna*, axial *maṇḍapas*, including a *nandi-maṇḍapa* and a peripheral group of shrines round the main *vimāna* for minor deities in addition to two free-standing pillars in the front court and a frontal *prākāra* wall with a *dvitala gopura* carved out of a separate rock mass isolated in front. The *gopura* has a passage cut through its basal *tala* for access into the fore-court and the open circumambulatory at ground level of the trench and another leading to the bridge over the court connecting to the *nandimaṇḍapa* in alignment with the axial structures in front of the *vimāna* which are linked by yet another rock-cut bridge with the *nandimaṇḍapa*. The *nandimaṇḍapa* itself is carved like a double-storeyed structure, with a solid ground floor below and functional *maṇḍapa* enshrining *nandi* above. The main part beyond consists essentially of the *vimāna* with an *antarāla* or *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a closed *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The high ornate *upapīṭha* has its top platform supported, as it were, over a frieze of boldly carved frontals of elephants, lions and mythical animals. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* is cantoned at its two rear corners by double-storeyed *vimāna* of the *kūṭa* type and over the three projected porch like entrances on the middle of the south, east and north sides are *dvāra śālas* simulating *gopura* entrances. The top of the flat *mahāmaṇḍapa* roof has a large multi-petalled lotus blossom with a central finial as its crest. The moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *vimāna* proper occupies the centre of the rear part of the *upapīṭha* amidst five sub-shrines set all round on the edge of the *upapīṭha*. The sub-shrines on the three cardinal sides are double-storeyed oblong *śāla vimānas* while the two at the rear corners are three-storeyed square *kūṭa vimānas*. These five functional *vimānas* together with the two dummy double-storeyed *kūṭa vimānas* at the hind corners of the wider *mahāmaṇḍapa* and the *nandi* shrine in front would anticipate the full complement of the *aṣṭaparivāra* concept of eight sub-shrines. The main *vimāna* is mostly square, *catuṣtala*, with *hāras* of *kūṭas* and *śālas* over them except the topmost which has instead four *nandis* at the four corners, the cognizant *lāñchanas*. The lowermost *tala* of the superstructure is projected forwards over the *antarāla* as the *śukanāsikā*. The *grīva* and *śikhara* are octagonal making this temple conform to the *drāviḍa* of the composite type.

The vertical scarps, formed by the cutting of the rock, all round the court have excavations of later caves and galleries.

The smaller and much later Jaina monolithic version of the Kailāsa, popularly called the Choṭa Kailāsa, standing in the fore-court of Cave 33 (Indra

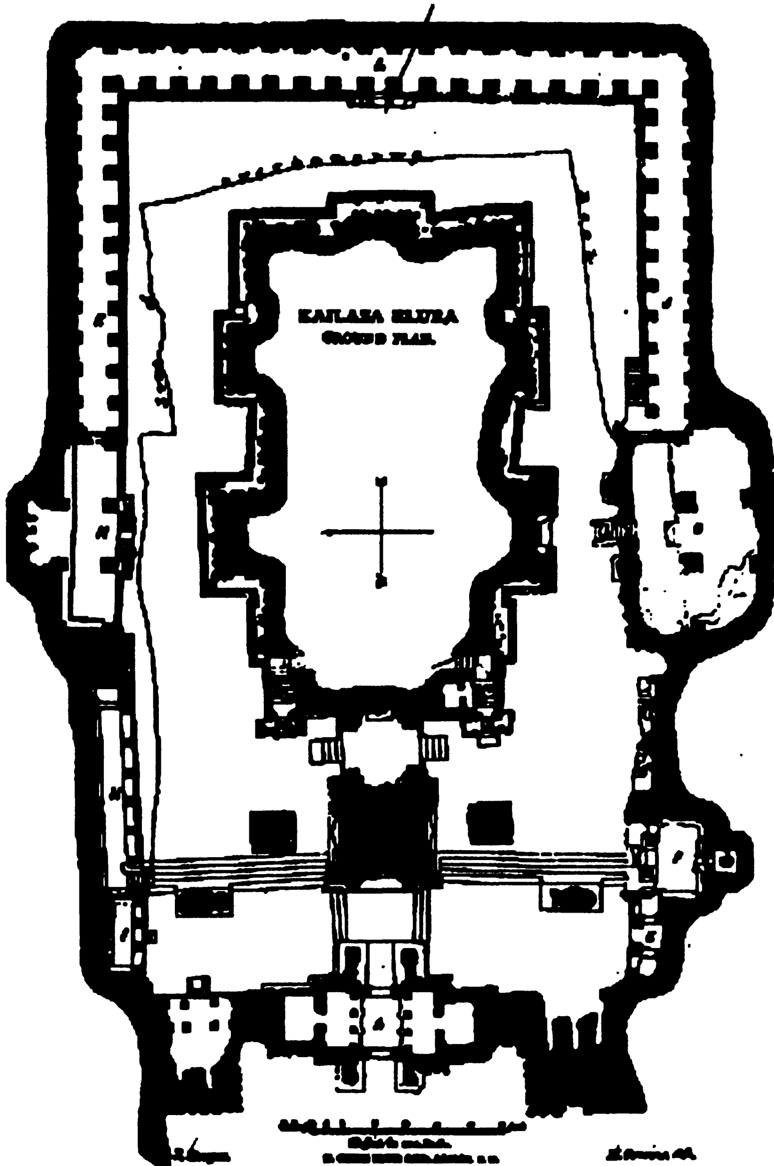


Fig. 5
Plan of the Kailāsa temple, Ellorā (After A.I.I.S., Gurgaon)

Sabhā), is a *tritala vimāna*, square on plan in its *talas*, but with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. The *āditala* raised over the *adhiṣṭhāna* is *caturmukha* with four cardinal projections on the similarly projected *adhiṣṭhāna* each with two front pillars and a *sopāna* and carrying the projected *nāsikā* fronts in place of the *bhadraśāla* of the *hāra* behind. The corners carry *karṇakūṭas*. The second *tala* has four cardinal projected *nāsikās*. The superposed *bhadra nāsikās* of the two *talas*, one behind the other, are reminiscent of the *udgama* series on the *bhadra* projections of a northern temple. The top *tala* carries four lions, the cognizant symbols at the corners. The *grīva* and *śikhara* have *nāsikās* on all the eight octants. The *stūpi* which must have been detached is not in position.

The Jaina temple (Plate 44) on the outskirts of the ancient city of Paṭṭadakal is an interesting structural temple of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa times assignable to the second half of the ninth century. It is essentially a three-storeyed *vimāna*, *samacaturaśra*, with *sāndhāra āditala* preceded by an *antarāla* or closed *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *navaraṅga* and an open, pillared front *maṇḍapa*, all axially disposed on the same moulded *adhiṣṭhāna*, but lacking the usual *upapīṭha* below. The *kuḍu* or *alpanāsikā* motifs on the *kapota* or cornice tier have lost their original *nāsikā*-shape and become flat triangular reliefs. The capital members, likewise, have lost their robust shapes and changed into more conventional forms characteristic of the later Cālukyan. The *navaraṅga* connected to the *vimāna* by a short *antarāla* has on its walls seven bays adorned by *nāsikā*-form niches containing seated Jainas and other figures. The *prastara* over the *bāhyabhitti* carries a *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *śālas* and *pañjaras* over appropriately relieved bays and recesses of the wall. Rising behind the *hāra* level is the tall square second *tala*, the upward projection of the *āntarabhitti*, which is also a functional storey enclosing a sanctum and surrounded by the open ambulatory of the *alindra*. In front its entrance is masked by the basal part of the *śukanāsikā*, coming over the *āditala antarāla* below and forming the upper vestibule for this shrine. The second *tala* walls, likewise relieved thrice with two recesses, carry over the *prastara* a *hāra* of *karṇakūṭas* at the corners, central *śālas* on the cardinals and two *pañjaras* over the recesses on each of the four sides. The front *bhadraśāla* is absent because of the *śukanāsikā* vestibule. The third *tala* of lesser height and width is relieved in the centre of each face, except on the east or *śukanāsikā* front. These contain *udgama* motifs as in northern style temples. The faces of the square *grīva* and *śikhara* are offset twice simulating a twelve-ribbed form, a feature to be found further elaborated in succeeding times. The frontal of each

foremost offset is a *nāsikā* containing inside its *toraṇa* arch a small shrine motif. The open multi-pillared *mukhamaṇḍapa* has *kakṣāsanas* between its peripheral pillars. Except for the two innermost pillars of the peripheral series abutting on the *navaraṅga* front all the rest including the four central ones, though in sandstone, are partially lathe-turned, heralding the more completely lathe-turned and polished pillars of chloritic-schist, horn blende or steatite of the Later Cālukyas and their successors. The great elephant frontals flanking the *navaraṅga* entrance are reminiscent of those on the Kailāsa plinth and the Indra Sabhā at Ellorā. The elephants have riders on them and the one that is preserved has his head hooded by a five-headed serpent. The figure of the other rider is lost.

The Western (or Later) Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī who regained power over the Cālukyan area between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries continued the original traditions with gradual introduction of significant modifications of the essentially southern type of *vimāna*. The sandstone temples of the Navaliṅga group and the slightly later Kalleśvara at Kukkanūr near Gadag (district Dharwar) are , perhaps, the last structures of the Western Cālukyas that were built of sandstone, marking the end of the sandstone tradition before they adopted a different soft stone, namely, the chloritic-schist for their temples during the middle of this period.

The Navaliṅga group (Plate 45) is a cluster of nine two-or-three-storeyed small *vimānas*, square on plan from base to *śikhara*, built round the sides and ends of a linear row of three *maṇḍapas* constructed of poor quality sandstone. Many of the characters of the arche-types are retained in the pilasters, *prastara* and other *aṅgas*. The top *tala* is devoid of the *hāra* and but for their *śukanāsikās* they would recall the Eastern Cālukyan temples of Biccavolu. The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are partially lathe-turned, particularly in their capitals below the broad *phalaka*, while the shaft continues to be square and angular throughout, marking the beginning of the characteristic later Cālukyan pillars. The *śikhara* has a well splayed out thin brim or *oṣṭha* and its sides are offset. The *kūḍus* retain their arched character. The larger Mahāmāyī temple with its oblong shrine as appropriate to Devī and two front *maṇḍapas* also oblong stands a little away from the group. Another oblong shrine with a narrow *maṇḍapa* in front next to the Navaliṅga cluster, a tank at the corner with other ruined structures are all enclosed by a *prākāra* with two openings, on two of the four sides. From the mention of such goddesses like Gaṅgā, Kālikādevī, Sarasvatī besides Mahāmāyī in the inscriptions it seems that the complex was perhaps dedicated to Devī forms. The door lintels of the shrine or of the

antarāla are elaborate *makara toraṇas* with Gajalakṣmī and other goddesses as the *lalāṭabimba*. In one of them the body of the *makara* is carved with circular scales, an attempt at realistic animal sculpture. The *kūḍu* arches retain their normal shape of horse-shoe *toraṇas* with elongated finials with *siṁha-mukha* crests. The *hāra* elements, the *kūṭas* and *śālas*, retain their characteristic shapes and the projected bays have *devakoṣṭhas* framed by *kūṭa* fronts on shorter pilasters or by *makara toraṇas* with a *nāsikā* top as their crest. All the shrines are *nirandhāra*.

The Kalleśvara of Kukkanūr has a *samacaturaśra*, *tritala* and *nirandhāra vimāna* having an *antarāla* and closed *maṇḍapa* in front and with the *āditala hāra* extended over the top of the axial *maṇḍapas*. The top *tala* is devoid of the *hāra* and a *śukanāsikā* is projected from the upper *tala* over the *antarāla*. The storeys are not boldly marked as in the earlier structures, the rim of the square *śikhara* is a well splayed out *oṣṭha*. The spaces between the pilasters that canton the reliefs of the wall face are occupied by shrine frontals with superstructures of the southern or *vimāna* style or the northern or *prāsāda* style. The square based pillars are partially lathe-turned, particularly the capitals below the abacus and show the same advance over the Navaliṅga group. The *maṇḍapa* has two rectangular shrines facing the four central pillars, perhaps dedicated to Gaṇapati and Durgā. The recesses on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* have perforated windows. The most interesting feature is that though the walls are thick, they are built up of smaller blocks of stone in contrast with the large-sized blocks used in the earlier Cālukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa structures. The two groups of temples are of the latter half of the tenth century.

The large Jaina temple, among the many interesting temples at Lakkuṇḍi, also near Gadag, is perhaps one of the earliest temples in this area built of a kind of fine-textured chloritic-schist as distinct from the hitherto used sandstone of this region. The new material, because of its less thick quarry sizes and greater tractability, naturally reacted on the workmanship with the result that the masonry of the courses became reduced in size and the carvings more delicate and highly finished. This temple, built, perhaps, in the latter half of the eleventh century, has a *samacaturaśra*, *pañcatala vimāna* with square *grīva* and *śikhara*. It had originally a closed square *navaraṅga* alone in front and an open *maṇḍapa* was evidently added to its front later on. The central bay of square of the *navaraṅga* is larger than the peripheral eight around it. The *vimāna* is *nirandhāra* with massive walls and the functional second *tala*, as in the Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal, is considerably tall marking a revival of the early Cālukyan mode in the *tala* proportions. In order to provide the space and base for both

the *āditala hāra* and functional second *tala* wall the *āditala* wall is not only made massive, with repeated offset projections, but also has four pilasters built inside the *garbhagṛha* near the corners. The *āditala hāra* extends as usual over the short *antarāla* and the larger *navaraṅga*. The upper *talas*, of diminished width and considerably reduced height, bear *hāras*, except the topmost. The *grīva* is very short and the prominent but squattish *śikhara* has well splayed out *oṣṭha*. The *kūḍu* ornaments on the cornices, though flat, retain their arched shape with *siṁhamukha* finials. The pilasters on the walls are slender, the capitals have lost their original robust shape and proportions and the abacus or *phalaka* is small. Between pairs of the pilasters are tall *nāsikā*-fronts. In the *salilāntara* recesses of the wall occur for the first time the 'decorative pilaster'—a pilaster carrying a shrine-pavilion on top of its abacus, a characteristic of contemporary Cola temples in the south, framed inside a *toraṇa* arch carried on two short flanking pilasters. The tall second *tala* and the five-storeyed plan help in enhancing the stature of the *vimāna*.

The Mahādeva temple (Plate 46) at Ittagi, not far from Gadag, exemplifying the zenith that the architecture and art of this period reached under the Western Cālukyas was built in A. D. 1112 and was the nucleus of a complex, all built over a specially raised terrace, besides an ornamental tank. The main structure, extant only up to the *grīva* with the *śikhara* missing, is a *samacaturaśra pañcatala vimāna* with a *śukanāsikā* in front projected up to the level of the fourth *tala* over the *antarāla*. The entire *vimāna* is thrown out into five bays on each side, the central bay being the most projected, with narrower recesses in between and the bays are offset repeatedly so that the plan is apparently scalloped. The *hāra* on each side of the *talas* consists of *karṇakūṭas* at the corners, a *bhadraśāla* at the centre and two intervening *pañjaras*, one over each recess. Round the cella, the most projected central bays or *bhadras* carry broad and deep niches in the form of miniature *vimānas*, with pillars, *prastara* and superstructure, while the cantoning faces of the *karṇakūṭas* have narrower elevations of shrine fronts. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is elaborately moulded. The *navaraṅga*, a larger square with similar wall projections and external ornamentation has a highly ornate and raised central ceiling inside and the fine carvings of the tier slabs cutting the corners are noteworthy. This *navaraṅga*-like *maṇḍapa* has three entrances, east, south and north with projected pillared porches and the front one connects it with the open multi-pillared *agramaṇḍapa* in front, which again has three porches on its other three sides. The excessive decorative elements of this temple as also the plan and other features indicate chronological proximity and transition to the typical temples of the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas.

The typical temples of the Hoysalas of Mysore (12th-13th centuries) are also built of a very tractable dense and fine grained chloritic-schist or talc which lent itself to fine carving. The temple unit generally consists of a *vimāna* connected by a short *antarāla* to a closed *navaraṅga* with often an *agramaṇḍapa*. Very often it is a *trikūṭa* of three main *vimānas* connected to the three sides of a common *navaraṅga* by their respective *antarālas*, the sole main entrance to the complex being on the fourth side of the *navaraṅga* through the *agramaṇḍapa*. The whole complex stands on a raised *upapīṭha* with a terrace broad enough to form a common open ambulatory. By the repeated scalloping not only of the sides, but also of the angles the resulting plan becomes stellate, a configuration which extends from the *upapīṭha* to the apex of the *vimāna*, the points of the stellar arms achieved as it were by the rotation of the four corners of a square round its central axis through regular intervals, say 22.5 degrees in order to make a sixteen-sided star. This gives a larger surface area for the execution of prolific sculpture, for which the Hoysala temples are noted. The *adhiṣṭhāna* pattern comes to approximate that of the northern temples in being composed of tiers carrying friezes of elephants, warriors, horses and *haṁsa* laid one over the other, the top tier depicting *purāṇic* scenes in series of vignettes. The wall surfaces are adorned with niches crowned by pyramidal tiered superstructural motifs in Kadamba style and enshrining figure sculptures of varied iconography. The *prastara* has a prominent eaves-like cornice. The superstructure is a scheme of close set *hāras*, essentially of the *kūṭa* elements similar to the main *vimāna*, rising one behind the other and each marking a storey, the topmost carrying a short *grīva* and octagonal *śikhara* terminated by a *stūpi*. The lower tiers have a frontally projected *śukanāsikā* overtopping the *antarāla* below. The *maṇḍapas* have the gaps between their outer pillars closed by perforated and sculptured screens over the *kakṣāsana*. The pillars inside the *maṇḍapa* are massive, short with square bases and shafts lathe-turned and finely polished carrying similarly turned massive and square ornate capitals of the order with large squat *phalakas* (abacus). Often the axial series of structures is surrounded by an open court and cloister inside the *prākāra* wall which has a *mahādvāra* entrance in front.

The Cennakeśava temple (Fig. 6) dedicated to Vijaya Nārāyaṇa, built by Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana in 1117 A. D. is the nucleus of the complex at Belur, surrounded by later *vimānas*, all inside a courtyard and enclosed by a *prākāra* with a *mahādvāra* on the east, now surmounted by a later Vijayanagara superstructure in brick. As designed by Viṣṇuvardhana it has a *vimāna* of a beautiful stellate plan from *upapīṭha* to the top *tala* with superbly carved and

elaborate door-ways with over-doors and a large *maṇḍapa* with connecting *antarāla*. The *navaraṅga* pattern is enlarged by more peripheral rings of pillars with a cruciform system of passages on the three sides which are flanked by platforms and which terminate into elaborate door-ways on the exterior. A few generations later, in the time of Ballāla II, who built the *prākāra* and the tank, the open sides of the *maṇḍapa* were provided with pierced and sculptured screen windows inserted between the outermost pillars over the *kakṣāsana* platforms. The superstructure of the *vimāna* is lost. The temple is noted for its numerous fine sculptures, especially the bracket figures or *madanikās*, supporting the overhanging *kapota*. Externally, the well-projected bays on the three cardinal sides of the *vimāna* form smaller *vimānas* with cells inside. In front of each of the *sopāna* or flights of steps leading to the *maṇḍapa* entrances on the east, south and north are posed two small *vimānas*, one on either side at ground level, and two more again over the *upapīṭha* platform. The pillars inside are lathe-turned and some of them are intricately carved or carry fine sculpture. The raised coffer-like central ceiling rising in eight tiers internally is an elaborate carving of fine and intricate workmanship with a delicately wrought lantern-like pendantive in the centre.

The Hoysaleśvara (Plate 47), built about A. D. 1150 among the many other temples in Halebid, is a composite of two similar structures standing side by side on a raised common stellate platform. Each unit consists of a stellate *vimāna* with an *antarāla* and *navaraṅga* (Plate 48) in front which has cruciform projections on its three sides. The two adjacent inner arms of the crosses are connected to form a common transept linking the two units. Externally the inter-columnar spaces of the projected porches are filled up by perforated screens above the level of the *kakṣāsana*. The pillars inside are as usual lathe-turned. The central ceilings of the *navaraṅgas* are coffered and their bases supported as in the Belur temple by *madanikā* caryatids set on the abacus of the pillars. Externally the walls of the entire complex are covered with a profusion of sculpture in niches over the tiered *adhiṣṭhāna* which has the usual animal, vegetal, human and *purāṇic* friezes. The superstructure of both the *vimānas* are lost. In front of the whole stand two open pillared *nandimaṇḍapas* and the one in front of the southern *vimāna* has an additional shrine behind. The two are unsymmetrical later additions. Though incomplete, as it stands now, devoid of the original superstructures of the *vimānas*, the Hoysaleśvara, coming close after the great temple at Belur, would mark the climax of Hoysala architecture and sculptural art. The other temples, Brāhmaṇical and Jaina in Halebid are variants of the same style belonging to the same period, more or less.

The Keśava temple (Plate 49) at Somnathpur is one of the latest in the Hoysala series, built in A. D. 1268, which though smaller is more exquisitely planned, proportioned and carved. It is a *trikūṭa* temple. The three principal *vimānas* have a common *navaraṅga*, with another larger *navaraṅga maṇḍapa* attached to its front on the east. The sides of the *maṇḍapa*, above

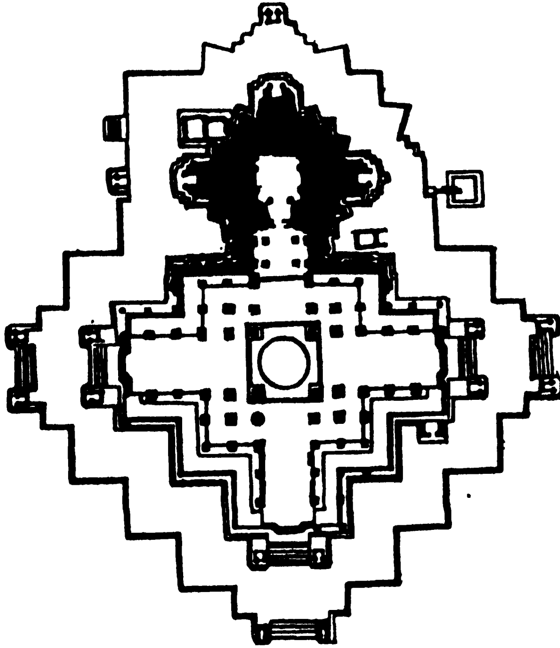


Fig. 6
Plan of the Cennakeśava temple, Belur (After Krishna Deva)

the *kakṣāsana* level, are closed by perforated screens, the pillars inside finely lathe-turned, and the nine coffered ceilings exhibit nine different patterns of carving, the central one being the largest and finest. Similar is the case of the inner *navaraṅga* ceiling and that over the short passage leading from the outer entrance into the *maṇḍapa*. The axial series is surrounded by an open court all round with a peripheral cloister of sixty-four sub-shrines set in a continuous line and forming the rear of the cloister while its fore-part is a continuous verandah. In front the series of cloister shrines inside the *prākāra* is intercepted by a multipillared *maṇḍapa* behind the main entrance with pillars again of the lathe-turned pattern. This is thus an example of a complete Hoysala temple unit with the *vimānas* having their superstructures intact. The sculptures, both large and small, as also the carvings, are profuse and of fine quality. The three main

vimānas are dedicated to three forms of Viṣṇu. The foundation inscription enumerates the other deities enshrined in the now empty cloister shrines.

Among the temples of the Kākatīyas the one at Hanamkoṇḍa (Wāraṅgal District) would mark the transition from the later Cālukyan. Built in A. D. 1162 by King Pratāpa Rudra, this *trikūṭa* temple is dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, the three *vimānas* opening into a common *maṇḍapa*. The *maṇḍapa* has open corners between the shrines built on its three sides. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, the walls with pilasters and the *prastara* are offset repeatedly, with the central bay projected most as a small *vimāna* with cella. The superstructures over all the three *vimānas* are lost. The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are lathe-turned. A large multi-pillared *maṇḍapa* with about three hundred pillars, all richly carved, and attached in front with a *nandimaṇḍapa* intervening is the most interesting part of this temple. Another interesting feature of this ruined temple within the fort would be the elaborate *toraṇas* marking its entrances.

The temples at Pālampet (Wāraṅgal District) constitute a group of typical Kākatīya temples. The main one in the group, built in the commencement of the thirteenth century, stands on a high platform with a *nandimaṇḍapa* in front and is enclosed by a massive wall. The main *vimāna*, essentially square on plan from base to *śikhara*, has its three sides offset into five bays each, the central one on each side further offset as the most projected facet and constituting a three tiered replica on a smaller scale of the main *vimāna*. The other bays have tall pairs of close-set pilasters carrying on top motifs of the superstructure of the southern type *vimāna* or northern type *prāsāda* alternately. The *hāras* on the storeys are indistinct with more of the *kūṭa* element conspicuous, the *grīva* again indistinct and of almost the same width as the square and domical *śikhara*, the entire superstructure being of brick work. A closed square *antarāla* or *ardhamaṇḍapa* connects the *vimāna* with the *navaraṅga* in front, surrounded by a raised platform with an outer series of thirty-two pillars and a circumambulatory. Noteworthy will be the array of the interesting caryatid-like brackets rising from the capitals of the pillars and strutting up the beams and projected *kapota*. Twelve of these are almost life-size feminine figures with graceful bends and poses and the rest are rearing *vyālas* their hind legs resting over elephant heads. The bases of the peripheral pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are connected by a balustrade constituting, as it were, the lean back of the *kakṣāsana* seat that forms the connecting platform or pial inside. The interior also is replete with sculptures and the ceilings of the bays are ornate. The *hāra* over the first *tala* of the *vimāna* is extended also over the top edge of the *maṇḍapa* terrace. On the platform inside are a set eight sub-shrines in four

pairs adjacent to each corner of the *navaraṅga*. While the main structure is of reddish sandstone, the decorations and bracket figures are of black polished basalt or horn blends.

The Vijayanagara temples of the Cālukyan area, though adopting the hard-stone tradition of granite and gneiss of the farther south in their fabric, as also the general lay-out with axial *vimānas* and *maṇḍapas* and peripheral structures of small shrines, *maṇḍapas*, *prākāras* and *gopuras*, still retain much of the Cālukyan characteristics. Among their numerous temples in their capital at Hampi, the Pampāpati or Virūpākṣa temple is an elaboration round a later Cālukyan temple nucleus. While the Hazāra Rāma and Viṭṭhala temples are wholly Vijayanagara ones with Cālukyan traits many of the others are predominantly more of the far southern type.

The Hazāra Rāma temple, probably begun earlier and completed by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (A. D. 1509-1530), is devoid of the characteristic *gopura* entrance, while the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is of the *navaraṅga* pattern with ornate polished pillars in basalt-like stone, square and not lathe-turned but with fine sculptures and carvings. The walls of the main *vimāna* and those of the Amman or Devī shrine and the enclosure are replete with sculpture panels. More characteristic is the *śukanāsikā* in front of the *vimāna* superstructure coming over the *antarāla*.

The Viṭṭhala temple, a larger complex, planned and built at one time, is typically of the more southern form of *vimāna* temples, with axial and peripheral additions of *maṇḍapas*, cloisters, subshrines and *gopuras*, including a *garuḍamaṇḍapa* in front of the court, which is a lesser *vimāna* fashioned in the form of a chariot with stone wheels.

The Anantaśāyī temple at Anantaśayanaguḍi, near Hospet, in the outskirts of Hampi, is an example of a large rectangular stone *vimāna* with the superstructure having a *śāla śikhara* in brick and elaborated by axial *maṇḍapas* and peripheral *prākāra* and *gopura*. It is the largest *śāla* type *vimāna* known.

Besides the *śukanāsikā*, the other Cālukyan features retained in these Vijayanagara temples would be the extension of the *hāra* over the top of the axial *maṇḍapas*, the presence of sculptures of river goddesses on the door jambs, ornate over doors, often delicately carved in soft stone and fitted into the granite opening as in the temples at Tāḍpatri, *navaraṅga* pattern of *maṇḍapas* and free-standing *toraṇas* as in the temples on the top of the Chitaldrug hill. The superstructure of the hard stone *vimāna* or *gopura* was always of brick except in rare instances of small temples.

Among the post-Vijayanagara temples in the Cālukyan area, the most prominent would be those of the Nāyakas of Ikkeri or Keladi in the Malnāḍ

area on the western borders of Mysore, who like the Nāyakas of Madurai, Tañjāvūr and Giñgee, were erstwhile viceroys in the imperial set up of Vijayanagara and assumed independence in 1583 on the wane of the central power. The Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri and the Rāmeśvara and Vīrabhadra temples at Keladi, both near Sāgar town in the district of the same name would be the most outstanding examples.

The Aghoreśvara (Plate 50) is the largest and finest of the Ikkeri style temples and an interesting one too. It is built of granite from *upapīṭha* to the top of the *śikhara*, the *stūpi* being of metal. The north facing square *sāndhāra vimāna pañcatala* with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* on top and a *śukanāsikā* in front of the lower *talas* of the superstructure, has an *antarāla* in front, both standing on top of a high *upapīṭha*. The *upapīṭha* is relieved thrice on its sides with two intervening recesses like the *adhiṣṭhāna*, the *āditala bāhya bhitti* and superstructure above. Though essentially moulded as in southern type temples it recalls much of the Hoysala pattern. The *vimāna upapīṭha*, has in its central projections on the three sides, east, south and north, niches for the *dikpālas*, with Indra on strident elephant on the east, and Varuṇa on the west, the southern niche for Yama being empty. Over the Indra niche projects the long, massive and ornate *praṇāla* from the *vimāna adhiṣṭhāna* to discharge the *abhiṣeka* water. The *āditala* walls have on their central projections on the three sides large *mukha śāla*-like shrines, each *āyatāśra* with four pilasters, two extreme and two flanking the shrine entrance, with *prastara* and a superstructure composed of a central two-tiered *śāla śikhara* and two extreme single tiered *kūṭa śikharas*. The space of the main wall above these and up to the main *kapota* of the *āditala prastara* shows pilasters in relief, suggesting these projected lateral shrines to be *dvitala* models. The *kapota* of the *āditala* is flexed having the 'dentil' or lotus-bud-shaped projections on its corners, while on the faces of the relieved sides there are the usual *kūḍus*. The *talas* of the superstructure are rendered hollow inside, entrance being provided through the projected *śukanāsikā*. The second and fourth *talas* carry *hāras* of *karṇakūṭas* at the corners and *bhadra śālas* at the cardinals with *pañjaras* in the intervening recesses. The *bhadra śālas* are double-tiered in their *śāla* roofs (*mukha bhadra* or *eruśālai*) reaching the top of the next *tala* above, while the *kūṭas* and *pañjaras* are of the same height as the *tala* itself. The top *tala* carries four *nandis* at the corners. From above the *prastara* of the *āditala* outer wall, project at intervals *puṣpa-potikā*-shaped *praṇālas* of Vijayanagara type, designed to discharge the rain water from the *alindra* terrace round the base of the second *tala*. Similar spouts are found on top of the *antarāla* and

the front *maṇḍapa*. The square and closed front *maṇḍapa* has three openings, one frontal and two lateral, which are projected forward with elaborate overdoors complete with *śākas*, *lalāṭa bimba* and frieze of shrine tops over the architrave, usual in Cālukyan and Hoysala structures. They are reached by flights of steps, the *sopānas* having ornamental balustrades. The exterior face of the *maṇḍapa* wall is divided by a median horizontal band above which is a series of pointed arches enclosing lattice windows with floral spadril decorations, and rhomboid rosettes introducing an element of Indo-Islamic motifs. Below the band is a series of paired pilasters carrying shrine tops. The pillars inside the *navaraṅga* pattern *maṇḍapa* are ornate, but not lathe-turned, some of these with attached animal statuary characteristic of Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara pillars. In front of the *antarāla* and on either side of its entrance inside the *maṇḍapa* is a row of small *śāla* shrines, two on each side, containing Durgā as Mahiṣamardinī, Ṣaṇmukha, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. The temple seems to have been constructed in the first quarter of the 16th century, and the *maṇḍapa* added slightly later. To the west of the main *vimāna* stands the *vimāna* with *maṇḍapa* of the Devī or Amman, which is a less pretentious structure.

The twin temples of Rāmeśvara and Vīrabhadra in Keladi, the earlier seat of the dynasty, are constructed with greyish green granite, both facing east. Though the two *vimānas* are separate, their front *maṇḍapas* are interconnected. Of these the Rāmeśvara is the earlier, built between 1499 and 1513 A. D., while the Vīrabhadra was perhaps built between 1530 and 1540 A. D. Both the *vimānas* are *sāndhāra* in lay-out. The walls over the moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* are made up of large slabs laid in longitudinal tiers, sparsely carved and with a few relief sculptures. Such constructions were common in Vijayanagara times, especially in Hampi and in the northern area. The *kakṣāsana* on the periphery of the *navaraṅga* shows relief pilasters in pairs with *vimāna* superstructures over them. The pillars inside the *maṇḍapa* are of typical Vijayanagara pattern and the ceiling slabs are curved with designs, some of them reminiscent of Indo-Islamic patterns. To the south stands the later Amman temple, all within a compound wall.

III. The Kadamba-Cālukya Style Temples: This special type of *vimānas*, built by the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their successors, the Western Cālukyas, the Hoysalas, and the Vijayanagara rulers, in the Cālukyan area of Konkan, Karnataka and Āndhra regions would deserve special, though brief, mention. This type is exemplified by the Mallikārjuna (*c.* 8th century A. D.) group near the Galaganātha at Aihole[24] of the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa *genre*, the Lakulīśa temple

group on the way to the Bhūtanātha group in the Bādāmī valley, the group of smaller shrines behind the Mahānandīśvara temple at Mahānandi (district Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh), the Pāpanāśanam group of temples, Ālampur, eight of the nine *vimānas* of the Lakṣmīdevī complex at Doḍḍagaḍḍavalli[25] (district Hassan, Mysore) built in 1113 A. D., the Gāṇigiṭṭi Jain temple at Hampi built in 1385 A. D., the similar Jain temple on the hill at Chippagiri (district Bellary), the group of *trikūṭa vimānas* on the Hemakūṭam hill overlooking the court of the Pampāpati temple at Hampi, two more just near its *gopuram*, and another a mile north-east of Hampi, to mention only the well-known examples. The superstructure over the square *vimāna* is a low stepped pyramid of receding horizontal *kapota*-like tiers, without intervening necks or *galas*. The tiers are decorated with *kūḍu* representations, particularly at the centre of each side in the earlier forms, while their straight top edge is often adorned by a series of 'dentil' ornamentations, projected up. The topmost tier carries a short *grīva* with a low square *śikhara* with the *oṣṭha* distinctly splayed out. They have *nāsikās* on the centre of each side of the *grīva-śikhara* and are crowned by a *stūpi*. In front projects the characteristic *śukanāsikā* over the *antarāla* roof. Perhaps some examples of this type carried an *amalasāra* over the *gala*, as in the case of some of the Mahānandi shrines mentioned above. In general appearance, though there are characteristic differences of detail, these would recall the *ghaṇṭasamavaraṇa* or the *pīḍha* type of superstructure of the *maṇḍapas* in front of the Western and Central Indian, as also the Orissan *prāsādas*. Very often the projected central *nāsikās* are joined together by a vertical band, not unlike the *bhadra* decorations of the northern *prāsāda*.

A variant type also of similar spatial and chronological distribution is what would appear to be an intermediate or cross-fertilized mode between the *tala* (with peripheral *hāra* scheme of the tiers) of a southern *vimāna* and the schematic and undifferentiated *bhūmis* of the northern *prāsāda* often with *karṇāmalakas* compressed at the corners. In this variety of Cālukyan and derivative temples, each of the *bhūmis* is differentiated by a simplified, recessed-and pilastered short wall that divides the entire pyramidal superstructure into quite visible square-sectioned strata. The top is surmounted by a *grīva*, *amalasāra* and *stūpi*, as in northern *prāsādas*. The Galaganātha at Aihole is such an example of the Cālukya-Kadamba style of plain stepped superstructure with *karṇāmalakas*. Temple No. 10 of Cousens[26] and the Mallikārjuna at Aihole would illustrate the type without *karṇāmalakas*. The other structures inside the enclosure of the Mahākūṭeśvara complex, excepting the Makuṭeśvara and the Mallikārjuna which are southern *vimāna* types and

the Śaṅgameśvara of the northern *prāsāda* type, are variants of the Cālukya-Kadamba style. Similar temples are to be found as far south as Terāla near Nagārjunakoṇḍa (district Guntur, Andhra Pradesh).

IV. The Northern Style Prāsāda of the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭas: The Bādāmī or early Cālukyas, the Eastern or Veṅgi Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas have also left in their areas a number of the northern style temples or *prāsādas* with square bodies and the characteristic curvilinear, *rekhā śikharas* which is basically different from the *talacchanda* of the storeyed *vimānas* of the south. The *śikhara* in these *prāsādas* would connote the entire superstructure over the cella forming a single unit or *aṇḍa* that is differentiated into nodes or *aṅgas* defined by the *karṇāmalakas*, all compressed in a manner that does not show any clear-cut storeyed division into *talas* as in the southern *vimāna* but only undifferentiated *bhūmis*. The *śikhara* is terminated by a *grīva* (or *gala*) carrying the flat *amalasāra* with the *stūpi* (or *kalasa*) on top forming the ultimate finial. Thus the *śikhara* of the northern *prāsāda* would not be the same morphologically as the *śikhara* of the southern *vimāna* which carries the *stūpi* and comes over the *grīva*. The etymological analogue to this would be the *amalasāra* of the northern *prāsāda* that comes to occupy a similar position over the superstructure between the *grīva* and *stūpi*. The smaller *āmalakas* interposed between the short tiers, at the corners, hence called *karṇāmalakas*, would be the basis of differentiating the *bhūmis* of the *prāsāda* superstructure or *śikhara*. Such *rekhā prāsādas* of the Cālukyan *genre* abound in the Karnataka and the Āndhra countries as at Aihole, Mahākūṭeśvara, Paṭṭadakal, Satyavolu, Mahānandi, Ālampur, and Kurnool and other places in the valley of the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā doab in eastern Deccan. These with their typical Cālukyan idioms in common, despite their individual characters, would form a group different from any of the comparable ones in Western, Northern, or Eastern India. They are invariably of identical proportions excepting where the *veṇukośa* itself has been laid on the basis of *triguṇa* or *caturguṇa sūtras*, making the creation squattish or slender, as the case may be. Their *adhiṣṭhānas* follow more the southern mode, and the body is often provided with a clear *prastara* above the wall of the square cella which may be *sāndhāra* or *nirandhāra* with the exterior often showing the *triratha* or *pañcaratha* configuration from base to top of *śikhara*. The superstructure or *śikhara* as found developed in the northern style *prāsādas* of the Cālukyan area would appear to be essentially a scheme of superposed tiers of flexed *kapota* elements, of the same pattern as the *kapotas* of the southern *vimāna prastara* with well marked series of *alpa nāsikās* or *kūḍus*, distinct or often coalescent or interlaced to form the *udgama* pattern. Such tiers denoting the *bhūmis* of





Draupadi north-west, Mahābalipu
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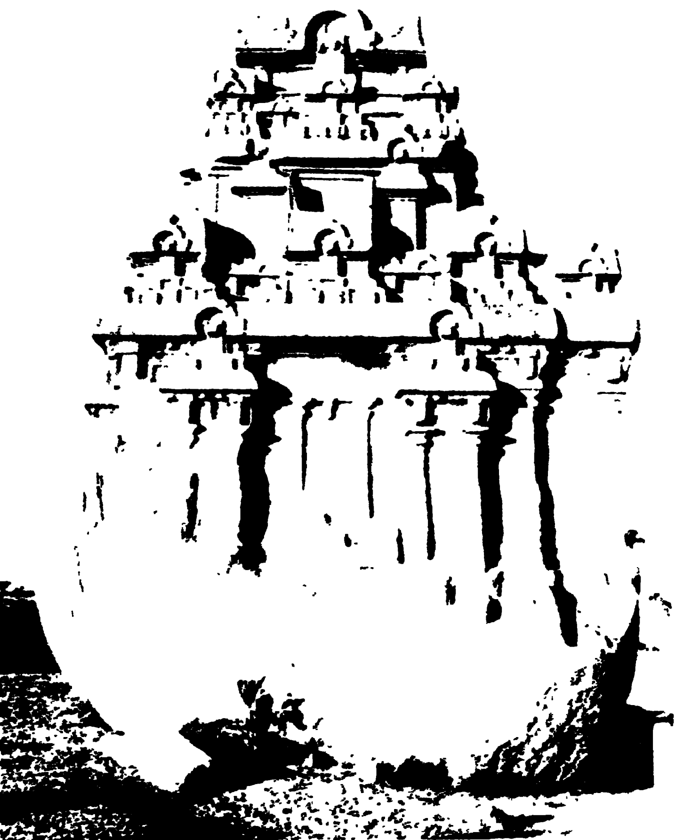
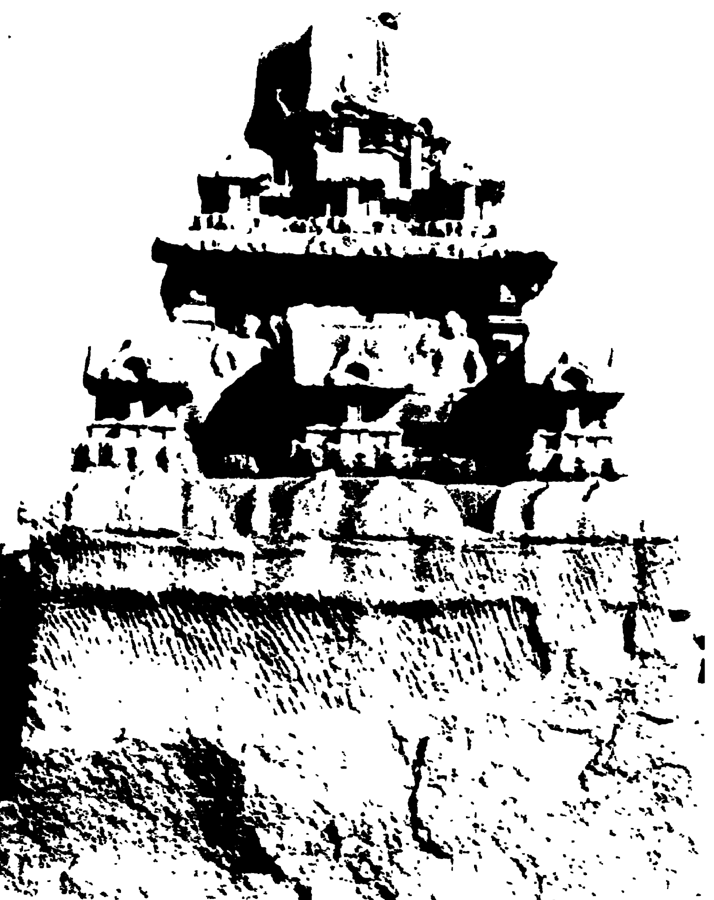


Plate 3 Valaiyankuṭṭai *ratha*, south, Mahābalipuram, last quarter of the 7th century A. D.



ite 4 Southern Pidāri *ratha*, north. Mahābalipuram



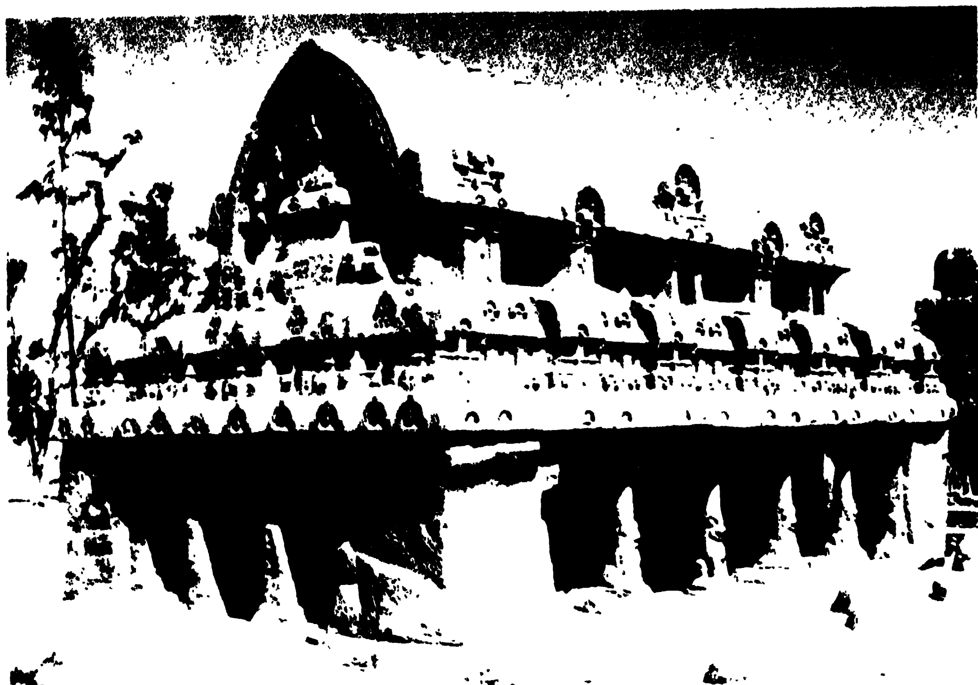


Plate 6 Bhima *ratha*, south-east, Mahabalipuram, *c.* mid-7th century A. D.

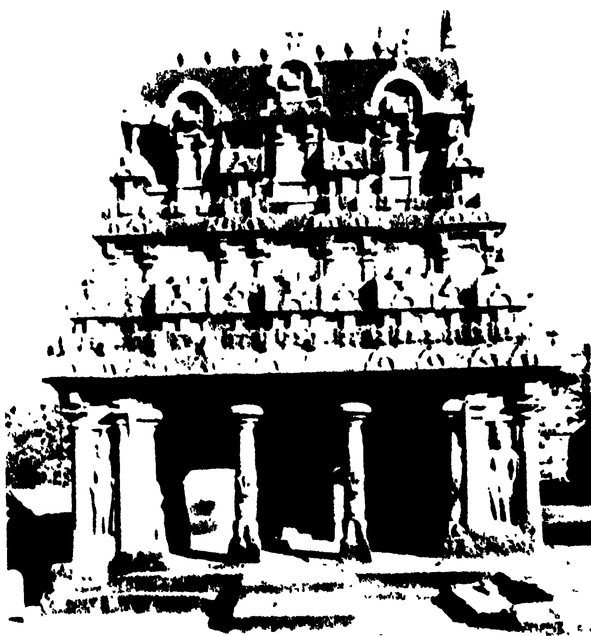
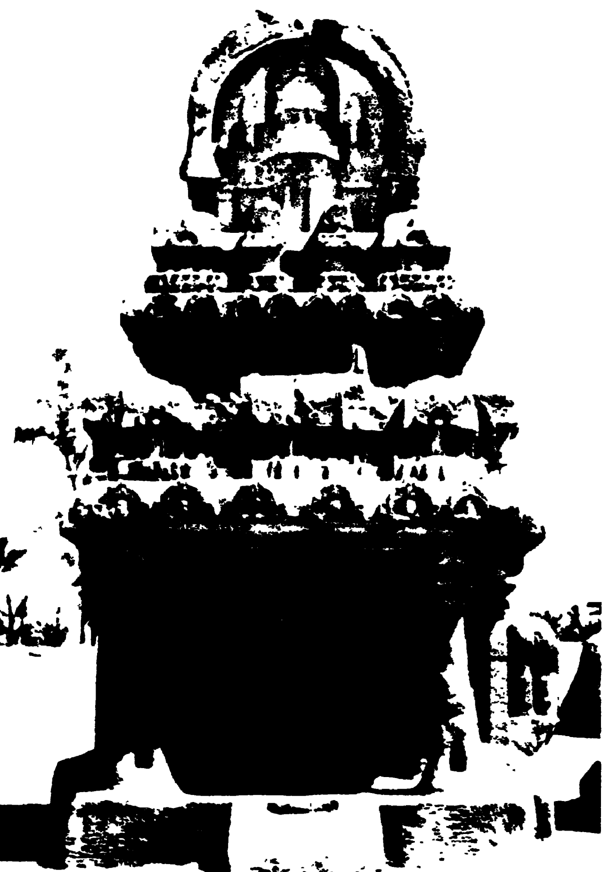
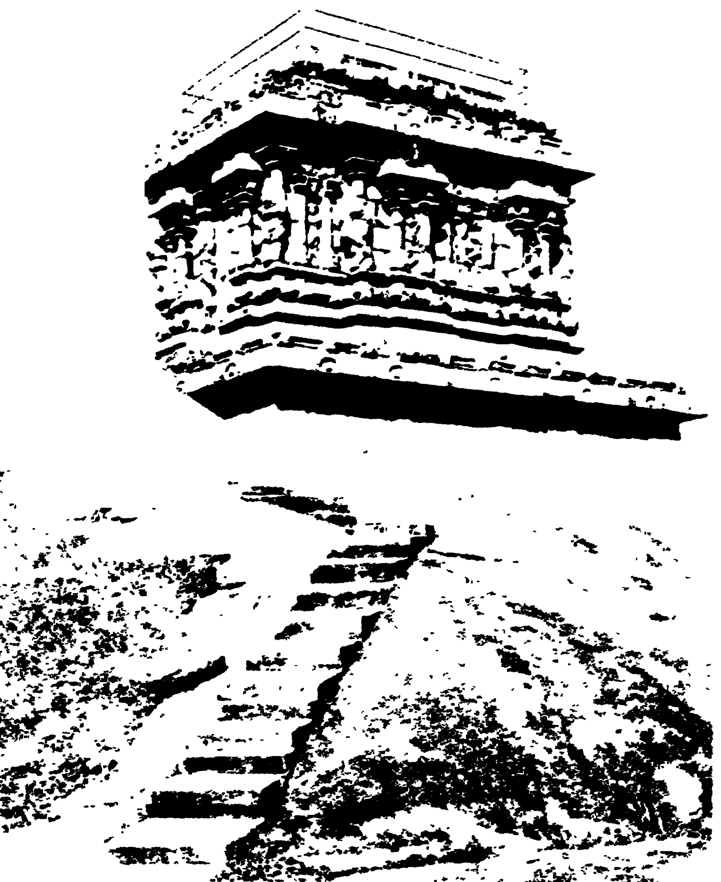


Plate 7 Gaṇeśa *ratha*, east facade, Mahābalipuram, *c.* last quarter of the 7th century A. D.



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Olakkannesvara temple, south-west, Mahābalipuram.
c 700-728 A.D

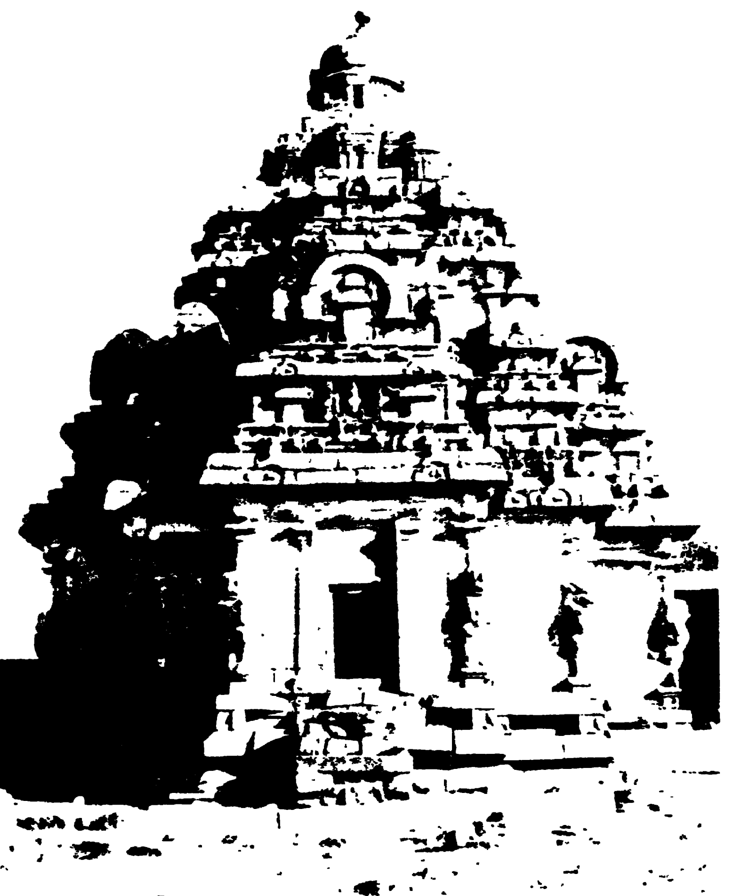


Plate 10 Tālagirīśvara temple, west, Panamalai, c. first quarter of the 8th century A. D.

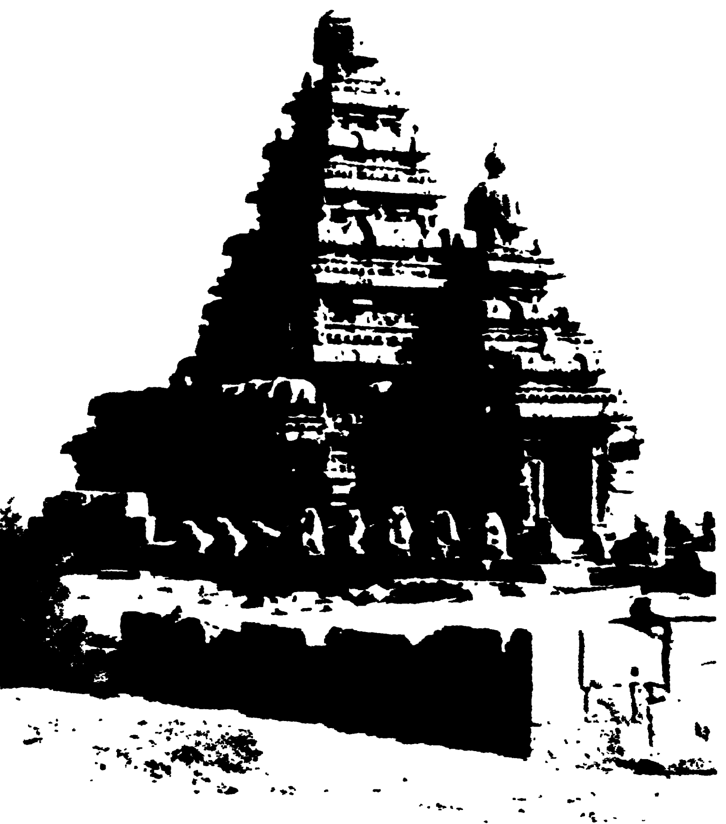


Plate 11 Shore temple, north-west, Mahābalipuram, c. first quarter of the 8th century A. D.



Plate 12 Kailasanatha Temple, general view, north east, Kancipuram, c. first quarter of the 8th century A. D.

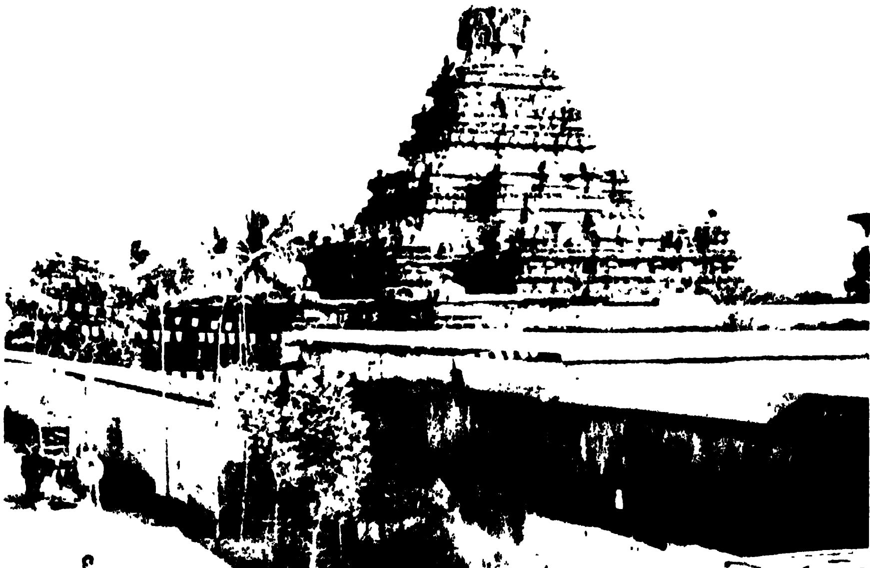


Plate 13 Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple, north-west, Kañcipuram, c. latter half of the 8th century A. D.



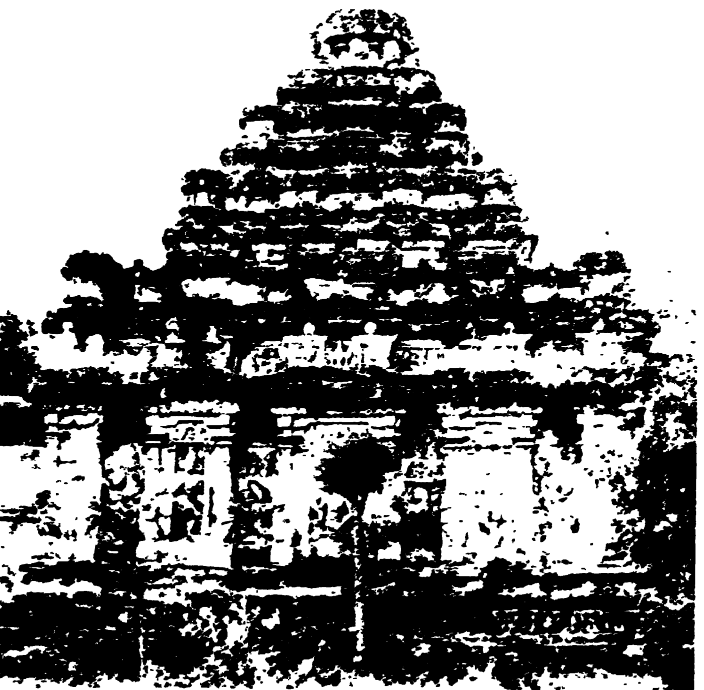
Plate 14 Mukteśvara temple, north-west, Kāñcipuram, c. mid- 8th century A. D



Plate 15 Mātaṅgeśvara temple, north-west, Kāñcipuram, c. mid-8th century A. D.



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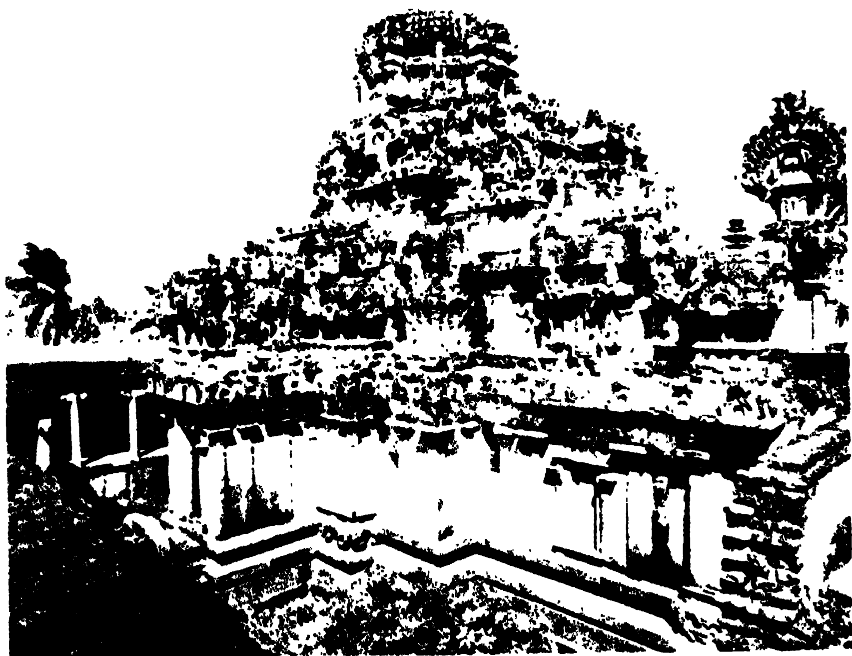


Plate 18 Sundaravarada Perumāl temple, south-east, Uttiramerur, *c*. 805 A. D.

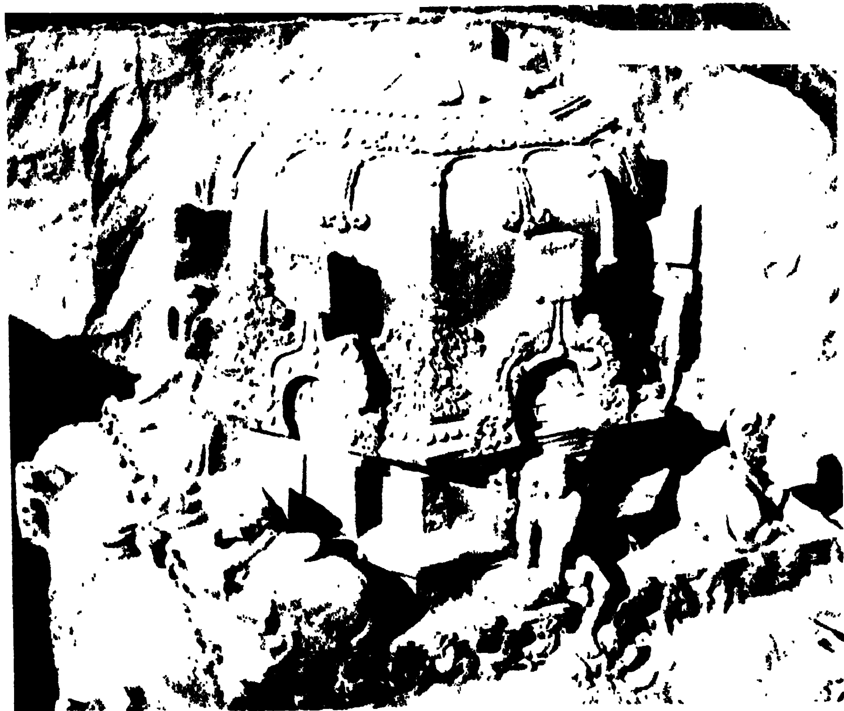


Plate 19 Veṭṭuvānkovil temple, *grīva-śikhara*, south-west, Kalugumalai, *c*. 800 A. D.



Plate 20 Balasubrahmaṇya temple, south, Kannanur, before c. 878 A. D.



Plate 21 Vālīśvara temple, south-west, Tiruvālīśvaram, c. 996 A. D. or earlier



Plate 22 Aivarkovil Mahādeva temple, Koḍumbālūr, *c.* early 9th century A. D.

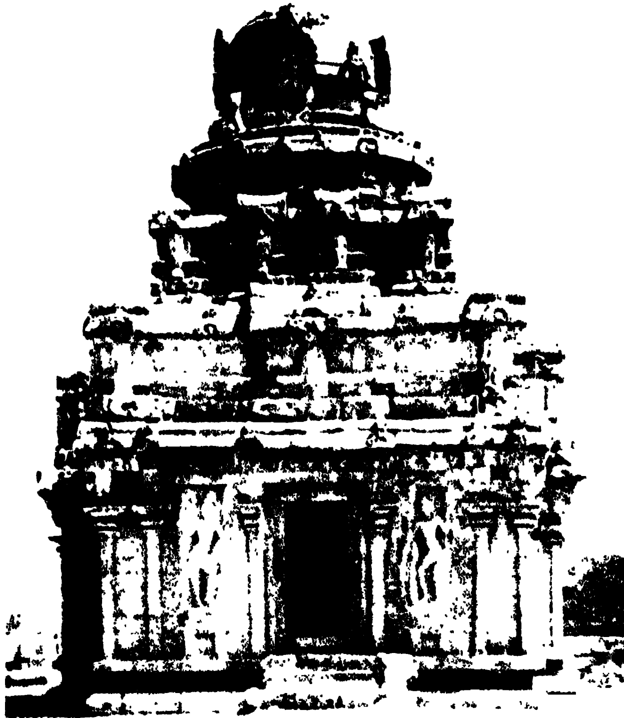
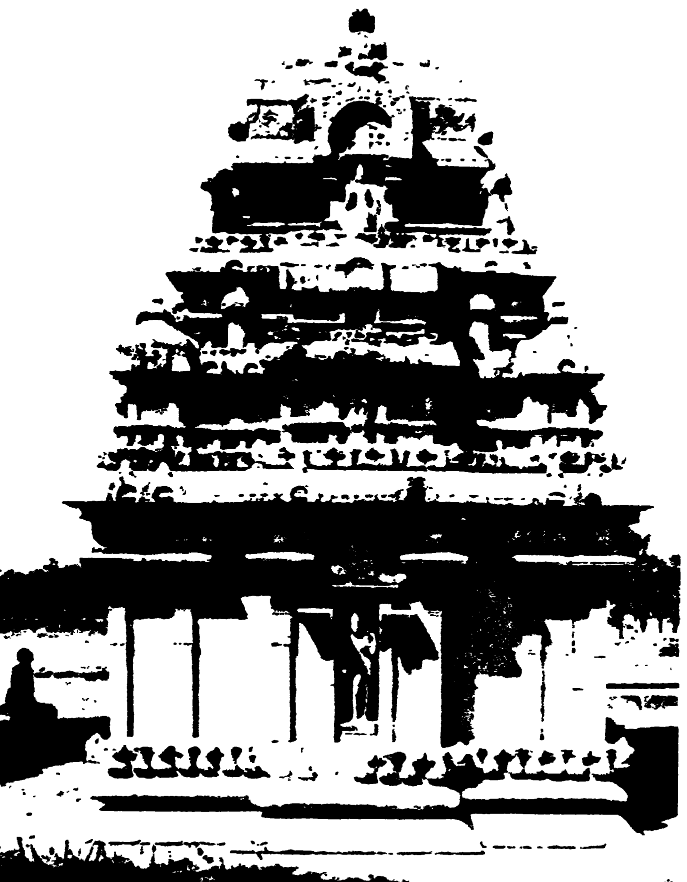
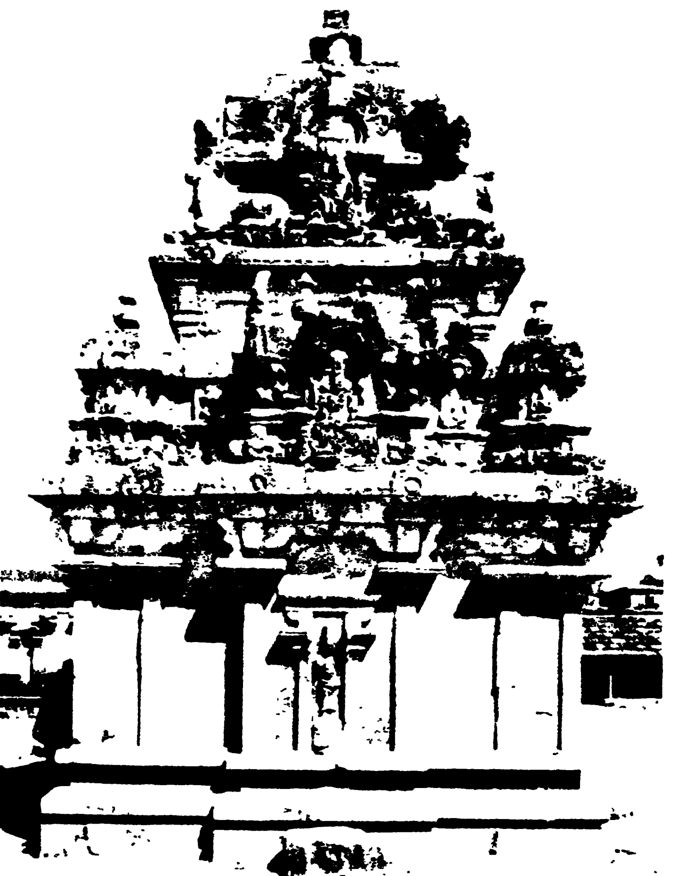


Plate 23 Vijayālaya Colīśvaram temple, Nārttāmalai, north-west, *c.* mid-9th century A. D.



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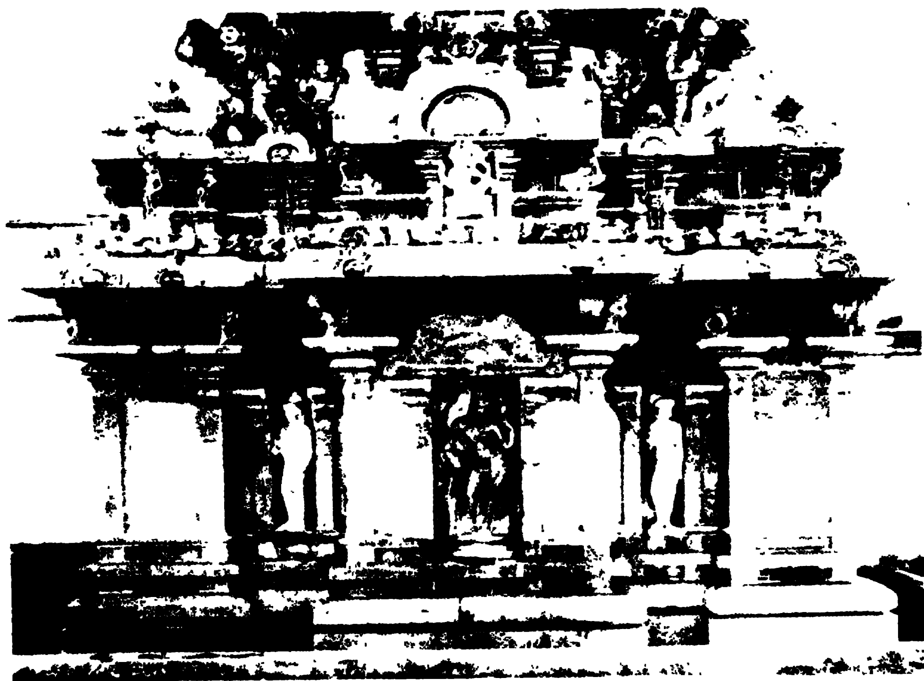


Plate 26 Nāgeśvaraswāmi temple, west, Kumbakonam, c. 886 A. D.



Plate 27 Agastīśvara temple, south, Kīlaiyūr, c. 884 A. D.

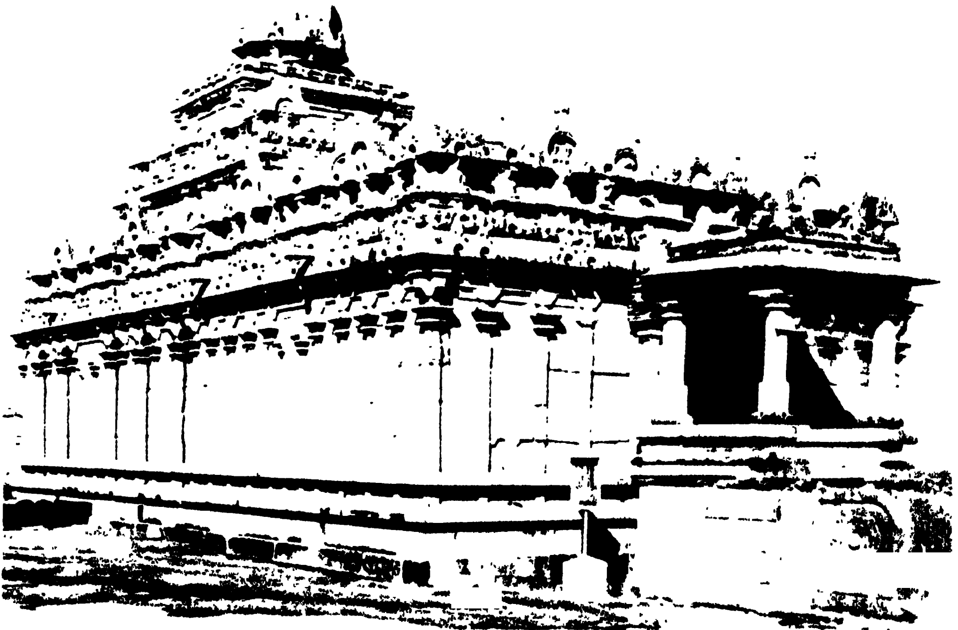


Plate 28 Camuṇḍaraya basti temple, south-east, Sravaṇabelgola, Chandragiri, *c.* 982 A. D.

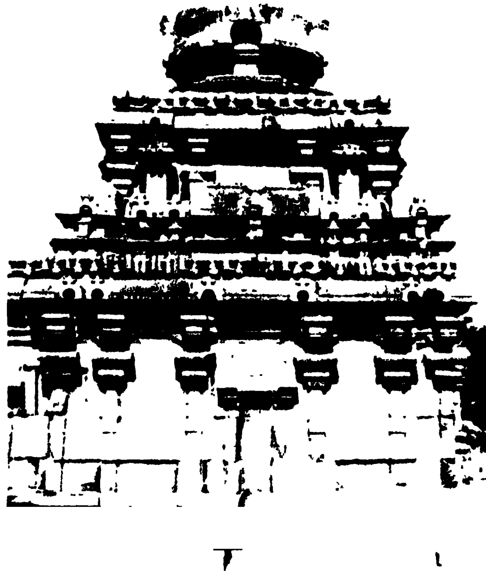


Plate 29 Pañca Kūṭa basti temple, Kambadahalli. Ādinātha basti (triple shrine), eastern *vimāna* (foreground); double shrine, eastern *vimāna* (background), south, *c.* late 10th century A. D

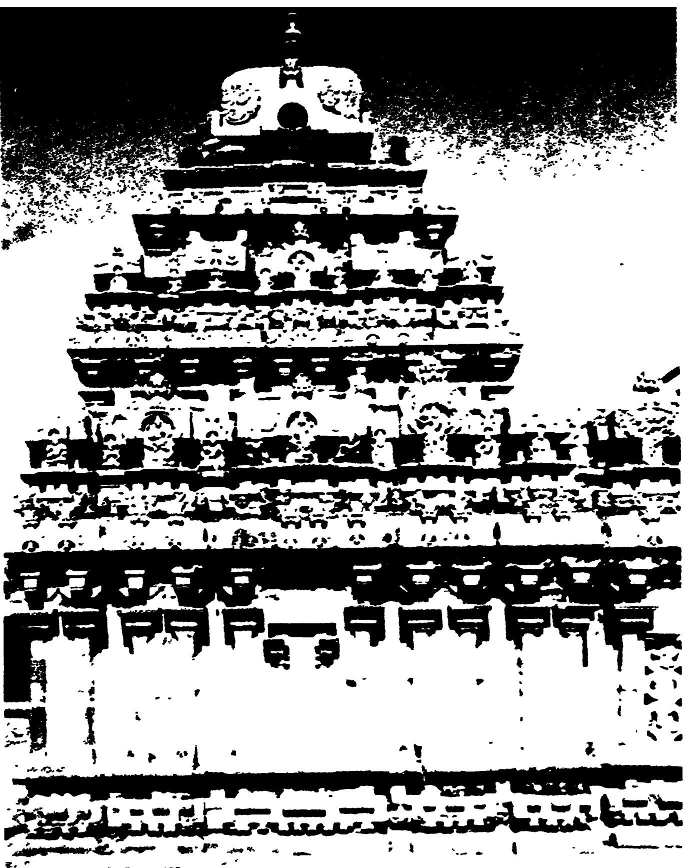


Plate 30 Bhoganandīśvara temple, south, Nandi, *c*. 860-900 A. D.

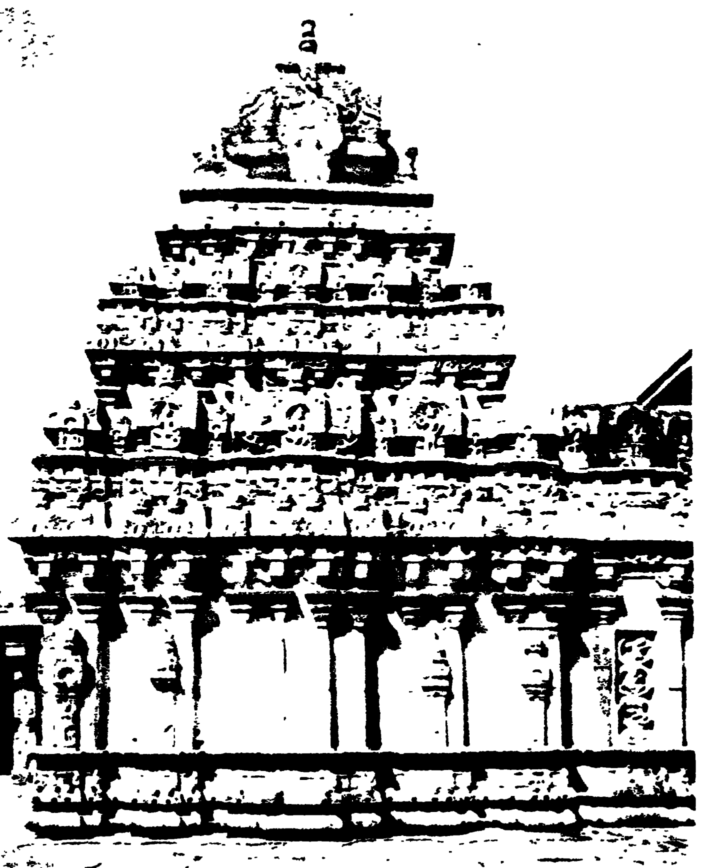


Plate 31 Aruṇācaleśvara temple, *vimāna*, south, Nandi, *c*. 860-900 A. D.

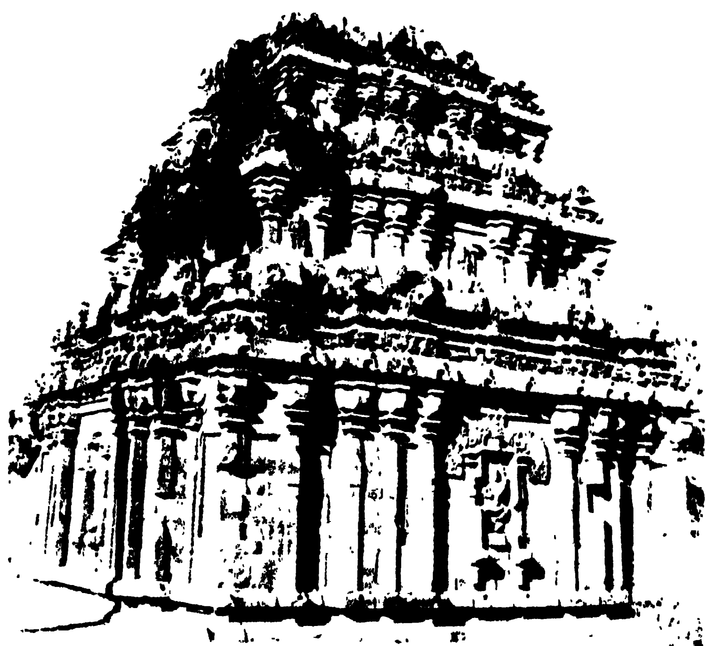


Plate 32 Nakkalaguḍi temple, *vimāna*, Biccavolu, south-east, *c*. first half of the 8th century A. D.

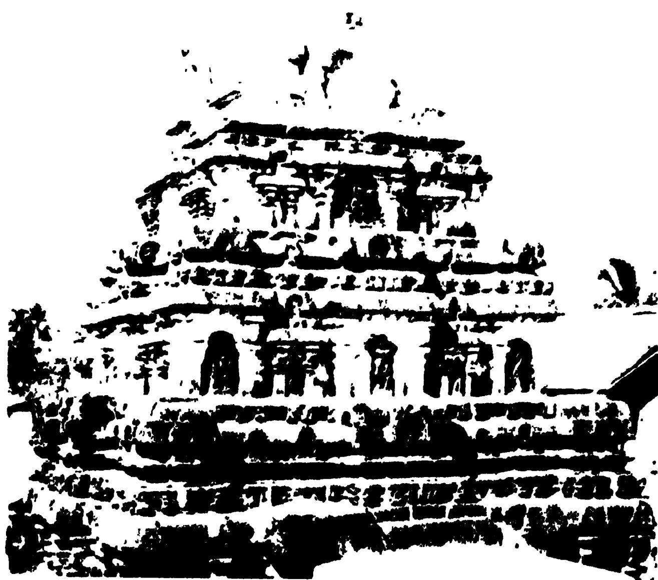
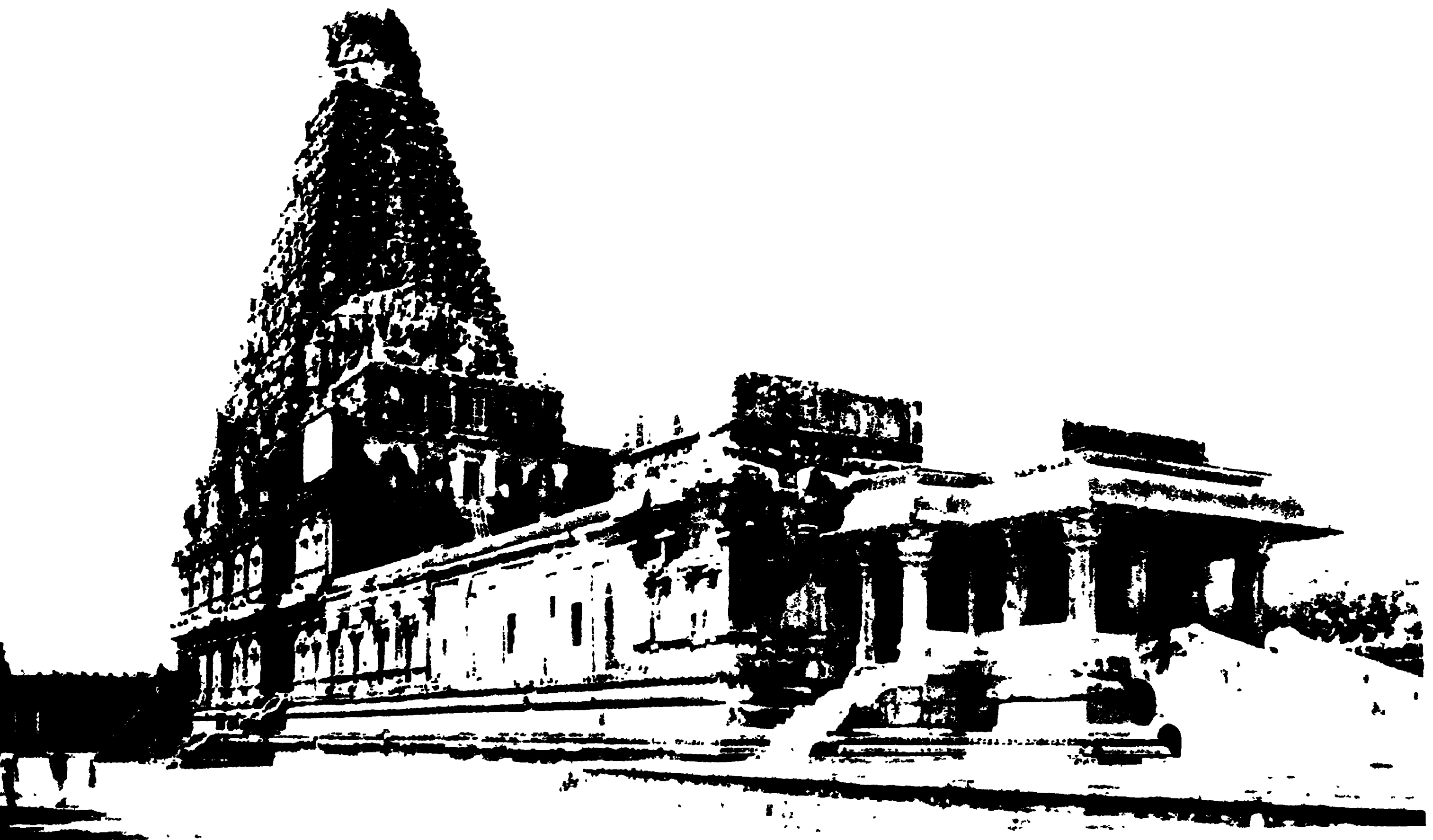
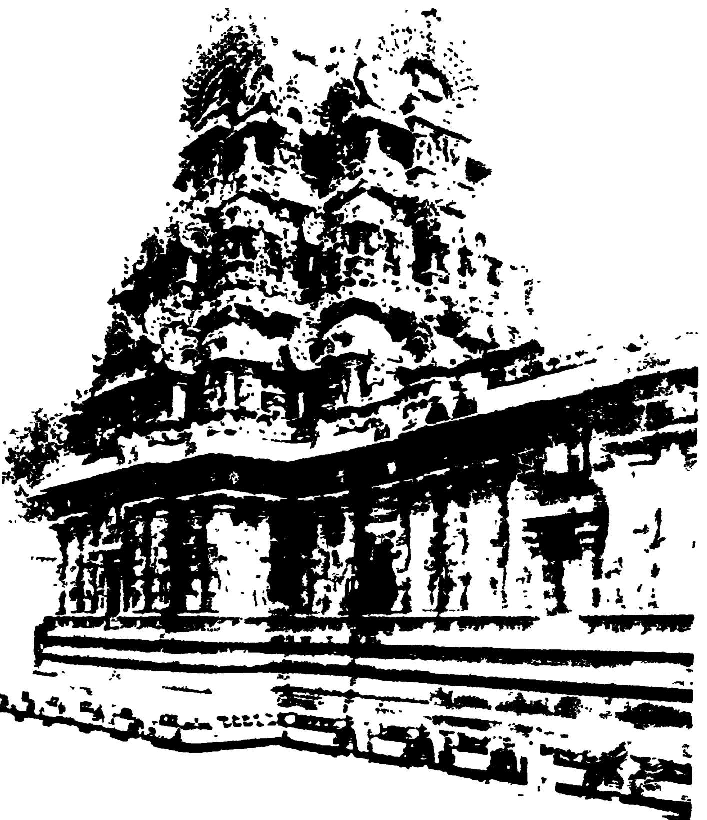


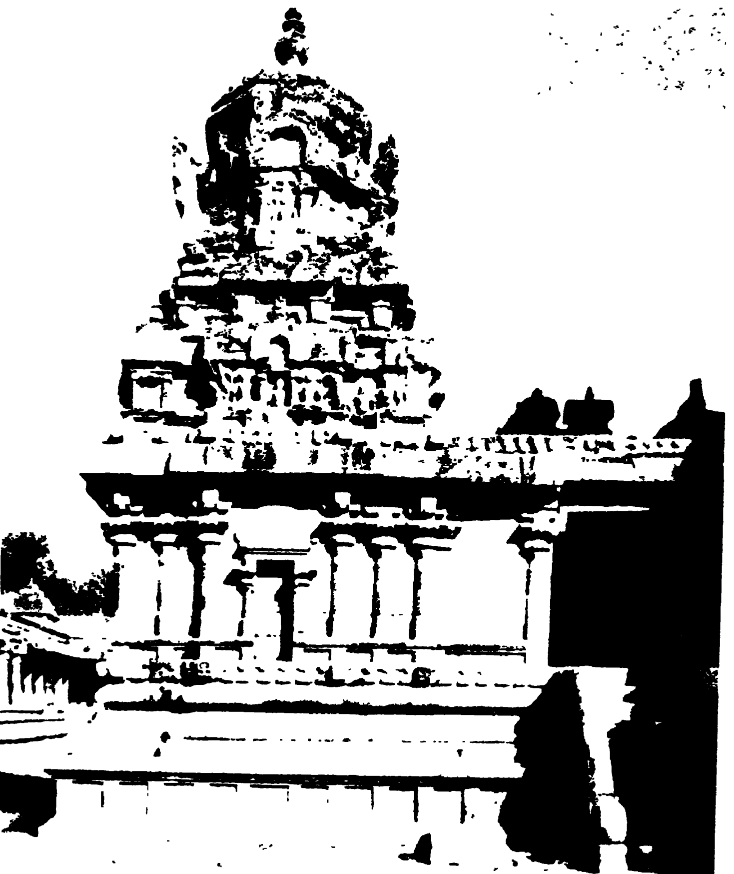
Plate 33 Candraśekhara temple, south-east, Biccavolu, *c*. first half of the 9th century A. D.



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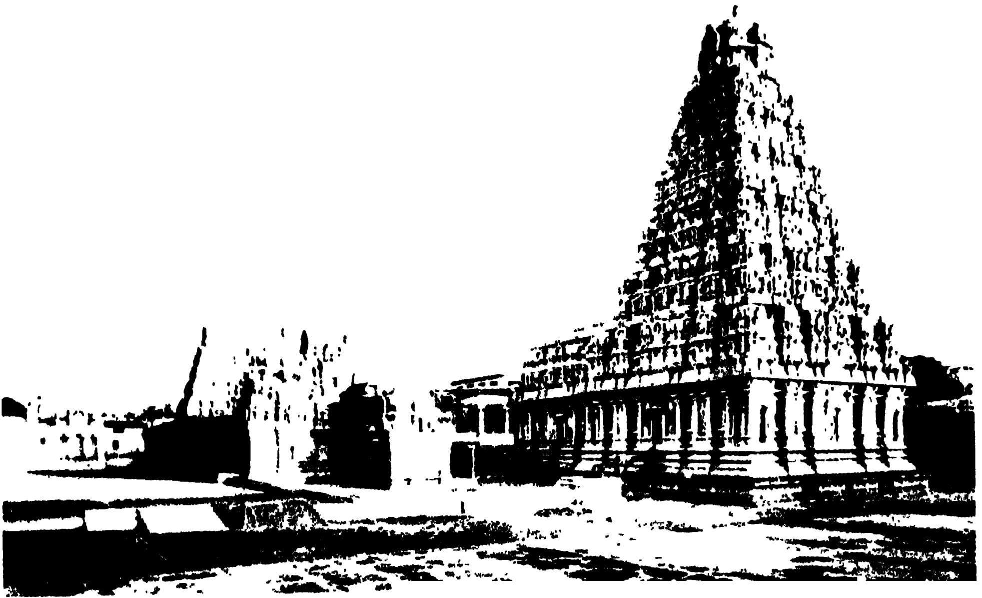


Plate 36 Kampahareśvara temple, north-west, Tribhuvanam, *c*. 1178-1218 A. D.

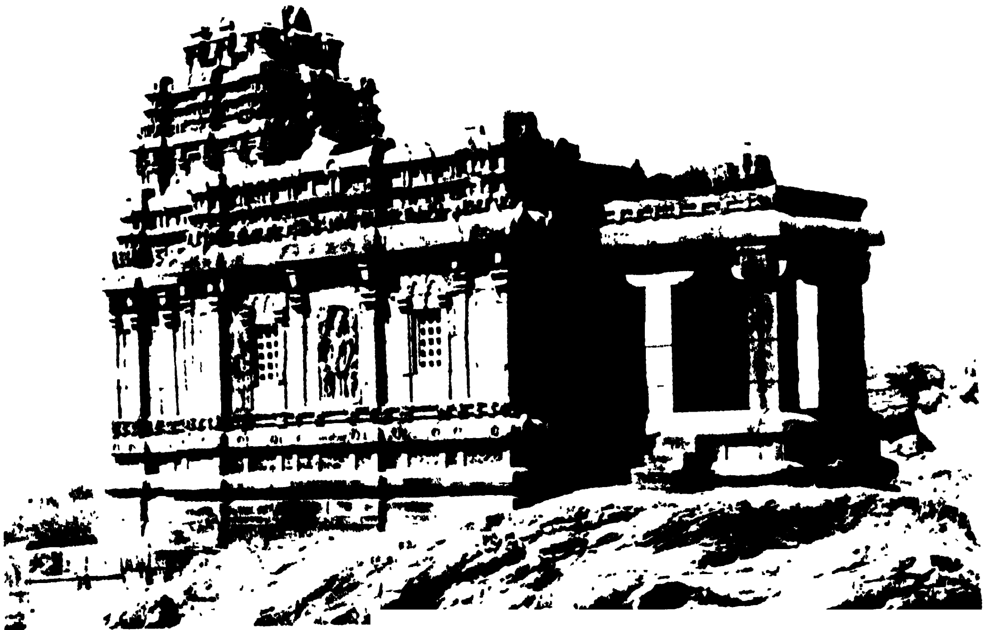


Plate 37 Mālegiṭṭi Śivālaya, north-east, Bādāmi, *c*. 654/5-678/81 A. D.

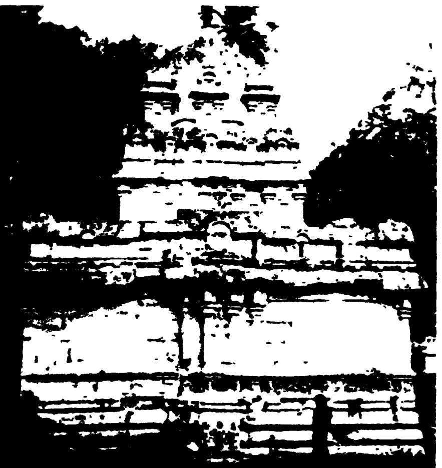


Plate 38 Mahākūṭeśvara temple. west. Mahākūṭa. *c*. 670-680 A. D.

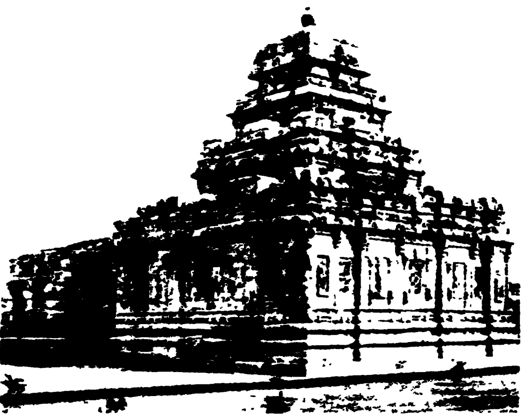


Plate 39 Saṅgameśvara temple. north-west. Paṭṭadakal. 733 A. D.

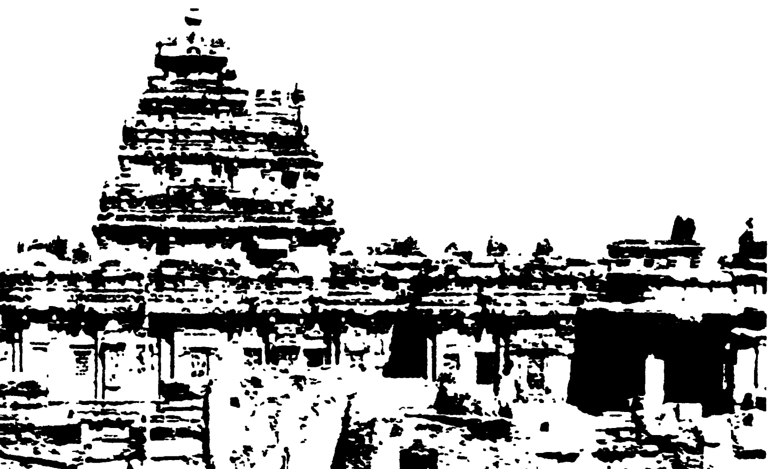


Plate 40 Virūpākṣa temple. south. Paṭṭadakal. *c*. 745 A. D.

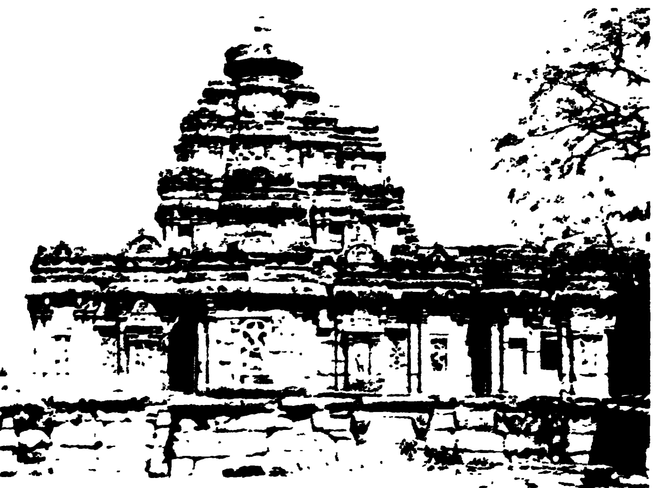


Plate 41 Mallikārjuna temple, south, Paṭṭadakal, *c.* 745 A. D.



Plate 44 Jaina temple, south-west, Paṭṭadakal, *c.* late 9th or early 10th century A. D.

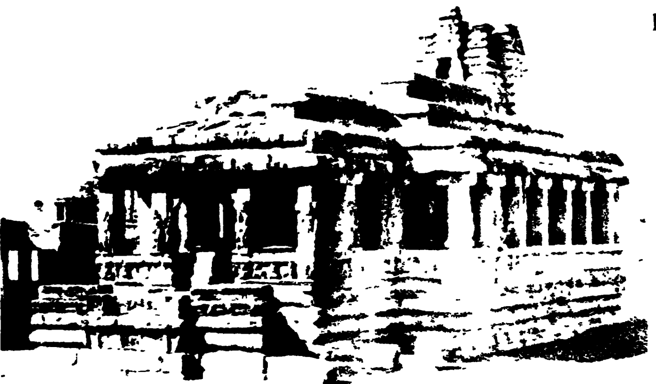


Plate 42 Durgā temple, north-east, Aihole, *c.* end of the 7th century A. D

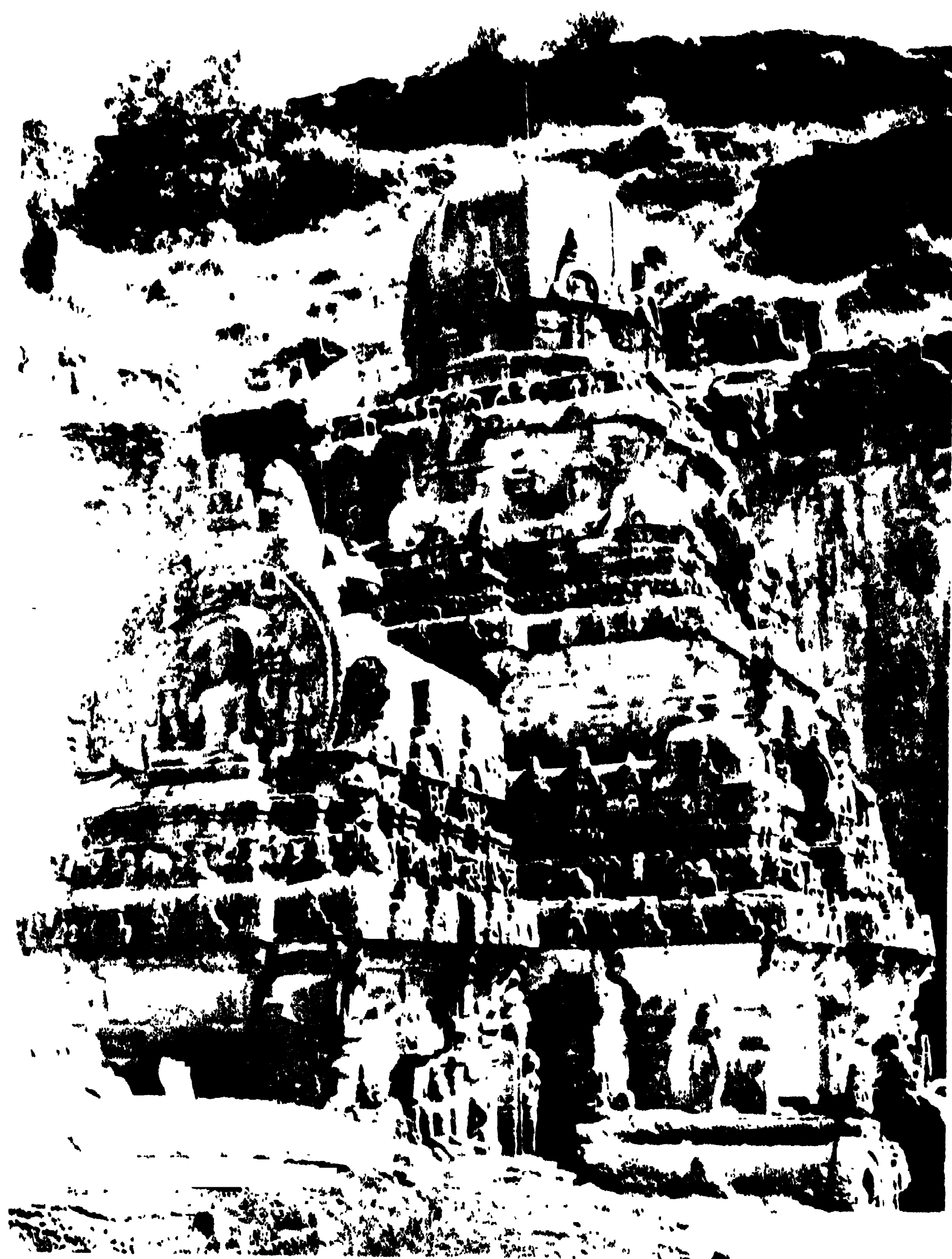


Plate 43 Kailāsa temple, Ellorā, *c.* third quarter of the 8th century A. D.

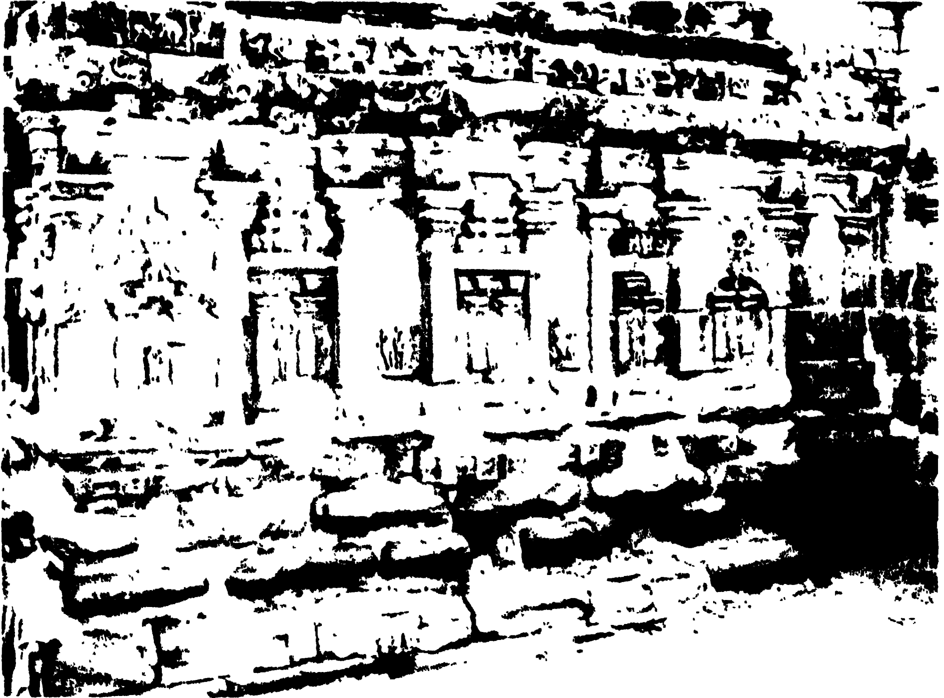


Plate 45 Navaliṅga group, older shrine, Kukkanūr, *c.* late 9th century A. D.

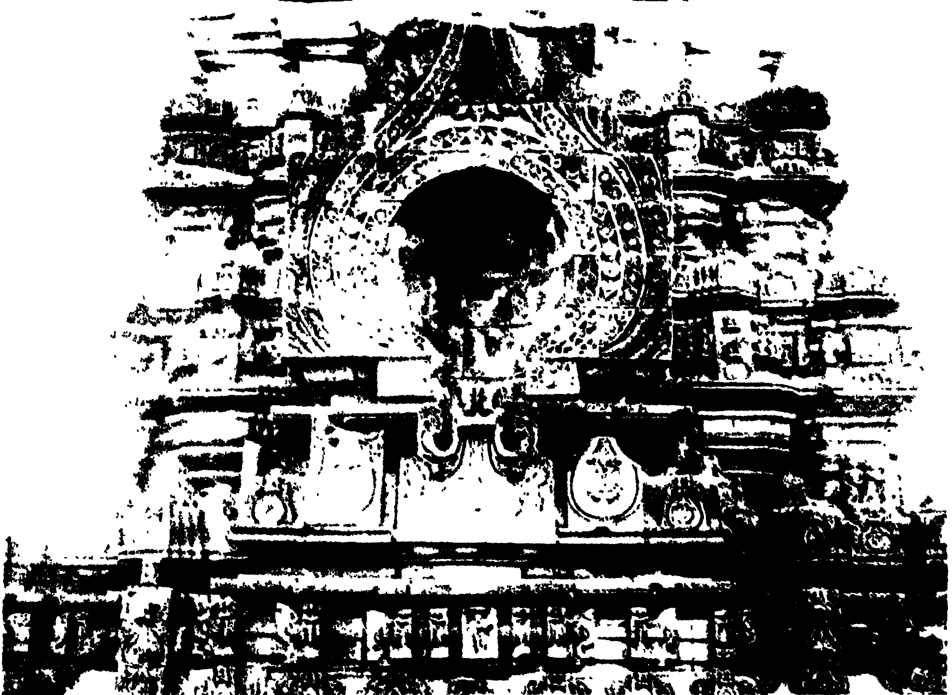


Plate 46 Mahādeva temple, Ittagi, Karnataka, 1112 A. D.

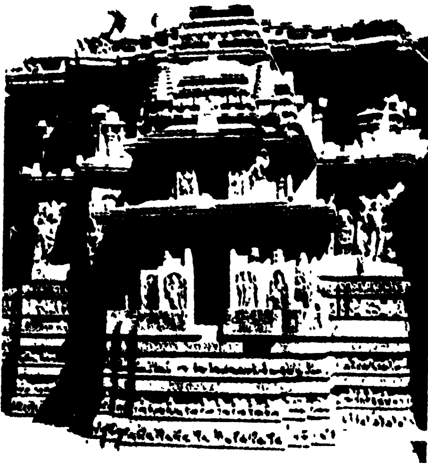


Plate 47 Hoysaleśvara temple, Halebīd, Karnataka, *c*. 1141 A. D.

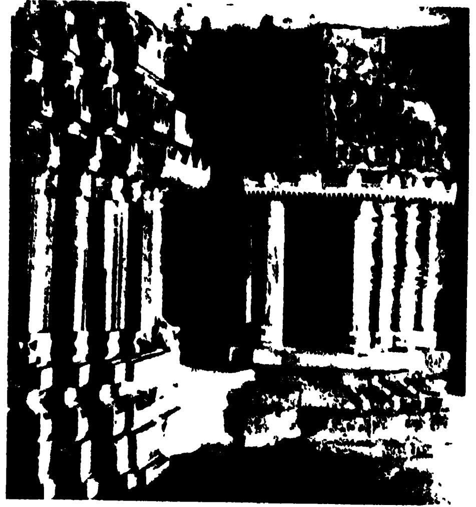


Plate 48 *Navaranga*, Halebīd, Karnataka, *c*. 1141 A. D

Plate 49 Keśava temple, Somnāthpur, Karnataka, 1268 A. D.

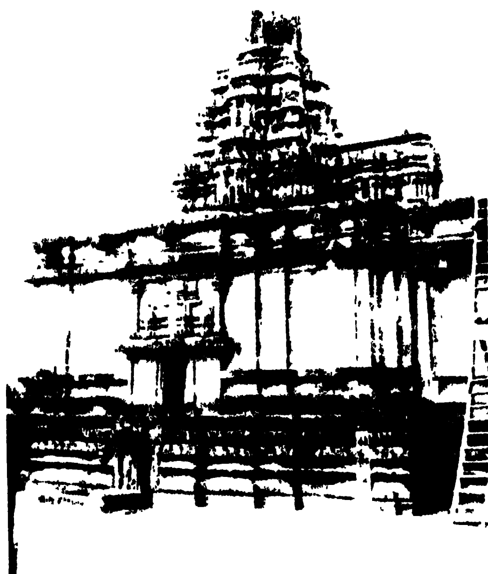


Plate 50 Aghoreśvara temple, Ikkeri, Mysore State, 1515-45 A. D.

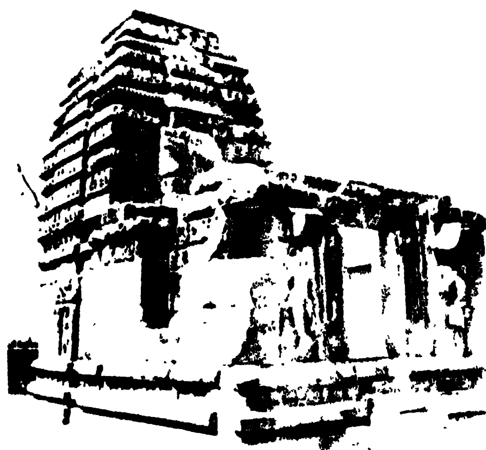


Plate 51 Kadasiddheśvara temple, south-east, Pattadakal, c. 696-720 A. D.

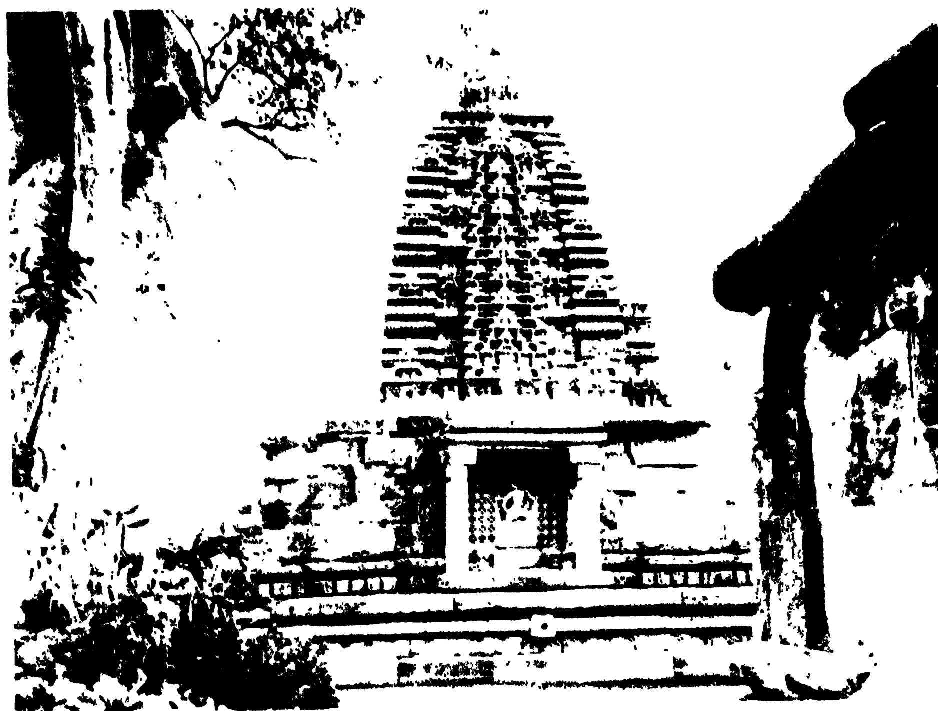


Plate 52 Galaganatha Temple, south, Paṭṭadakal, c. 685-96 A. D.

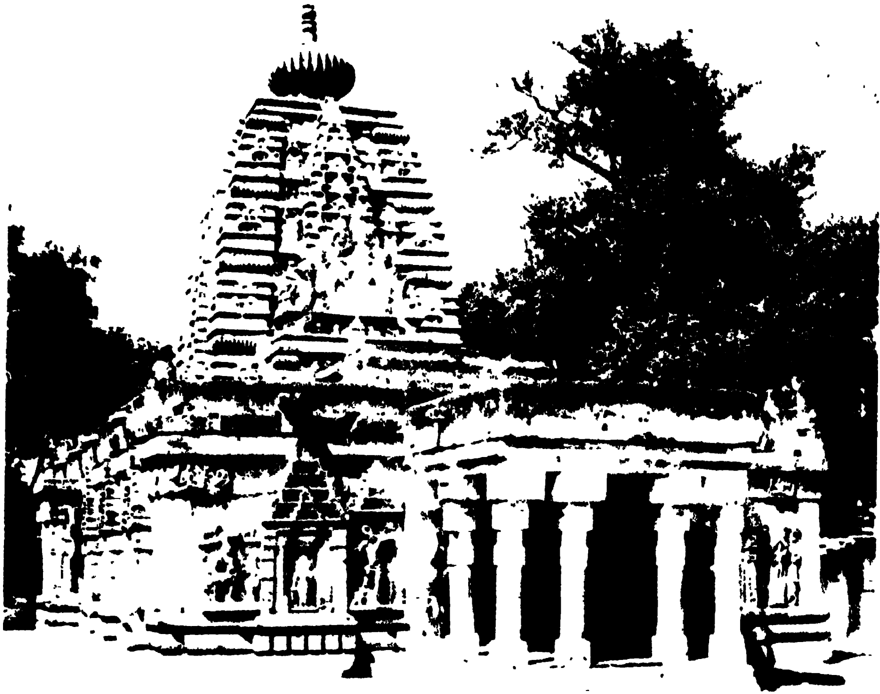


Plate 53 Svarga-Brahmā temple, south-east, Alampur, *c*. 681-96 A. D.

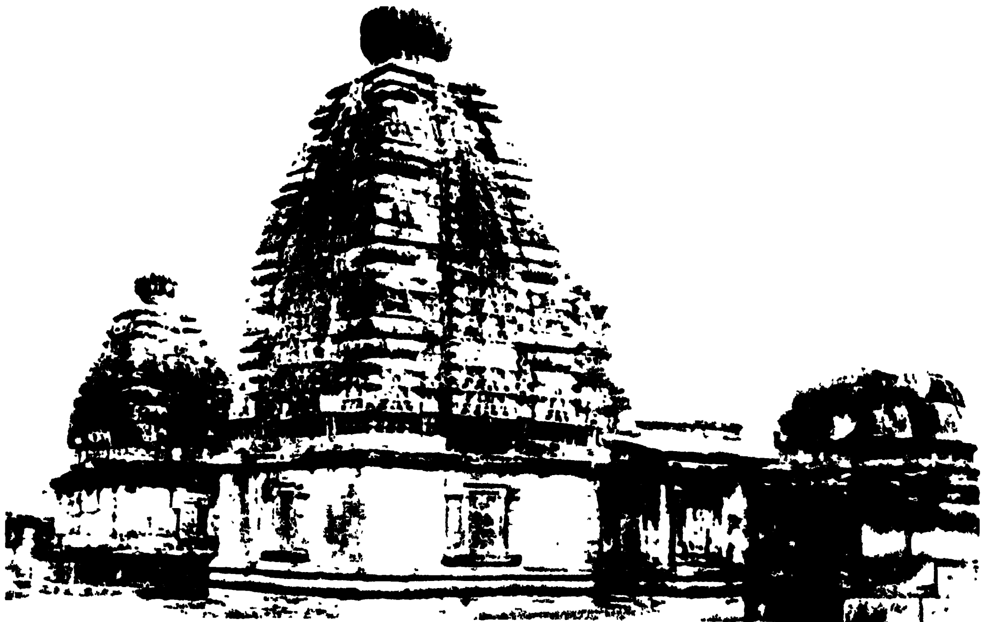


Plate 54 Rāmaliṅgeśvara and Bhīmaliṅgeśvara temple, south-west, Satyavo *c*. 696-734 A. D.

gradually diminishing dimensions are separated from one another by very short intervening *kaṇṭhas* or necks. The corners of every alternating or third tier are modified as compressed *karṇāmalakas*, replacing the *kapota* segment with *kūḍu* patterns, a feature that lends to the curvature of the *śikhara* in combination with the flexure of the *kapota* segments. The *bhadra* or *ratha* projections, however, present an uninterrupted vertical series of superposed *kapota* segments with *kūḍu* motifs which by coalescence form the *udgama* pattern. The *śukanāsikā* in the front, projected over the *antarāla* roof, is well defined and sufficiently wide to encompass most of the frontal width of the *śikhara*, at least in its lowest *bhūmi* its axial length being equal to a half or two-thirds of the external width of the square *garbhagṛha*, in the more earlier examples. The axial *maṇḍapas* in front, being flat roofed, more or less, as in the *vimāna* temples of the south, make this feature quite prominent. The *śukanāsikā* as has already been noted, also forms part of the southern *vimāna* types of this region, evidently due to the close proximity of the coeval northern *prāsādas*, as in the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭadakal, and the Kailāsa at Ellorā and in subsequent Western Cālukyan and later *vimānas*. In these cases the *śukanāsikā* is only of the width of the *bhadra* projections on the front side, and is of the nature of *śāla vimānas* of the *alpa* class, placed fronton. The Eastern Cālukyas, however, had not adopted this element in their *vimāna* type temples owing, perhaps, to their greater contiguity with and nearness to influences from the Tamil country in the south where such a *śukanāsikā* is absent, throughout. These northern type *prāsādas* of the Cālukyan *milieu* share most in common with the *vimānas* of the region in their pillar and door types, axial *maṇḍapa* types, sculptures, iconography and other features of embellishment.

The Huchchimalligudi, the Huchchappayyagudi, and the Mallikārjuna at Aihole belong to this early Cālukya *prāsāda* variety. These are generally of the *triratha* lay-out, with *ghanadvāras* (or false doors) on the sides or grills, have front *maṇḍapa* with outer wall plain or decorated and often provided with a front pillared porch. The Huchchimalligudi is *sāndhāra* with a *triratha śikhara* and an *antarāla* marking its earliest appearance and having a pillared *maṇḍapa* and porch in front. The Huchchappayyagudi is a *nirandhāra* version of the former.

In Paṭṭadakal, examples of this type would be the Pāpanātha, the Viśveśvara, Galaganātha, Kadasiddheśvara and the Jambūliṅga. The Kadasiddheśvara (Plate 51) and the Jambūliṅga are the simplest structures having a sanctum with a *triratha śikhara* and a *maṇḍapa* in front. The Kāśiviśveśvara, though of the same plan, has a *pañca-ratha śikhara*. The

Galaganātha (Plate 52) is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* with the three sides of the sanctum outer wall conspicuously projected as flat roofed porches and with a *triratha śikhara*. The Pāpanātha has a low and linear plan with the main edifice having a stunted *śikhara* too small in proportion to the whole length, and having in the axial line an *antarāla*, that is disproportionately large, a *maṇḍapa* and portico. An interesting feature would be the presence of a *hāra*, mostly of *śālas* with *karṇakūṭas* at the front corner and a few *pañjaras* in between, extending continuously over the edge of the roof of the axial *maṇḍapas*, a feature which is not only southern but also appropriate to *vimāna*-type temples. The Śaṅgameśvara adjoining the Makuṭeśvara temple in Mahākūṭeśvara is of the Cālukya *rekhā prāsāda* type, with a *triratha* lay-out and a pillared *maṇḍapa* in front. The presence of the water-*chute*, showing as an oblong opening on the top of the *adhiṣṭhāna* on its northern side, is a significant feature.

The Ālampur temples form a very interesting series. Of the Nava-Brahmā or nine Brahmā temples, as they are called, all except the Tāraka-Brahmā, which is of the southern *vimāna* type with a *dvitala* superstructure and *maṇḍapa* in front, are northern type *rekhā prāsādas*. They may mostly date prior to 713 A. D., when according to an inscription the outer *prākāra* enclosing the whole group was built by Īśānācārya. The eight *prāsāda* type temples are the Padma-Brahmā, the Svarga-Brahmā (Plate 53), the Garuḍa-Brahmā, the Bāla-Brahmā, the Viśva-Brahmā, the Vīra-Brahmā, the Arka-Brahmā and the Kumāra-Brahmā. They are most of them *nirandhāra* while a few are *sāndhāra*. Each consists of a sanctum with a well proportioned *triratha śikhara* rising over the cella walls, an *antarāla* and a pillared *maṇḍapa* with a flat roof of two tiers, the whole axial series surrounded by the external wall that goes round the *garbhagṛha* also forming a closed ambulatory. There is a single entrance in front, provided in some cases with a frontal portico of lesser width. The exterior wall faces are richly carved, with niches, surmounted by *udgamas* and containing fine sculptures, and lattice windows. The carvings of a lyrical type are reminiscent of the Pratihāra and Rājasthāni styles. The Bāla-Brahmā is the most evolved and elaborate among the whole group. These at the latest would belong to the first quarter of the eighth century A. D. The Mahānandi complex is a group of temple units enclosed by a *prākāra*, all facing west. They consist among other structures of six miniature shrines of varying types in one group and another of four smaller shrines behind the principal Mahānandīśvara, which is a *sāndhāra rekhā prāsāda* with a *triratha śikhara*, datable with reference to the Ālampur group—as *c*. 750 A. D. The Bhīmaliṅgeśvara and the Rāmaliṅgeśvara of the complex at Satyavolu (Plate 54), forming the principals

of the group, are both *nirandhāra* with *triratha śikharas* over their square bodies. The smaller Bhīmaliṅgeśvara has a *mañca-bandha* type of *adhiṣṭhāna,* niches over its three walls and large *ardhamaṇḍapa*-like *antarāla* in front in good proportion to the main structure and of width about three-fourths of the main sanctum, surmounted by the prominent *śukanāsikā.* The *ardhamaṇḍapa* entrance has its door frame with carvings overtopped by the front arch of the *śukanāsikā* which is a *makaratoraṇa*. This and the *Rāmaliṅgeśvara* are the only two temples where the *vyālavari* or *vyāla māla* on the *prastara* is shown, even though it is a *rekhā prāsāda*, and not of the *vimāna* type where such a feature is common. The large Rāmaliṅgeśvara consists of a *garbhagṛha*, *antarāla* and axial *maṇḍapas*, in front. The shrine walls are plain except for a *devakoṣṭha* niche on each side. There are *dvārapālas* on either side of the *antarāla*, a feature found even in the Cālukya *rekhā prāsādas* and most common in the southern *vimāna* types. The *śikhara* is *triratha* with a large *amalasāra* and stone *stūpi* on top. This complex contains also some diminutive shrines, square, rectangular and apsidal. The square one is of the same type as the small temple near the Huchchimalligudi[27] with a receding series of six horizontal *kapota*-like tiers for its superstructure crowned by the *amalasāra* with the *stūpi* missing. The apsidal *vimāna* to the south-east of Rāmaliṅgeśvara has its walls built of large blocks of stone, plain cut, as also its apsidal *grīva*, which is short, and its *śikhara*. The Pañcaliṅgeśvara near Kurnool is a much renovated, but truly a Cālukyan temple. It is *sāndhāra* in lay-out and its present superstructure is a modern renovation in the Cālukya-Kadamba style. It has a pillared *maṇḍapa* in front with slopy roof and clerestory and is datable to Vijayāditya's time-- *c.* 750 A. D. Another temple at Baṇḍi Taṇḍrapāḍu, nearby, is a typical Cālukya-*rekhā prāsāda* of the northern type, *nirandhāra*, with carvings of Gaṇeśa, Durgā, and Kārttikeya on its *bhadra* niches on the walls and with a prominent *śukanāsikā* above in front of the *śikhara*. The temple would be of the same date—*c.* 750 A. D. The *maṇḍapa* in front is a much later addition. The Madhukeśvara temple at Banavāsī is another good example of the Cālukya northern style *prāsāda* with front *maṇḍapas* having a central clerestory and lateral slopy roofs and *hāra* over the edge of the *maṇḍapa* roof. Though much renovated, this would belong to the middle eighth century A. D.

Year of writing: 1968

Notes and References

[1] The term 'rock architecture', aptly adopted by Percy Brown, would at once indicate the cutting in or cutting out of living rock contemporary structural forms and thus reproducing the interior and facades of such originals in the excavations or their total exterior and interior aspects in the monolithic copies. This cannot be true 'architecture' which in its correct sense would involve building up of component fabrics and the implied techniques of design and construction, but can only be sculpture on a grand scale of architectural models.

[2] Hitherto except for the *stūpas* and related *caityas* of the Buddhists (where stone was also used along with brick and that too mostly as a casing over brick structures) stone was not being used by the other creeds owing to a long prevailing tradition of associating stone with the dead or with funerary rites (See K. R. Srinivasan, 'Some aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South'; *Journal of Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, July 1961, pp. 131, 143 and 'Cave temples of the Pallavas', Architectural Survey of Temples No. 1, Archaeological Survey of India (1964), pp. 25-43.

[3] Equally so would be such classifications as Indo-Aryan and Drāviḍiān used by some authors or the *Nāgara-rekhā-prāsāda* and '*Drāviḍa vimāna*' etc. The texts followed in different cases belong to different periods and regions as codified by the clergy in collaboration with the artisan guilds with inherent variations in treatment or codification of the same theme with emphasis and elaboration in respect of local forms to which they relate and brief generalizations of extra territorial subjects. Also the view of every compiler of the canons has always been to include what has come down, what was practised and what would be known or heard of from other regions, though there can be a commonness over many elements implicit in their approach. It would be noted here that the earliest texts like the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Agnipurāṇa*, etc., do not mention the ternary classification, the northern texts like *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* ignore the *veśara*, while the later *Aparājita pṛcchā* continues to employ it as one of the styles implying its vogue between the 8th and 11th centuries A. D. The southern texts like *Vaikhānasa āgama*, *Vimānārcana Kalpa*, *Mayamata*, *Īśāna-Śivagurudeva paddhati*, *Kāśyapa śilpa*, *Mānasāra*, *Tantrasamuccaya*, *Supra-bhedāgama*, *Kāmikāgama* etc., deal with the three forms, based on the criterion of general plan and more so of the *śikhara* plan and shape.

[4] cf. *Mānasāra* under the chapter *Vimāna Vidhāna*, and the *Mayamata*, also a southern text. The subject has been discussed by Mallayya, 'Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture', Annamalainagar, and Soundararajan, K. V., 'The Matrix of South Indian Architecture', *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII, Part III, No. 129, 1965. It will be

interesting to note that among the types of temples mentioned in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works of the early centuries of the Christian era, the *Nagaram*, *Koyil*, *Koṭṭam*, and *Palli*, are mentioned frequently, necessitating the need for revising the usual etymological derivation of the term '*Nāgara*'.

[5] Mallayya, 'Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture', p. 61. The Koḍumbālūr Muvarkovil inscription of Vikramakeśarī, *c.* 875 A. D., calls the triple temple *vimānatrayam* and the Tenkāśi pillar inscription of Arikeśarī Parākrama Pāṇḍya (Travancore Archaeological Series, No. VI, Ins. No. IV, p. 100, lines 32-33) uses the definition *upānādhi-stūpi paryantam* also the Melaśevral inscription dated 1057 A. D., *Annual Report On South Indian Epigraphy*, 1916, No. 602, and many other epigraphical contexts. The later practice of equating the superstructure with '*vimāna*' by writers on architecture is also found in the late *Viśvakarma Vāstu Śāstra*, Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series No. 85 (1958), Chapters 73 and 75, verses 1 & 2.

[6] The *vīrakaṇṭha* is only the replica of the metal pin (*kaṇṭha*) from top of the wooden pillar shaft that runs through the separately moulded and inserted capital parts, rendered square so as to prevent their turning round the axis so formed.

[7] The square is the fundamental shape, which can be shaped into oblong, which is only an extension of the square. The polygon is derived by bevelling of the corners, and ultimately the circle, or its extension the ellipse, by repeated bevelling and rounding of the ultimate corners. This is in conformity with ancient and existing practice in timber-work. While the *kūṭa* (*samacaturaśra*, *ṣaḍaśra* and *aṣṭāśra* and *vṛtta*) and apsidal *vimānas* can enshrine a single standing or sitting principal deity, and also the Śivaliṅga with pedestal, the *āyatāśra* or *vṛttāyata* (the oblong and oval) shrines can accommodate reclining forms as of Viṣṇu or group deities like the Saptamātṛkās, or standing deities with consorts or attendants, suggesting that these forms are also in accordance with practical needs. Hence the classification of *vimānas* also as *sthānaka*, *āsana*, *yānaka* and *śayana vimānas*, corresponding to the similar *sthānaka*, *āsana* or *yānaka* and *śayana* forms of the deities. Devī shrines were as a rule *śayana vimānas*, hence oblong and the characteristic *Tirukkamakoṭṭam* or separate Amman shrine for Devī as consort of the principal deity in the temples of Tamilnad, that came into vogue in the 11th Century are also *śāla vimānas* or have *śāla śikharas*.

[8] Since in the fashioning of these *rathas*, the cutting and carving proceeded from above downwards, unlike the building up of the structural temples from base to *śikhara*, and since the traditional installation of the *stūpi* on a structural temple should coincide with the installation, after completion of the structure, of the principal deity in the sanctum and the simultaneous consecration of the *vimāna* as well as the deity, the cutting down of a monolithic *vimāna* could not obviously start with an integral *stūpi* (the installation of which will indicate completion), but with the top of the *śikhara*. The *stūpi*, therefore, was made separately to be placed on top of the *ratha* after completion.

[9] Except for the bas-relief depiction of the pure *drāviḍa* variety, hexagonal from base to apex, in the top front face of the Nakula-Sahadeva *ratha*, such a totally polygonal *vimāna* has never been met with; though some of the temple processional cars are made so in the south. The composite *drāviḍa vimānas* are, however, the most common among the three varieties in the whole south. The tradition as indicated so early in the Māmallapuram *ratha* relief is found reproduced in the hexagonal main *grīva* and *śikhara* as also in the *kūṭas* of the *hāra* of the Subrahmaṇya temple of the Nāyaka period (17th-18th centuries) inside the court of the Bṛhadīśvara of Tañjāvūr.

[10] But with the proliferation of the number of storeys and consequent structural need for a correspondingly increased basal dimensions of the whole edifice that would greatly disturb the harmony of the base-height proportions lending a heavy squattish appearance, practical expediency seems to have dictated the elimination of the *alindras*, resulting in symbolic storeys with applique *hāras* as also the inter-mural circumambulatory of the *sāndhāra āditala*. This has resulted in the making of all *jāti-* and *mukhya - vimānas* typically *nirandhāra* with massive basal walling and the upper *talas* symbolic with *arpita hāras*.

[11] The earlier brick-built examples will be apsidal temples of *caityas* at Ter and Chejarla, later converted into Viṣṇu and Śiva Temples, dating after similar brick-built and rock-cut *caityas* of the Krishna Valley sites, the Deccan and Western India. Its adoption by non-Buddhist creeds is found only in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the Muṇḍarāṣṭra, both home provinces of the Pallavas. Such forms were attempted by Parameśvara in his early stone building activities. The all-stone *ekatala* form with four-sided body and apsidal *grīva* and *śikhara* built towards the close of the Pallava rule is the Vīraṭṭāneśvara at Tiruttani of the time of the Aparājita Pallava (9th century). Such storeyed forms with four-sided lower *talas* crowned by apsidal *grīva* and *śikhara* continued to be built in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam even in late medieval times e.g. the temples at Kunnattūr, Kalattūr and many other places. The most prominent all-stone structure of the pure apsidal variety will be Rājendra I Cola's *vimāna* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The latest of the series would be the temple at Oragadam. These apsidal forms are very rare farther south.

[12] The whole is now encased by moulded and carved stone work of later (Cola) times, and the original construction will be apparent only from an interior view. The art and technique of quarrying large slabs of granite by the 'firing' method, as opposed to 'cold' or 'fresh' quarrying of later times, was known even to the earlier megalithic builders as could be seen from their sepulchral dolmenoid structures. Such fired stones are unfit for purposes of vertical support, spanning or moulding but could be used only for paving of flooring.

[13] The inscription recently uncovered from below the plaster coat is on the lintel of the same shrine 'Narapatisiṁha' and 'Kṣatriyasiṁha' are mere synonyms of 'Rājasiṁha'.

The large *vimānas* has also another label '*Ekavīra*' on it which is a well-known title of Rājasiṁha. The Viṣṇu carved on the rock may date from the last years of Mahendravarman Pallava or the early years of Māmalla, and since it was there when Rājasiṁha built his *vimānas* on the rock-foundation on the sea shore it was also included in the complex.

[14] The ingenious design and the excellent architecture of this *vimāna*, with its foundation inscription in Sanskrit mentioning the name of the skilled *sthapati* or builder would be proof of the fact that brick temple architecture, the basic mode, was continuing as of old, and the skills of construction in that kind of fabric were kept alive simultaneously with the new skills achieved in the construction of stone temples. The *navamūrtis* of Viṣṇu enshrined are the *sthānaka*, *āsana* and *śayana* forms of Viṣṇu in the three superposed *garbhagṛhas* Satya, Acyuta and Aniruddha in the three lateral shrines of the *mūla harmya* or *āditala*, and Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṁha and Varāha in the *mukha śāla* shrines round the second *tala*. See, Ganapathi Sthapati, V., *An Interesting Inscription from Uttiramerur*, Seminar on Inscriptions, Books (India) Private Ltd., Madras (pp. 178-88 and plans).

[15] The elongated or *āyatāśra vimāna* with *śāla śikhara* accords with the prescription and practice in respect of shrines dedicated to *devī* forms as the principal deity.

[16] This is a feature found in the Virūpākṣa temple of the Cālukyas at Paṭṭadakal (A. D. 733-46) and perhaps forms the forerunner to some Cola temples of later times, since this style of having *kūṭas* on the topmost *tala* is sometimes copied by Rājendra I Cola and others.

[17] It has been named so by some early writers who considered this to be the temple referred to in a much later Pāṇḍya inscription on the bare rock much away from the structure and the two other rock-cut cave-temples opposite. The foundation inscription on the temple itself states that it was erected by one Śāttan Pūdi Ilaṅgoḍi Araiyar which was destroyed by rain and lightning and restored by one Hallan Vīḍuman or Tennavan Tamil-adiyaraiyan.

[18] The Pāṇḍyas, besides their political contacts with the Cālukyas as the common enemies of the Pallavas, had assimilated many contemporary Cālukyan traits in their Architecture and Iconography through the intermediate Western Gāṅgas of Talakāḍ who ruled the territory west of the Pallavas. The introduction of such characteristically Cālukyan forms like the Saptamātṛkās, Gaṇeśa etc. are found to be earlier in the Pāṇḍyan country and the area of their influence as for example in their cave-temples, than in the early temples of the Pallavas.

[19] These were blasted and pulled down in the last century to supply the stones for constructing a dam across the Kollidam river nearby.

[20] K. R. Srinivasan, *Tirukkama-kottam in South Indian Temples,* Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, XIII Session, Nagpur (1946), pp. 50, 56.

[21] The present structure of the Mahākūṭeśvara temple is dated by Cousens (Cālukyan Architecture, p. 52) and others following him, as earlier to A. D. 601, the date of the donatory inscription of Durlabhā Devī, Cālukya Maṅgaleśa's step-mother, on a free standing sandstone pillar found lying outside the enclosure and now removed and kept in the Bijāpur Museum (Indian Antiquary XIX, 7). The pillar evidently was not a part of any structure or a supporting member but was of the nature of a free standing *dhvajastambha* that might have stood before an earlier brick-structure as is well known from many other earlier and contemporary instances. The inscription itself calls the pillar *dharma-jayastambha* and the temple it referred to as Makuṭeśvara. It will be rather difficult to assume that the Cālukyas could have acquired mastery in the technique of quarrying of a building with carved sandstone in many structural temples within such a short span of twenty-two years after the first excavation of Maṅgaleśa's Viṣṇu cave-temple in 578 A. D. in Bādāmī; more so, considering the fact that Maṅgaleśa's reign was one of great wars. But from the presence of an inscription of the time of Cālukya Vijayāditya (A. D 696-733) on the porch of temple the structure could be taken as earlier than A D. 700, perhaps datable to the middle of the 6th century at the earliest.

[22] The feature makes its partial appearance in the Kailāsanātha at Kāñcī, where the northern exterior niche of the *antarāla* wall has Durgā while the southern contains a Śiva form; for the first time, the Gaṇapati form comes to have an independent place in the temple lay-out as also the Saptamātṛkā group including Gaṇapati in the cloister shrine. Gaṇapati, however, is assigned the southern niche or the *ardhamaṇḍapa* wall in subsequent times, which, along with Durgā on the north, becomes a fixed character of the far southerly *vimānas* continuing to the present day though disappearing soon in the Cālukyan area.

[23] The elimination of the *hāra* elements in stages over the top *tala*, as against the earlier and abrupt elimination in the Pallava region, and the much later introduction of the cognizant *lāñchana* in its place as in the Kailāsa at Ellorā would indicate the source of influence from the Pallava side. A similar phenomenon of the gradual elimination has been noticed in respect of the Pāṇḍyan *vimānas* at a later date. This is in contrast to the adoption in stages of the Durgā and Gaṇeśa orientations, though on the outer wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, in Pallava temples indicating the source of the influence to be from the Cālukyan temples where they occur simultaneously. These are but some of the instances of cross currents that prevailed between the two areas.

[24] Cousens, Cālukyan Architecture, plate xxv— 'the back of the temple of Galaganātha' and 'temple' nos. 37 and 38.

[25] R. Narasimhachar, The Lakṣmī Devī temple at Doḍḍagaḍḍavalli.

[26] H. Cousens, Cālukyan Architecture, Plate xix, Aihole, Temple No. 10, from south-west.

[27] *Ibid.*, Plate xii and Temple No. 10, Plate xix.

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* *Courtesy:* A.I.I.S., Gurgaon

8

JAINA ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS AND CANONS

ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS AND CANONS

WHILE several words were anciently current to denote what is known as architecture, a common and appropriate word was *vāstu-śāstra*. Though the word *śilpa-śāstra* has very much the same meaning, it has a distinct leaning towards sculpture and iconography. The word *sthāpatya* has a more restricted connotation, viz. a house or school, *gharānā*, relating to some particular type of architecture or an architectural or sculptural workshop.[1] Apart from the traditional *gharānās*, there are several other classes of architects. The Vaiśyas, the Mewāḍs, the Gurjaras, the Pañcolis, and the Pañcālas, all spread over west India, include experts in wood-carving, traditional engineering, etc. The Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas of Jaipur and Alwar are famed for marble-carving. Some specialize in metalcraft and painting. The Jaṅgaḍas are known for wood-carving and traditional engineering; they are known in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi.[2]

While the *gharānās* are hereditary bearers of the ancient architectural tradition, such tradition is also recorded in a vast number of available texts.[3] These treatises generally follow one and the same canon throughout, but they differ considerably *inter se*, both objectwise, leading to the *gharānās* mentioned above, and subjectwise, by putting architecture into various types of *śailīs* like Nāgara, Vesara, Drāviḍa, etc.

While some of these texts, like the *Dīpārṇava* of Viśvakarman,[4] the *Rūpa-maṇḍana*[5] and *Prāsāda-maṇḍana*,[6] both of Maṇḍana, the *Vāstu-mañjarī* of Nāthajī,[7] etc., deal *inter alia* with Jaina architecture, perhaps the only book independently written on Jaina architecture is the *Vatthu-sāra-payaraṇa* in Prākṛt,[8] with three chapters devoted respectively to residential houses, iconography and temple architecture. The treatise, with two hundred and seventy-three *gāthās* was completed on the *Vijayā-daśamī* day of Vikrama-*saṁvat* 1372 (A. D. 1315) during the reign of Ālāu'd-Din Khaljī in Kalyāṇapura by Pheru, son of the Jaina Śrīcandra in the *Dhandha-kalaśa-kula*. In the same year, in Delhi, he completed another treatise the *Ratna-parīkṣā*,[9] which is perhaps published in the *Ṭhakkura-Pheru-Granthāvalī*.[10]

SOME DIRECTIONS ON BUILDINGS[11]

The *upakaraṇas* or tools and instruments basically needed for measurement, etc., according to the *Vatthu-sāra-payaraṇa*, are eight in number: *dṛṣṭi-sūtra* or the thread of sight, meant for judging the exact measurement only by the sight; *hasta*, literally a cubit or a measure generally equal to twenty-four *aṅgulas* or 45 cm.; *mauñja* or a cord made of *muñja* grass; *kārpāsaka* or the string made of cotton; *avalamba* or the plumb-line; *kāṣṭha-koṇa* or the trying-angle; *sādhanī*, corresponding to the present-day spirit-level; and *vilekhya* or a pair of dividers. Besides these, there might have been in use many more instruments, references to which could be found in various sources.

The *sāmagrī* or material, right from the brick and wood to gold and precious stones, should be of the best quality. Fresh and not second-hand material would bring prosperity. The type of material, like wood or stone, might vary according to the rank or caste of a person or to the nature of the building or the purpose.

To test the density of the soil a pit of twenty-four *aṅgulas* may be dug and filled up with the same clay. The more the pit remains unfilled even with all that clay, the less dense is the soil. On the other hand, the more the clay overflows the pit, the denser is the soil. Or the pit may be filled up with water and then be observed just after walking over hundred steps, to and fro. The less soaked the water, the denser is the soil. After either type of test the quality of the soil may be judged to be of maximum, medium or minimum density. A particular colour of the soil may bring prosperity to a particular *varṇa* or caste, namely white to the Brāhmaṇa, red to the Kṣatriya, yellow to the Vaiśya and black to the Śūdra.

The selection of the site is to be done with every caution. Any kind of defect in the soil or even in the site may bring various troubles like poverty, disease, etc., to the owner. A spot where the shadow of the flag of a temple nearby falls during the second and third quarters of the day should never be selected. *Śalya* or extraneous matter of any type, as bone, coal, etc., whether on the surface or under the ground, should be removed, even if excavation is needed, that too even down to man-height. The extraneous matter can be inferred by the help of the *śeṣa-nāga-cakra*. The excavation may, if necessary, be done in parts and with gaps of time according to the astronomical codes like the *śeṣa-nāga-cakra* or the *vṛṣa-vāstu-cakra*.

The line-plan should be accurate in accordance with the compass. The direction-line may well be assessed with the help of the *dik-sādhaka-śaṅku* or

direction-peg. Likewise, the *sama-catuṣkoṇa-sthiti* or quadrangular prism should also be utilized. Moreover, the level of the spot must be ascertained, specially in the case of temples and palaces. The construction as such may be started during some particular months, the *rāśi* or the signs of the zodiac, the *nakṣatra* or star, the *graha* or planet, etc.; better if they all happen to be favourable. But exception can be made to this in the case of a house to be built of wood, grass and so on. This code of astronomy should also be followed in the putting of the first foundation-stone, or at the time of the first entry into the built-up house, these being the two occasions when prescribed rituals may be performed and the architect may be felicitated.

The measurement of the building and the component parts thereof must, before it is accepted, be confirmed by a set of *āyādi-ṣaḍ-varga* or the six formulae. The *āya* is the area which remains after a division by 8 of the area of the house or an apartment thereof. Each of the eight kinds of *āya*, namely *dhvaja*, *dhūmra*, *siṁha*, *śvāna*, *vṛṣa*, *khara*, *gaja* and *dhvāṅkṣa*, is of a different nature astronomically and situation-wise, and varies in bringing fruit to its owners of various professions, ranks, castes etc. The *nakṣatra* of the house, that is the serial number, can be known by the multiplication of the square area by 8 and then by the division of the number so obtained by 27. Coherence between the *nakṣatra* of the house and that of the owner is compulsory for prosperity. The *rāśi* also is responsible for the prosperity of the landlord. To get the serial number of the *rāśi* of the house, the serial number of the *nakṣatra* of the house may be multiplied by 4 and the number so obtained be divided by 9. A coherence also between the *nakṣatra* and the *rāśi* is required for prosperity. The *vyaya* is the number obtained as the remainder after the division by 8 of the serial number of the *nakṣatra* of the house. Both the *nakṣatra* and the *vyaya* should be in coherence for the good of the owner. The *aṁśa* or share is the remainder obtained after the division by 3 of the number which may be obtained by adding the number of alphabets composing the name or type of the house and the number obtained as *vyaya* to the number of square cubits measuring the house. The share would go to Indra, Yama and the *rājan* or king respectively in case the remainder is 1, 2 and 3. The *tārā*, the star again, is the influencing factor in case of prosperity of the owner. The serial number of the *tārā* is the difference between the serial number of the *nakṣatra* of the house and that of the *nakṣatra* of the owner.

The necessity of this formula seems to be due to the fact that in most instances where the measurement of any object is concerned, the works on architecture quote more dimensions than one. Out of these different and varying

measurements which is to be selected would be determined by the application of this formula. To be followed also in sculpture in addition to architecture, this *ṣaḍ-varga* formula could hardly be grasped in the abstract form. It need not be neglected even if its correct interpretation is not possible.

The *vāstu-puruṣa-cakra* is another type of formula for the proportionate layout of the component parts of the building, i.e. the base or *adhiṣṭhāna*, the column or *pāda* or *stambha*, the entablature or *prastāra*, the ear or *karṇa*, the dome or *stūpi* and the spire or *śikhara*. Fig. 1 gives a general idea of this formula which has some more variants. The column may not be erected where the lock of hair, the head, the heart and the navel of the *vāstu-puruṣa* fall in the drawing; and likewise are the instructions under this formula.

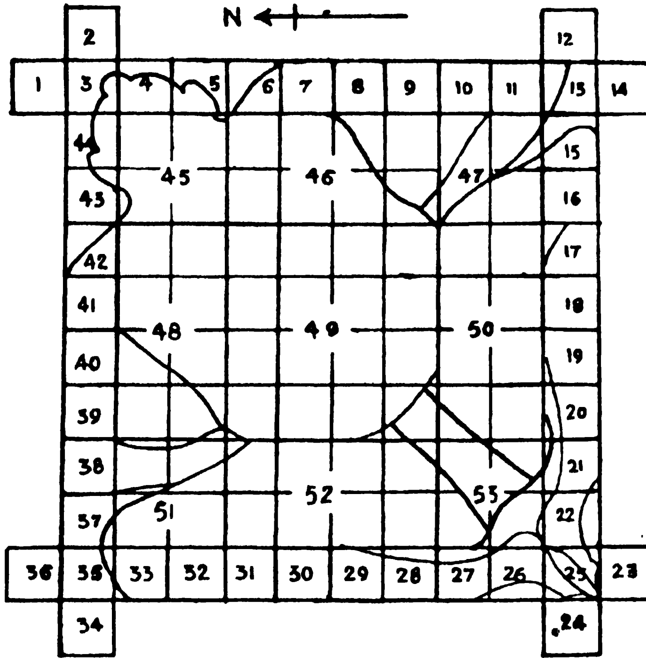


Fig. 1

Vāstu-puruṣa-cakra (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, Carakī, a Rākṣasī ; 2, Pīlīpīchā; 3 & 4, Īśa; 5, Parjanya; 6, Jaya; 7, Indra; 8, Sūrya; 9, Satya; 10, Bhṛśa; 11, Ākāśa; 12, Vidārikā; 13, Savitā; 14, Jaṅghā; 15, Agni; 16, Pūṣan; 17, Vitatha; 18, Gṛhakṣata; 19, Yama; 20, Gandharva; 21, Bhṛṅga; 22, Mṛga; 23, Pūtanā; 24, Skandā; 25, Jaya; 26, Pitṛ; 27, Nandin; 28, Sugrīva; 29, Puṣpadanta; 30, Varuṇa; 31, Asura; 32, Śeṣa; 33, Pāpa-yakṣman; 34, Pāpā; 35, Pāpa-yakṣman; 36, Aryaman; 37, Roga; 38, Nāga; 39, Mukhya; 40, Bhallāṭa; 41, Kubera; 42, Śaila; 43, Aditi; 44, Diti; 45, Āpa and Āpavatsa; 46, Aryaman; 47, Sāvitra and Savitā; 48, Pṛthvīdhara; 49, Brahman; 50, Vaivasvata; 51,Rudra and Rudradāsa; 52, Maitra; 53, Indra

RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS AND PALACES

The Jaina texts give comprehensive accounts of residential houses, palaces and even towns like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, etc., in mythology and Kacchā and numerous *pātāla-nagarīs* in cosmography, but they all are mostly stereotyped and the elements of the art of construction or architecture appearing there have seldom any value. What is remarkable there is the architectural and sculptural terms which can be taken for consideration in the study of the gradual development and application of the canons of art and architecture in various parts of the country. This very fact leads us to think that the Jaina writers of old were interested more in depicting the day-to-day life than in painting the canvas merely in a cartographical manner.

In the basic principles of architecture, the residential building would not differ much from the temple. What, therefore, is uncommon will be mentioned here. Both the direction and situation of the main entrance or *siṁha-dvāra* should very strictly be in accordance with the architectural and astronomical codes. *Vedha* or obstruction of seven kinds, namely *tala*, *koṇa*, *tālu*, *kapāla*, *stambha*, *tulā* and *dvāra*, must by all means be avoided from the house. The narrower the front portion in proportion to the back portion of the house, the better it is; also the higher the back portion in comparison with the front one, the better it is. The front of a shop may, however, be broader and higher.

The main entrance should be in the east, the kitchen or *rasavatī* or *pākaśālā* in the *nairṛtya* or the south-west corner, the bed-room or *śayanāgāra* in the south, the lavatory or *nīhāra-sthāna* in the south-east, the dining-room or *bhojana-śālā* in the west, the armoury or *āyudhāgāra* in the north-west; the treasury or *koṣāgāra* in the north and the room for performing rituals or *dharma-sthāna* in the north-east. In case the house does not face east, the direction, whatever it be, should be taken to be the east so as to maintain this order.

The *alinda* is the outer corridor close to the entrance. The *paṭṭa-śālā* or the main hall and close to it the *kakṣa-śālā* or smaller room and the other parts of the house may all be treated as the parts of the main house. The *alinda* may measure 107 *aṅgulas* in height and 85 *aṅgulas* in length. To the width of the house may be added 70 *hastas* and then the total be divided by 14 to get the width of the *śālā* and to that of the *śālā* may be added 35 *hastas* and the total be divided by 14 to get the width of *alinda*, says Rājavallabha, whereas, according to the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* the width of *alinda* in all types of houses is half the size of the *śālā*. An *alinda*, if situated at the back or at the extreme right or left of the house, is called *gujārī*, the word probably being a local one.

The house may comprise even a single room. The *paṭṭa-śālā* may be adjunctive of an *alinda* or two or even three. It may have the two walls with *jālikas* or the latticed windows, and a *maṇḍapa* or open hall. The *jālaka* is a small door, that is a *jālika* without lattice. The *gavākṣa* and *vātāyana* may hardly differ from the *jālika* if they are perforated or latticed. *Ṣaḍ-dāru* is a *stambha* or pillar made generally of wood. *Bhāravaṭa*, also known as *pīṭha* or *dharaṇa* in Sanskrit and *kaḍī* in Hindi, is a wooden lintel.

A window or even a small hole in the rear wall may not be made at all. The window may be built at a height so that it comes not lower than the one in the wall of the neighbouring house. In multistoreyed buildings a door having two doors above it and a column having a door above it are not advisable. The *aṅgaṇa* or courtyard may not be planned with three or five corners. Cattle may be kept in a separate room outside the house.

The amplitude or *vistāra* of the house may accord with the status of the owner. The king, the commander-in-chief, the prime minister, the heir-apparent or *yuvarāja*, the younger brother of the king, the queen, the astronomer, the physician and the priest may have their houses built respectively measuring 108 by 135, 64 by $74^{2}/_{3}$, 60 by 67½, 80 by $106^{2}/_{3}$, 40 by $53^{1}/_{3}$, 30 by 33 ¾, 40 by $46^{2}/_{3}$, 40 by $46^{2}/_{3}$ and 40 by $46^{2}/_{3}$ *hastas*. This amplitude can be reduced by the prescribed number of *hastas*. A Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, a Śūdra and an Antyaja or Caṇḍāla may have their houses respectively of 32 by 35 $^{2}/_{5}$, 28 by 31½, 24 by 28, 20 by 25 and 16 by 20 *hastas*. By adding 4 *hastas* to a sixteenth of the width can be had the height of the ground floor or *prathama-tala* of the house.

The houses, because of the variety and number, etc., of the parts and apartments, may be put into sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four classes. Summarily, the houses may be given only one of the sixteen attributive names: *dhruva*, *dhanya*, *jaya*, *nanda*, *khara*, *kānta*, *manorama*, *sumukha*, *durmukha*, *krūra*, *supakṣa*, *dhanada*, *kṣaya*, *ākranda*, *vipula* and *vijaya*.

The houses, on the basis of their dimensions and situations, may again be classified under the sixty-four names, all being attributive: (1 to 8) *śāntana*, *śāntida*, *vardhamāna*, *kukkuṭa*, *svastika*, *haṁsa*, *vardhana*, *karbura;* (9 to 16) *śānta*, *harṣaṇa*, *vipula*, *kurala*, *vitta*, *citta* or *citra*, *dhana*, *kāla-daṇḍa;* (17 to 24) *bhadraka*, *putrada*, *sarvāṅga*, *kāla-cakra*, *tri-pura*, *sundara*, *nīla*, *kuṭila*; (25 to 32) *śāśvata*, *śāstrada*, *śīla*, *koṭara*, *saumya*, *subhaga*, *bhadra-māna*, *krūra;* (33 to 40) *śrī-dhara*, *sarva-kāmada*, *puṣṭida* (a), *kīrtti-nāśaka*, *śṛṅgāra*, *śrī-vāsa*, *śrī-śobha*, *kīrtti-śobhanaka*; (41 to 48) *yuga-śrī-dhara*, *bahu-lābha*, *lakṣmī-nivāsa*, *kupita*, *udyota*, *bahu-tejas*, *sutejas*, *kalahāvaha;* (49 to 56) *vilāsa*, *bahu-nivāsa*, *puṣṭida* (b), *krodha-*

sannibha, mahānta, mahita, duḥkha, kulaccheda; (57 to 64) *pratāpa-vardhana, divya, bahu-duḥkha, kaṇṭhacchedana, jaṅgama, siṁha-nāda, hastija* and *kaṇṭaka*.

The houses may, yet again, be classified under eight types: *sūrya, vāsava, vīrya, kālākṣa, buddhi, suvrata, prāsāda* and *dvivedha*. Each of these eight has sixteen varieties, and as such, the total number comes to one hundred and twenty-eight.

Apart from these, there is one more type of classification of houses specially meant for kings. It is the king only who is allowed to have a house round on plan, if he so likes.

CONCEPT OF THE TEMPLE

The Sanskrit words *mandira* and *ālaya*, both denoting something like a shelter, specify the temple particularly in Jaina references, where, however, more ancient than these two is the word *āyatana* dating back to the time of Mahāvīra who often used to stay in *Yakṣāyatanas* in the course of his *vihāras*; later it joined the compound word *Jināyatana* and was still later replaced by the words *mandira, ālaya, geha, gṛha*, etc.

The concept behind the temple in Jainism is perhaps nowhere indicated. Essentially dedicated to one of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the temple, if it is taken to be a memorial, may win some logic, but surely not if is taken to be a funeral relic structure.[12] But more logical does it seem to interpret the temple as the symbolic representation not of the Meru but of the *samavasaraṇa* or the fascinating auditorium of the Tīrthaṅkara who, as one of those to be bowed before any one of the other Parameṣṭhins,[13] would deliver a sermon only inside the *samavasaraṇa*, whose idol was the first to appear and whose iconic symbol in the form of the *mūla-nāyaka* or main deity must be installed in the temple. Many a temple, whether ancient or modern, has in front the *māna-stambha* which is one of the component parts of the *samavasaraṇa*. The *samavasaraṇa*, thus once symbolized as an architectural composition, even if a miniature one, lost its chance to be symbolized otherwise. Erroneous will it be to include the *samavasaraṇa*, which is absolutely indigenous to Jainism, amongst the funeral relic structures like *stūpa* or *aiḍūka*, or even the *jārūka* or *jālūka* and ziggurat. *Caitya*, if it at all be referred to in this connexion, would support this contention. Both the words *āyatana* and *caitya* have the same meaning.[14] The *samavasaraṇa* being too complicated to be represented literally according to the plan described in the texts, the temple appeared, though with a number of canonical peculiarities, and with majestic dimensions, because of which fact the holy building came to be called more as *āyatana* or *caitya* or so than as

samavasaraṇa. Mahāvīra often used to stay during his *vihāras* also in the *caityas* which might have been nothing but *āyatanas* or temples, the places ethically prescribed for the ascetics to stay in. The word *caitya* later on or perhaps simultaneously came to have many connotations. It also restrictedly meant an idol housed in a temple and, as such, originated words like *caitya-vihāra*, *caitya-gṛha*, *caityālaya*, etc., all of them with the same meaning, namely the temple.

The Jaina temple then, with this very idea behind its origin, went on having a parallel and simultaneous evolution, though with paces up and down, with the temples of co-traditions. Differentiating a Jaina temple from other temples, therefore, requires a thorough scrutiny, unless it is favoured by a clear evidence like epigraphical or literary or at least a traditional record or any aspect of iconography. It is because of this fact, decidedly unlike the case of plastic art, that very few works were composed separately to deal with Jaina architecture.

COMPONENTS AND TYPES OF TEMPLES[15]

A *garta-vivara* or foundation-pit for the *prāsāda* may be excavated down to the layer where rock or water is found. In the centre of such a pit may, under proper rituals, be placed a *kūrma-śilā* or the slab with a tortoise and other things carved on it, and also in the four directions and the four subdirections eight *khura-śilās* or the slabs with an object carved on each of them (Fig. 2) may, each one, be placed under proper rituals. The pit may then be filled, closely pressed and hardened.

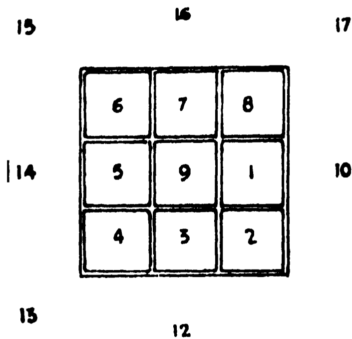


Fig. 2

Kūrma-śilā (After Bhagwandas Jain) 9, tortoise; 7, wave; 8, fish; 1, frog; 2, crocodile; 3, *grāsa*; 4, full vessel; 5, snake; 6, conch; 16, *vajra*; 17, *śakti*; 10, *daṇḍa*; 11, sword; 12, *nāga-pāśa*; 13, flag; 14, *gadā*; 15, *triśūla*

The *pīṭha* or *adhiṣṭhāna*, the plinth, is then to be erected on the *tala* or the ground so prepared (Figs. 3 and 4). The *pīṭha* may be a simple one (Fig. 5) or with friezes called *tharas* or *prastara-galas*, one to five in number, on it (Fig. 6). *Koṇa* or *karṇa*, *pratiratha*, *ratha*, *bhadra* and *mukha-bhadra* are all one type or the other of moulding of the *pīṭha* and hence the parts of the

prāsāda, whereas *nandī*, *karṇikā*, *pallava*, *tilaka* and *tavaṁga*, all of them also being mouldings of the *pīṭha*, are the decorative elements of the *prāsāda*.

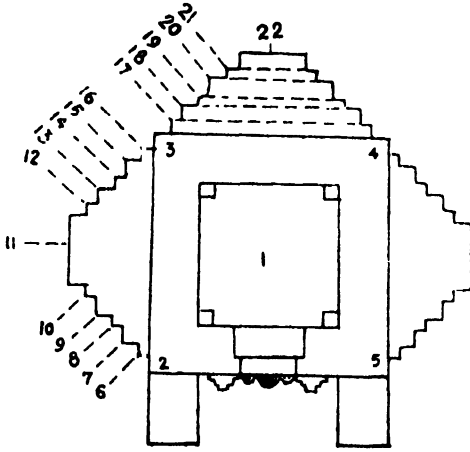


Fig. 3
Sama-dala prāsāda (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *garbha-gṛha*; 2-5, *karṇa-rekhā*; 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, *nandī*; 7, 15, 18, *pratikarṇa*; 9, 13, 20, *uparatha*; 11, *bhadra-ratha*; 22, *bhadra-rathikā*

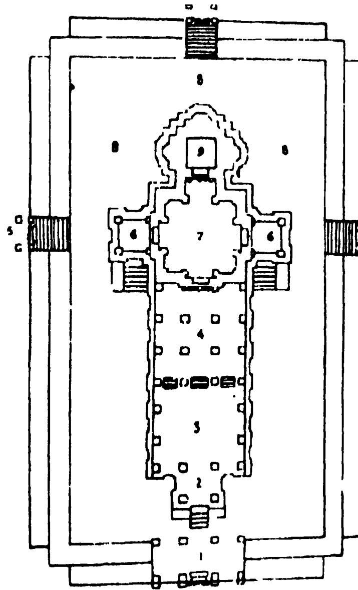


Fig. 4

Plan of a temple (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *balānaka*; 2, *śṛṅgāra-catuṣkī*; 3, *raṅga-maṇḍapa*; 4, *nava-catuṣkī*; 5, *dvāra* ; 6, *catuṣkī*; 7, *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*; 8, *jagatī*; 9, *garbha-gṛha*; 10, *dvāra*

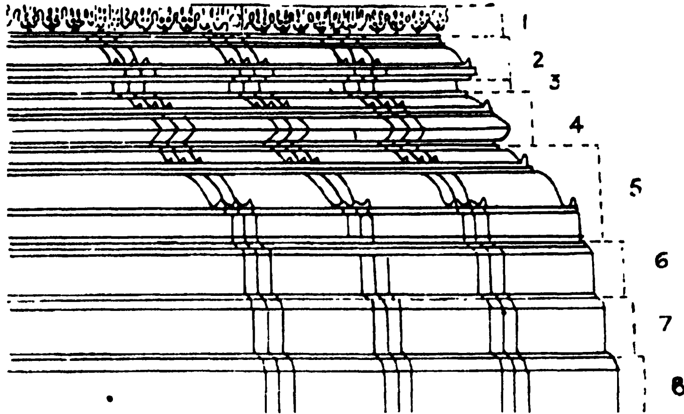


Fig. 5

Pīṭha (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *grāsa paṭṭī*; 2, *kevāla*; 3, *antara-patra*; 4, *karṇa*; 5, *jāḍya-kumbha*; 6 to 8, *bhitti*

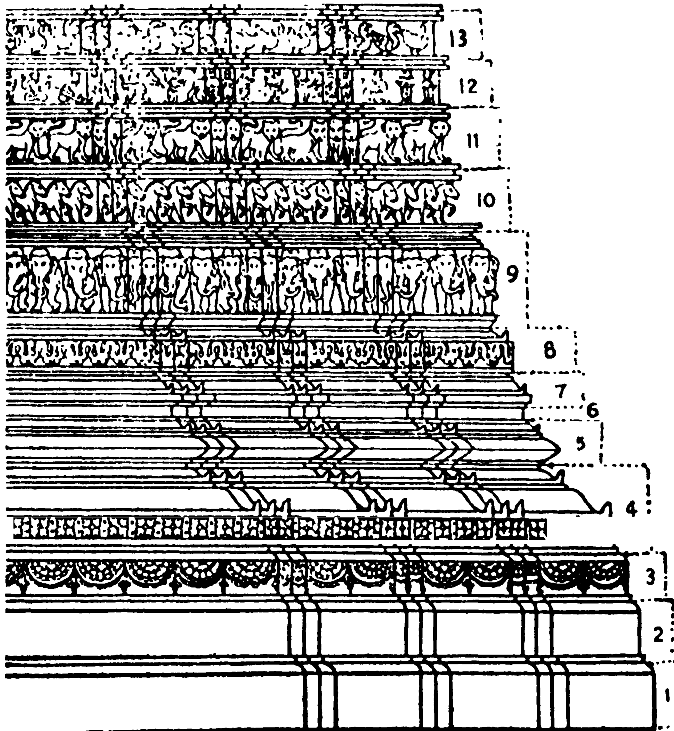
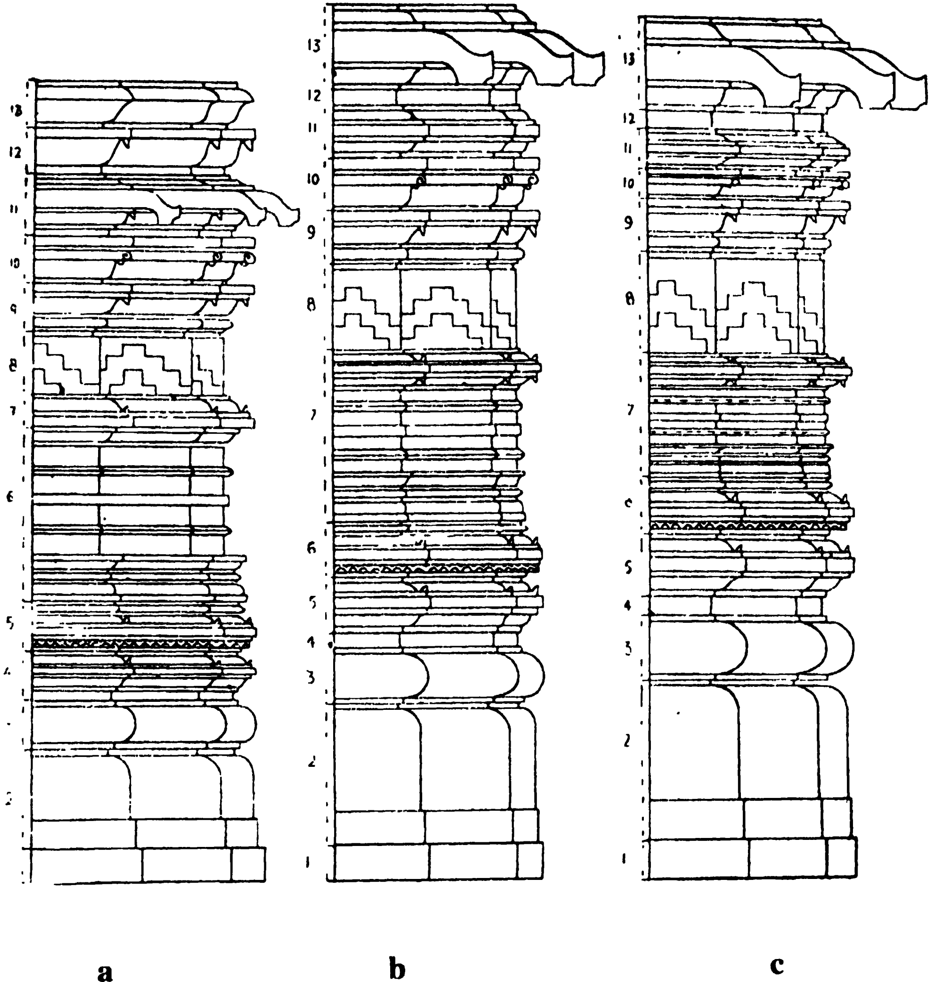


Fig. 6

Pīṭha with five *staras* (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1 to 3, *bhitti*; 4, *jāḍyakumbha*; 5, *karṇa*; 6, *antara-patra*; 7, *kevāla*; 8, *grāsa-paṭṭī*; 9, *gaja-stara*; 10, *aśva-stara*; 11, *siṁha-stara*; 12, *nara-stara*; 13, *haṁsa-stara*

The *maṇḍovara* with its thirteen members placed in order is shown in Fig. 7. The word *maṇḍovara* seems to be a local one current in western India and a corrupt form of Sanskrit *maṇḍapa-vara* or *maṇḍapa-dhara*. The *maṇḍovara* actually is the *bhitti* or the outer wall supporting the roof which covers the *maṇḍapa* or the *maṇḍapas* in the *prāsāda* (Fig. 7a). Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana describes four types of *maṇḍovara*, namely the *nāgara*, *meru* (Fig. 7b), *sāmānya* (Fig. 7c) and *prakārantara*.



a b c

Fig. 7

Types of *maṇḍovara* (After Bhagwandas Jain) a) *maṇḍovara* of twenty-five divisions; b) *meru-maṇḍovara*; c) *sāmānya-maṇḍovara* (1, *khura*; 2, *kumbha*; 3, *kalaśa*; 4, *kevāla*; 5, *mañcī*; 6, *jaṅghā*; 7, *chajjī*; 8, *uru-jaṅghā*; 9, *bharaṇī*; 10, *śirāvaṭī*; 11, *chajjā*; 12, *virāḍu*; 13, *prahāra*)

The *śikhara* is the spherical roof rising like an inverted cup over a building.[16] Above the dome it comprises the *śikhara*, *śikhā*, *śikhānta* and *śikhāmaṇi* (Fig. 8), or it can otherwise be divided as *chādya*, *śikhara*, *āmala-sāra* or *āmalaka* (Fig. 9) and *kalaśa* (Fig. 10), in which *karṇa-rekhās*, *pratikarṇas* or the *uparathas* and the *uru-śṛṅgas* can also be seen. The *āmalaka* comprises the *gala*, *aṇḍaka*, *candrikā* and *āmala-sārikā*. *Kalaśa* is a term applied generally to the summit of a tower. Its component parts are the *gala*, *aṇḍaka*, *karṇikā* and *bījapūraka*. The *śuka-nāsā* or *śuka-nāsikā* is a part of the dome, looking like the parrot's beak. The *dhvaja*, the banner or flag with *daṇḍa*, the staff, should be put at the top of the *śikhara* (Fig. 11).

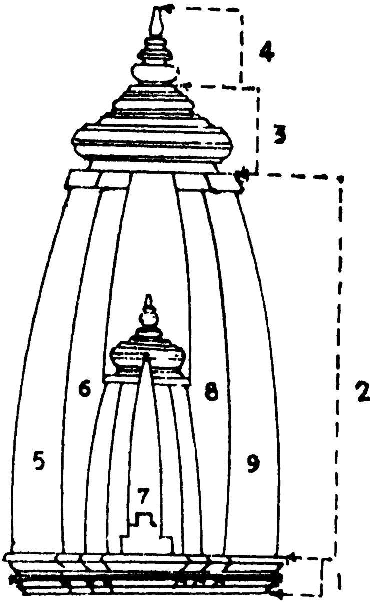


Fig. 8
Śikhara of *rekhā-mandira* (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *chādya*; 2, *śikhara*; 3, *āmala-sāra*; 4, *kalaśa*; 5 and 9, *karṇa-rekhā*; 6 and 8, *pratikarṇa uparatha*; 7, *uru-śṛṅga*

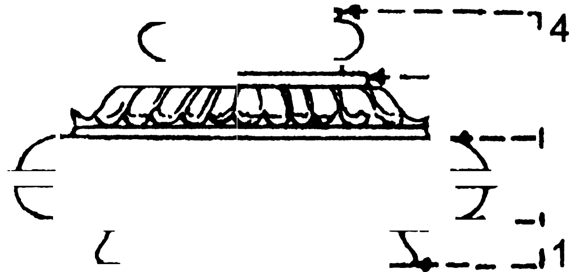


Fig. 9
Āmala-sāra (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *gala*; 2, *aṇḍaka*; 3, *candrikā*; 4, *āmala-sārikā*

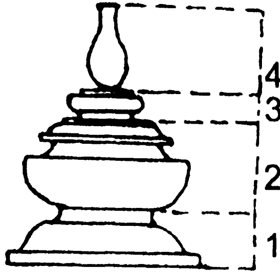


Fig. 10
Kalaśa (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *pīṭha* and *gala*; 2, *aṇḍaka*; 3, *karṇikā*; 4, *bījapūraka*

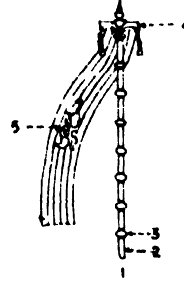


Fig. 11
Dhvaja (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, *daṇḍa*; 2, *parvan*; 3, *granthi*; 4, *dhvaja-mūla*; 5, *dhvaja-puruṣa*; 6, *dhvaja*

The dvāra, door, should in width be half its height which may vary from sixteen *aṅgulas* to seven *hastas*. On the door-frame may be carved Tīrthaṅkaras, *pratīhara*-couple, *madanikās*, etc., at their appropriate places (Fig. 12). The main entrance of a temple under repair should be neither shifted nor altered.

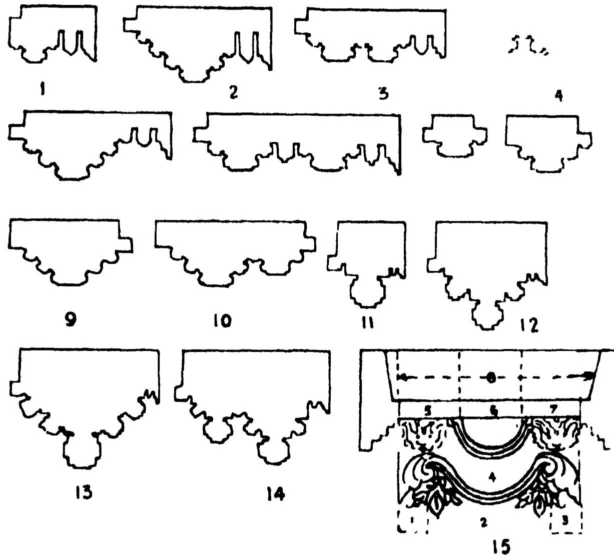


Fig. 12
Dvāra-śākhās (After Bhagwandas Jain) 1, 7, 11, three *śākhās*; 2, 8, 12, five *śākhās*; 3, 4, 5, 9, 13, seven *śākhās*; 6, 10, 14, nine *śākhās*; 15, *dehalī* of the door (1 and 3, *alaṅkaraṇa*; 2, *śaṅkhāvaṭī*; 4, *ardha-candra*; 5, 7, *grāsa*; 8, *dehalī*)

The *jagatī* is a moulding of the *pīṭha* or base. Or, to define otherwise, all the area covered by the temple as such is *jagatī* (cf. Fig. 4). It is actually the *jagatī* that proportions the plan of the *prāsāda* or the main sanctuary and all the component parts of the temple. Seen as the surface of the *pīṭha*, the *jagatī* must be walled along with a gate in each direction.

The *maṇḍapa*, pavilion, is comprised of the *prāsāda-kamala* or *garbha-gṛha* or the main sanctuary, *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* or the covered pavilion, *trika-maṇḍapa* or the *maṇḍapa* with three passages cut across, *raṅga-maṇḍapa* or the auditorium and *sa-toraṇa balānaka* or the arched platform. The width of the *maṇḍapa* may be 1, 1.5 or 1.75 times that of the main sanctuary. The *stambhas* or the columns may in height be half the diameter of the *maṇḍapa*, but, what seems to be more practicable, a column may generally be four times the base, and the pedestal twice or thrice the base and the entablature equal to or double the base. The course of the *jala-praṇālikās* or the drainage may be towards the left or the south.

Śrī-vijaya, *mahā-padma*, *nandyāvarta*, *lakṣmī-tilaka*, *nara-veda*, *kamala-haṁsa* and *kuñjara* are the seven types of *prāsādas* said to be the best for the Jinas. But Viśvakarman[17] speaks of innumerable types of the *prāsādas* (Figs. 13, 14), out of which only twenty-five may here be named: *keśarin*, *sarvato-bhadra*, *sunandana*, *nandi-śālā*, *nandīśa*, *mandira*, *śrī-vatsa*, *amṛtodbhava*, *hemavanta*, *himakūṭa*, *kailāśa*, *pṛthvī-jaya*, *indra-nīla*, *mahā-nīla*, *bhū-dhara*, *ratna-kūṭa*, *vaiḍūrya*, *padma-rāga*, *vajrāṅga*, *mukuṭojjvala*, *airāvata*, *rāja-haṁsa*, *garuḍa*, *vṛṣabha* and *meru*. The first of these *prāsādas* has four *aṇḍakas* or cupolas around its *śikhara*, then every next *prāsāda* has more four *aṇḍakas* than the earlier one, the twenty-fifth being with a hundred of *aṇḍakas*.

Viśvakarman in the *Dīpārṇava*[18] describes fifty-two Jina-*prāsādas*, out of which twenty-five are dedicated, one each, to the Tīrthaṅkaras, with Neminātha having two and the rest twenty-seven collectively to all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus, (1) *kamala-bhūṣaṇa* (Fig. 15), (2) *kāma-dāyaka*, (3) *ratna-koṭi*, (5) *kṣiti-bhūṣaṇa*, (6) *padma-rāga*, (7) *puṣya-danta*, (8) *supārśva*, (10) *śītala*, (12) *ṛtu-rāja*, (13) *śrī-śītala*, (16) *śreyāṁsa*, (19) *vāsu-pūjya*, (21) *vimala*, (23) *ananta*, (24) *dharmada*, (27) *śrī-liṅga*, (29) *kumuda*, (32) *kamala-kanda*, (35) *mahendra*, (38) *māna-santuṣṭi*, (40) *nami-śṛṅga*, (41) *sumati-kīrtti*, (47) *pārśva-vallabha*, and (50) *vīra-vikrama* (Fig. 16) are each dedicated to one of the Tīrthaṅkaras serially starting with Ṛṣabhanātha; (44) *naimendra* to Neminātha again; (4) *amṛtodbhava*, (9) *śrī-vallabha*, (11) *śrī-candra*, (14) *kīrtti-dāyaka*, (15) *manohara*, (17) *sukula*,

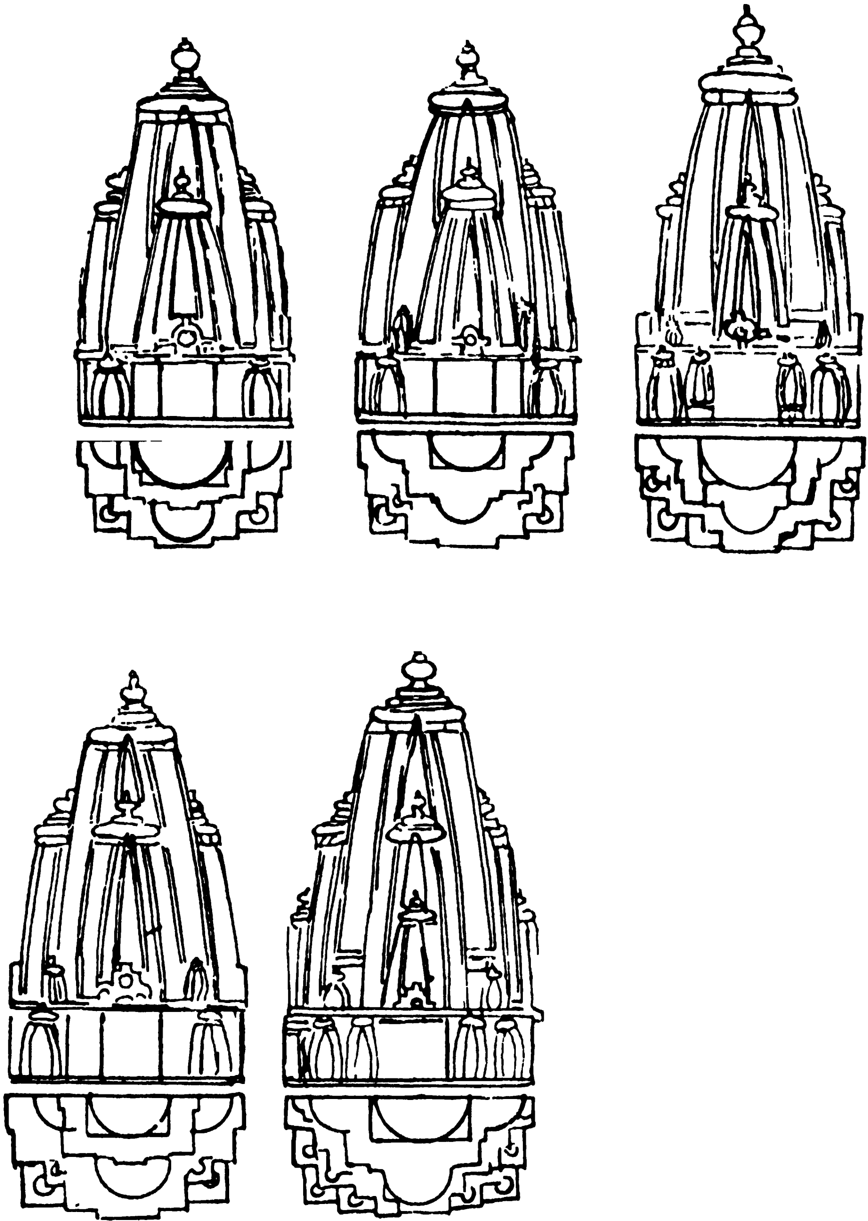


Fig. 13

Varieties of *Jina-prāsādas* (After P. O. Somapura) 1, *sarvatobhadra*; 2, *nandana*; 3, *nanda-śālin*; 4, *nandīśa*; 5, *mandara*

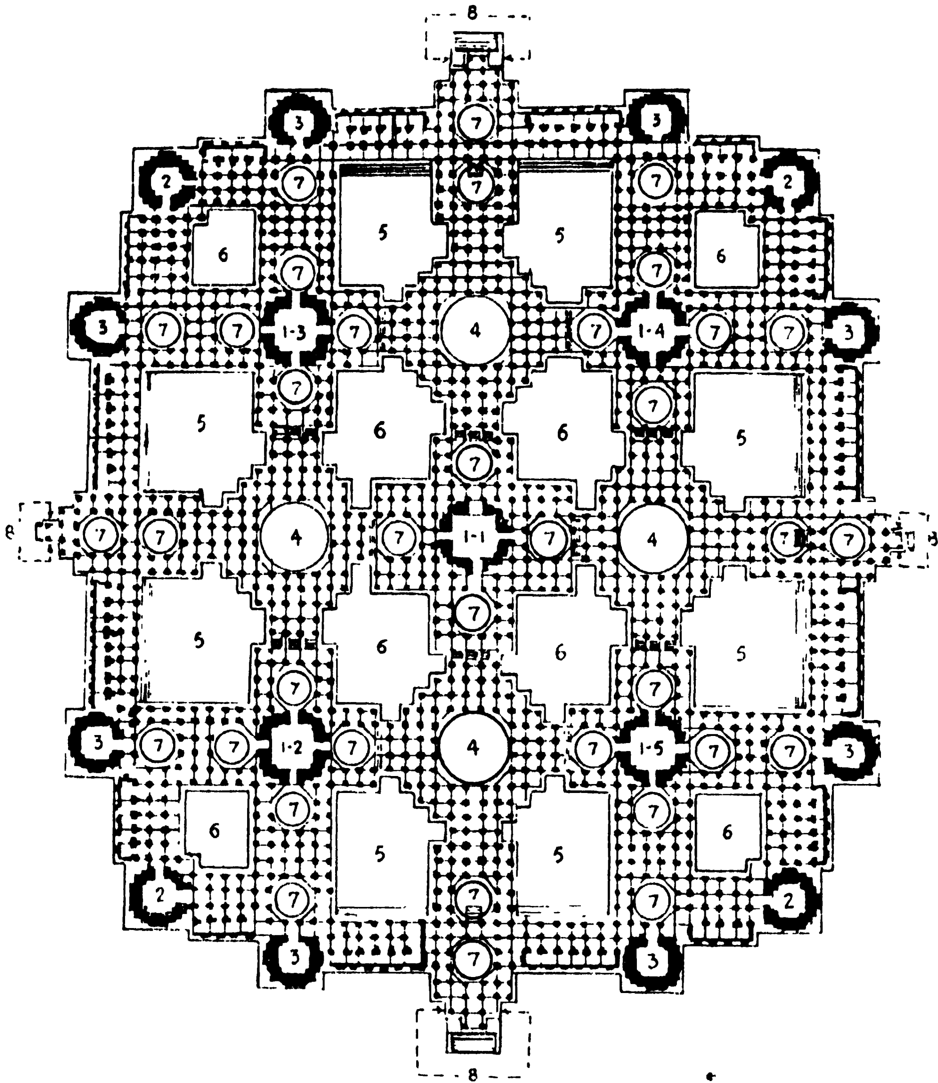


Fig. 14

Caturmukha mahā-prāsāda (After P. O. Somapura) 1-1 to 1-5, *caturmukha prāsādas* (1-1, *samavasaraṇa prāsāda*; 1-2, *meru-prāsāda*; 1-3, *Nandīśvara-dvīpa prāsāda*; 1-4, *sahasra-kūṭa prāsāda*; 1-5, *Aṣṭāpada-prāsāda*); 2, the five *koṇa prāsādas*; 3, the eight *mahādhara prāsādas*; 4, the four *megha-nāda maṇḍapas*; 5, open *catuṣkas*; 6, *catuṣkas*; 7, thirty-six *maṇḍapas*; 8, *balānakas*

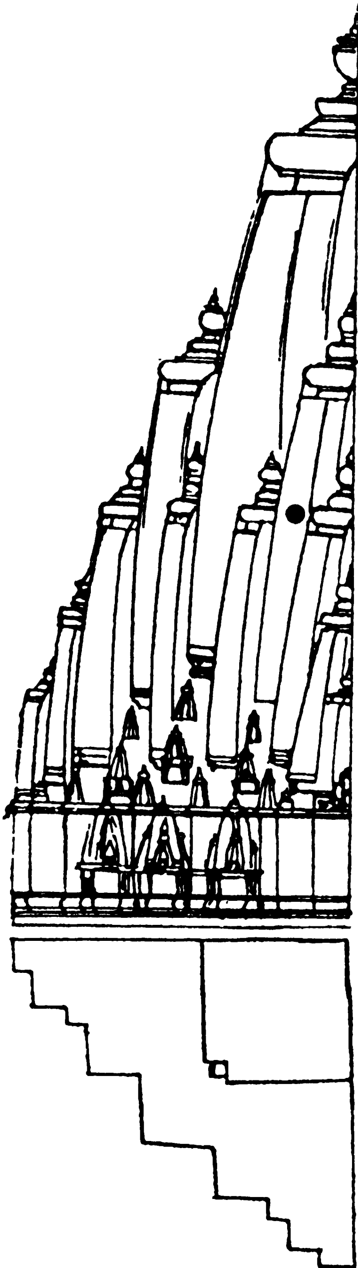


Fig. 15
Kamala-bhūṣaṇa prāsāda dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha (After P. O. Somapura)

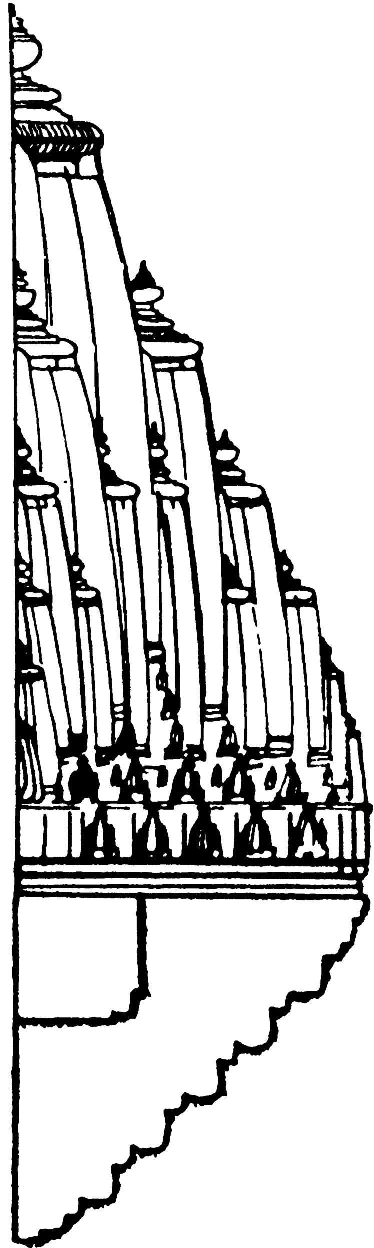


Fig. 16
Mahādhara-vīra-vikrama prāsāda dedicated to Mahāvīra (After P. O. Somapura)

(18) *kula-nandana*, (20) *ratna-sañjaya*, (22) *mukti*, (25) *surendra*, (26) *dharma-vṛkṣa*, (28) *kāma-dattaka*, (31) *harṣaṇa*, (33) *śrī-śaila*, (34) *ari-nāśana*, (36) *mānavendra*, (37) *pāpa-nāśana*, (42) *upendra*, (43) *rājendra*, (45) *yati-bhūṣaṇa*, (46) *supuṣya*, (48) *padma-vṛta*, (49) *rūpa-vallabha*, (51) *aṣṭāpada* and (52) *tuṣṭi-puṣṭi* to all the Tīrthaṅkaras; (30) *śakti* to Lakṣmī-devī; and (39) *śrī-bhava* (*gaurava*) to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

DOMESTIC AND PORTABLE TEMPLES

Provision for a *dharma-sthāna* or the temple to be built within a residential house has also been made in the canons. Situated in the north-east corner of the house, the temple, though owned and maintained privately, must be kept open to all. Such temples may follow the general code of temple-architecture. They may be made of wood with an *upapīṭha* and a *pīṭha* or the two bases and other component parts. A column at each corner, a door and a balcony in each direction and at the top a *śikhara* with four smaller ones are the component parts of this type of temple, but a flag on the top is not allowed. Moreover, above all, the expenses incurred must be met out of legitimate earnings. Likewise, a temple made of wood may also be allowed only if it is a miniature, such as a portable one, to be carried along a journey after which it may be preserved in the *ratha-śālā* or in the temple, for further use.

COSMOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

Literary sources no doubt provide us with a lot of information regarding the canons and symbolism of architecture, but the cosmographical literature is much fuller of such information and various suggestions. A brief sketch of Jaina cosmography would, therefore, be helpful in this context.

Cosmogony has been altogether refuted in Jainism, whereas both cosmology and cosmography occupy a fairly large place in mythological scriptures. The cosmos, eternally existent by nature, is comprised of six types of *dravyas* or the substances categorized as *jīva* (living) and *a-jīva* (non-living). The faculty of knowing and perceiving and the sensations of pleasure and pain, which can inhere only in something and cannot be the function of pure non-entity, must be regarded as states of something which exists, and it is this something which may be called the *jīva* substance. The non-living continuum comprises *dharma* or the medium of motion, *a-dharma*[19] or the medium of rest, *ākāśa* or the space, *pudgala*[20] or the matter and energy and *kāla*[21] or the time.[22]

The cosmos,[23] materially too mathematical and geometrical in the whole as well as in parts, is shaped like a man standing akimbo with the legs spread sidewards (Fig. 17). The space inside the cosmos is called the *lokākāśa* and

outside *a-lokākāśa* wherein the cosmos is supported by three zones of air or the *vāta-valayas*, the inner zone being humid (*tanu*), the middle dense (*ghana*) and the outer rarefied gases (*ghanodadhi*). The *Siddha-śilā* or the space of the

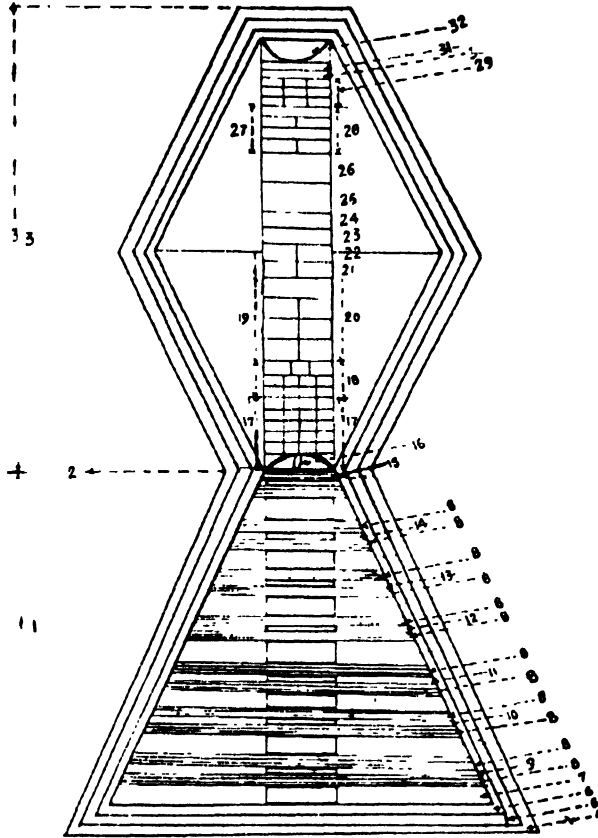


Fig. 17

Triloka, the cosmos (After Muktyanand Singh Jain) 1, *adho-loka*, the lower world; 2, *madhya-loka*, the middle world; 3, *ūrdhva-loka*, the upper world; 4, Ghanodadhi-*vāta-valaya*; 5, Ghana-*vāta-valaya*; 6, Tanu-*vāta-valaya*; 7, *Nigoda*; 8, *vāta-valayas*; 9, seventh hell; 10, sixth hell; 11, fifth hell; 12, fourth hell; 13, third hell; 14, second hell; 15, first hell with three parts; 16, Sudarśana Meru; 17, Saudharma *svarga*; 18, *Aiśāna svarga*; 19, Sānat-kumāra *svarga*; 20, Māhendra *svarga*; 21, Brahman *svarga*; 22, Brahmottara *svarga*; 23, Lāntava *svarga*; 24, Kāpiṣṭha *svarga*; 25, Śukra and Mahāśukra *svargas*; 26, Śatāra and Sahasrāra *svargas*; 27, Ānata and Prāṇata *svargas*; 28, Āraṇa and Acyuta *svargas*; 29, nine Graiveyaka *svargas*; 30, nine Anudiśa *svargas*; 31, the five Anuttara *svargas*; 32, Siddha-śilā

liberated souls is the summit of the cosmos in the form of a bi-meniscus convex lens with its concavity downwards. The portion, thence to the bottom, as broad as the waist-like part of the cosmos, is only inhabited by *trasa-Jīvas* or the mobile beings[24] and is called, therefore, the *trasa-nālī*, measuring 14 *rajjus*[25] in height and 7 in depth as the *loka* itself and 1 *rajju* in width as against the *loka* which measures in general 7 *rajjus*. The cosmos, which is 343 *rajju* cubes in volume, has in the central 100-*yojana* portion the *manuṣya-loka* accommodating all but the heavenly celestial beings who inhabit the *svarga-loka* above the *manuṣya-loka* and the hellish beings who are distributed in the seven-earth[26] *naraka-loka* below the *manuṣya-loka*.

The central part of the cosmos, i.e. the *manuṣya-loka*, consists of innumerable continents or *dvīpas*, each encircled by an ocean[27] or *samudra*[28]. These are of double the diameter of the preceding ones and are circular in shape.

Jambū, the first *dvīpa*, is the only continent which does not encircle any ocean or continent and is the only one round in shape. One hundred thousand *mahā-yojanas*[29] in diameter, the Jambū has Mount Sumeru[30] at the centre like the navel in the body. This continent has seven regions named Bharata (Fig. 18), Haimavata,[31] Hari, Videha,[32] Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata, and Airāvata[33] divided by six mountains, namely Himavat, Mahā-himavat, Niṣadha, Nīla, Rukmin and Śikharin, all running east to west. Padma, Mahā-padma, Tigiñcha, Keśarin,

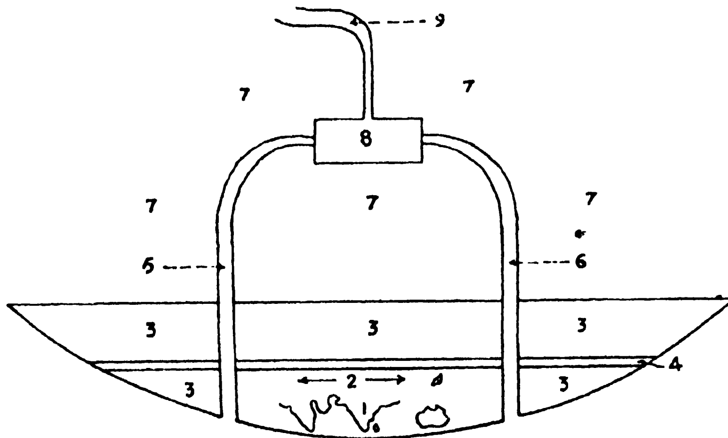


Fig. 18

Bharata-kṣetra (After Muktyanand Singh Jain) 1, part of the eastern hemisphere; 2, Ārya-khaṇḍa; 3, Mleccha-khaṇḍa; 4, Vijayārdha mountain; 6, river Gaṅgā; 5, river Yamunā; 7, Himavat mountain; 8, Padma lake; 9, river Rohitāsyā

Mahā-puṇḍarīka and Puṇḍarīka are the lakes situated on the top of these mountains respectively. It is these lakes that accommodate lotus-shaped islands inhabited by celestial families, which respectively are headed by celestial nymphs named Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛti, Kīrtti, Buddhi and Lakṣmī. Across the seven regions flow in pair, with the first flowing eastwards and the next westwards, fourteen great rivers[34] having thousands of tributaries each.

Dhātakī-khaṇḍa, the second continent, is divided into East and West by two mountains running from north to south with the ends touching the high shores of the two oceans Lavaṇa and Kāla. Each of the East and the West divisions has all the arrangement as there is in Jambū, i.e. there are two sets of regions, mountains, Merus, etc. The mountains here run midway between the regions as the spokes in a wheel and the regions are of the shape of open space in the wheel.

Puṣkaravara, the third, is the only continent divided into two halves by a circular mountain Mānuṣottara running around the continent and called so because human beings are found only up to it. In the inner half, there are, just as in Dhātakī-khaṇḍa, two Bharatas, two Himavats, two Merus, etc., whereas, in the outer half and also in the continents onwards there is no division into regions, etc. All this means that human beings reside only in the two-and-a-half continents in the centre of the middle world and also of the cosmos. This also means that there are five sets, each with seven regions, six mountains, fourteen rivers, one Meru, etc.

It is worth mentioning that the Bharatas, Videhas (excluding the Deva-kuru and Uttarakuru parts) and Airāvatas, five each, are the Regions of Labour or *karma-bhūmis* where one has to adopt any of the six kinds of occupations to lead his life, whereas the Haimavatas, Haris, Deva-kurus, Uttarakurus, Ramyakas and Hairaṇyavatas, five each, are the Regions of Enjoyment or *bhoga-bhūmis* where the objects of enjoyment are provided by the *kalpa-vṛkṣas* or desire-fulfilling trees.

Kṣīra-vara, the fifth ocean, is remarkable for its waters, vesselfuls of which are accustomed to be taken by Indra for the *abhiṣeka* or the ceremonial bath of the baby Tīrthaṅkara, and wherein is deposited the hair of the Tīrthaṅkara after he plucks it out on the occasion of his *dīkṣā* or renunciation. Nandīśvara, the eighth, Kuṇḍala-vara, the tenth, and Rucaka-vara, the thirteenth, are known for their *akṛtrima caityālayas* or the natural temples. Some continents, including the second, Jambū,[35] have *pātāla-nagarīs* or underground cities inhabited only by the celestial ones.

The celestial beings or Devas are of four orders, namely Bhavana-vāsin[36] or the residential, Vyantara[37] or the peripatetic, *Jyotiṣka*[38] or the stellar and Vaimānika[39] or the heavenly ones. Of these, the Bhavana-vāsins have their residence in the *manuṣya-loka* and partly in the *naraka-loka*. They have *Jina-caityālayas* as a component part of their mansions, which are *akṛtrima* or natural and *śāśvata* or eternal. The Vyantaras have their dwelling-places in the upper hard part of the first earth beyond the innumerable islands and oceans, but the Rākṣasa class of them resides in the *paṅka-bahula* or muddy part of the same earth. The stellars are characterized by incessant motion around the Merus, whereas outside the Mānuṣottara they are stationary. Out of these, the suns and the moons have *Jina-caityālayas* in their *vimānas*.

The Vaimānikas are the only celestial beings to reside in the upper world called *svarga-loka* which comprises sixteen *kalpa-vimānas*,[40] nine *graiveyaka-vimānas*,[41] nine *anudiśa-vimānas*[42] and five *anuttara-vimānas*,[43] altogether thirty-nine. Most of those residing in the *kalpa-vimānas* and the *graiveyaka-vimānas* and all the rest are, by nature, Jinendra-*bhaktas* or devoted to the Jina.

The one hundred Indras or the chiefs[44] comprise only the celestial kings, except the two, i.e. one of the human beings and one of the animals, namely the lion. The Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, Śāsana-devas, Śāsana-devīs, Dikpālas, Kṣetra-pālas, Bhairavas, Vidyādevīs, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, *apsarases*, *dundubhi-vādaka*, *cāmara-dhārins*, *cāmara-dhāriṇīs*, etc., all being the celestial ones, and the human figures like Vidyādharas, Bhaktas, etc., can be seen depicted as attendants to the Tīrthaṅkaras or in various parts of the temple.

SYMBOLIC TEMPLES

The temple in itself is a symbol, though in a general sense. In particular the temple can be seen in various architectural formations like those of Nandīśvara-dvīpa, *Aṣṭāpada* (Fig. 19), etc., but some of the formations are only described in the canons and are nowhere physically represented.

Some of the formations like *stūpa*, *caitya-vāsa*, *niṣīdhikā*, etc., may or may not be taken directly into the category of temples as such, but, after all, being the places of worship they could be dealt with under the present heading.

Caturviṁśati-Jinālaya: The *caturviṁśati-Jinālaya* is a set of twenty-four *deva-kulikās* or *deva-koṣṭhas* (Fig. 14), literally the small sanctuaries, each with a Tīrthaṅkara serially installed in it, starting from the southern jamb of the eastern gate and ending with the same jamb of the western gate, so as to form three rows of eight each, the central one facing the main sanctuary in the temple.

The Tīrthaṅkara, whoever he is in the main sanctuary, would not be repeated but be replaced by Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.

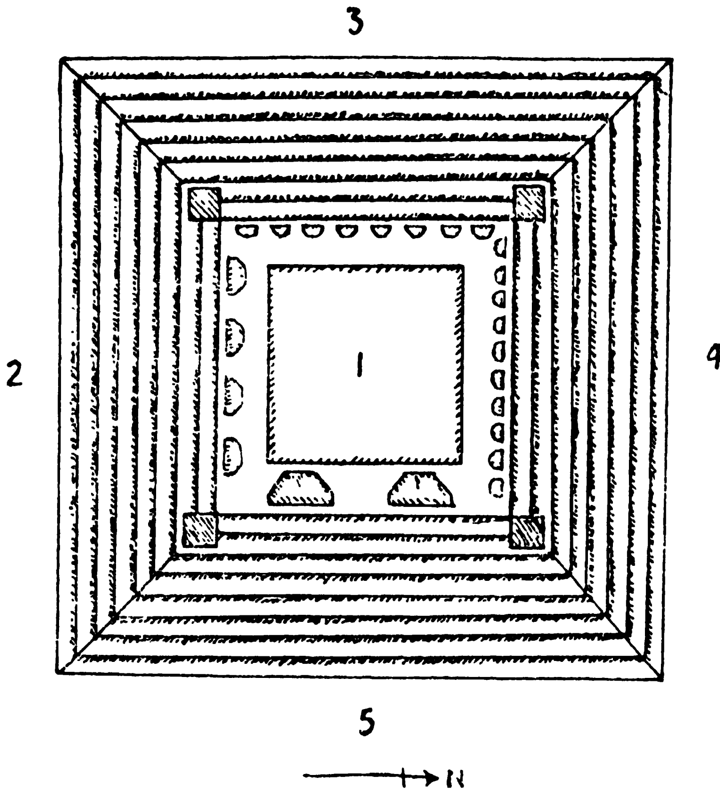


Fig. 19
Aṣṭāpada (After P. O. Somapura) 1, sanctuary; 2 to 5, eight steps

This type of temples has been very popular right from the medieval period to this day, though the arrangement of the small sanctuaries can be seen varying on plan. The *caturviṁśati-paṭa* or a panel depicting the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras may be taken to be a miniature *caturviṁśati-Jinālaya*, which can be seen also in the rock-cut form.

The Merus: There are five Merus named Sudarśana, situated in the centre of the Jambū continent, Vijaya in the east and Acala in the west of Dhātakī-khaṇḍa and Mandara in the east and Vidyun-mālin in the west of the inner half of the Puṣkaravara. All the five are situated one each in the Videha-kṣetras and have one and the same characteristics, except slight differences in height, the one in the Jambū being the highest and as such called Sumeru instead of Meru.

The Sudarśana, being 1,000 *yojanas* under and 95,000 *yojanas* above the ground level, touches the upper level of the lower world and lower level of the upper world. Its diameter decreases from 10,090 *yojanas* and the eleventh of a *yojana* at the lowermost level to 10,000 *yojanas* at the ground level where it is encircled here by the Bhadraśāla forest. Therefrom at the height of 500 *yojanas* it again decreases by 500 *yojanas* to make the Sumeru encircled here by the Nandana forest. Then at the height of 60,500 *yojanas* the decrease again is the same and the encircling forest here is Saumanasa. Thence at the height of 36,000 the decrease is of 494 *yojanas*, where the encircling forest is Pāṇḍuka, and, wherefrom rises the 40-*yojana cūlikā* or crest with the diameter of 4 *yojanas* at the top. Full of jewels called *haritāla*, *vaiḍūrya*, *sarva-ratna*, *vajra*, *padma* and *padma-rāga*, the circumference of the Meru changes successively at the height of every 16,500 *yojanas*. At the bottom the Meru has four Vakṣāra-giris in the subdirections. Shaped like *gaja-danta* or the tusk of an elephant, these mountains touch the larger ones called Mahā-śaila, Nīlādri, Niṣadha-parvata and Nandana-śaila.

Each of the four forests has four *caityālayas*, each one in the four directions; a Meru, thus, has sixteen, and the five Merus eighty *caityālayas* all being *akṛtrima* or natural as well as *śāśvata* or eternal, as are the Merus themselves. The Bhadraśāla forest has five divisions called Bhadraśāla, Mānuṣottara, Deva-ramaṇa, Nāga-ramaṇa and Bhūta-ramaṇa, whereas the Nandana, the Saumanasa and the Pāṇḍuka have only two each.

The Pāṇḍuka forest is encircled by an edge-railing embellished with flags and flanked by multistoreyed mansions. Having jewelled *gopura* structures, the railing is 2 *krośas* in height and 500 *dhanuṣes* in width. The forests of Pāṇḍuka are full of various trees, animals and excursionist couples of Vidyādharas and celestial ones. They have in the four directions crescentic slabs, each one 100 *yojanas* in length, 50 *yojanas* in width and 8 *yojanas* in height. The one in the north, called Pāṇḍuka-śilā, placed north-south in length and made of gold, is otherwise said by Saggāyaṇī[45] to be 4 *yojanas* in height, 500 *yojanas* in length and half the length in width. At the centre of this slab is placed a resplendent *siṁhāsana* flanked by a *bhadrāsana* on either side, all the three *āsanas* or seats being furnished with the auspicious equipments like white parasol, flywhisk, etc. It is this Pāṇḍuka-śilā where on the *siṁhāsana* the baby Tīrthaṅkara from the Bharata region is given *abhiṣeka* or the lustral bath by the Indras—Saudharma and Aiśāna seated on the *bhadrāsanas* respectively in the south and north. Placed in the *āgneya* subdirection with east-west length and made of silver, the Pāṇḍu-kambala-śilā

is occupied by the baby Tīrthaṅkara from the Apara-videha Region. Made of gold, the Rakta-śilā is placed in the *nairṛtya* with north-south length, whereas the blood-red Rakta-kambala-śilā is placed in the *vāyavya* with east-west length, both having the baby Tīrthaṅkaras respectively from the regions called Airāvata and Pūrva-videha. In the east of the Pāṇḍuka forest near the *cūlikā* there is a 30-*krośa* circular *prāsāda* facing the east. Lohita, this *prāsāda*, is well-furnished and has in its central part a pleasure-mountain or *krīḍā-śaila*. The Lohita is occupied by Soma, the Lokapāla guarding the eastern horizon. Likewise are the *prāsādas* named Añjana in the south, Hāridra in the west and Pāṇḍuka in the north, respectively inhabited by Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera, the Lokapālas guarding the respective horizons each. The Pāṇḍuka forest also has in each direction four *Jinendra-Prāsādas*, each 100 *krośas* long and 75 *krośas* high.

The Saumanasa forest, 36,000 *yojanas* downwards from the Pāṇḍuka forest, is the third from the bottom. This forest, 500 *yojanas* in width, is provided with the great railing, etc. Here are four *prāsādas* named Vajra, Vajra-prabha, Suvarṇa and Svarṇa-prabha, which are of the dimensions double that of the *prāsādas* in the Pāṇḍuka forest and are occupied by the same Lokapālas respectively. In this forest in the subdirections there are sixteen *puṣkariṇīs* or lotus-pools, each accommodating in the centre a *vihāra-prāsāda* or mansion for recreation. A *vihāra-prāsāda*, 125 *krośas* in height and half that in width, has in the centre a grand *siṁhāsana* for Saudharma Indra or the lord of the heavenly celestial ones, which is flanked by other *siṁhāsanas*, four for the Lokapālas, one for the Pratīndra, eight for the *agra-mahiṣīs* or the chief consorts of Indra, thirty-two thousand for the *pravaras* or the elder ones, eighty-four hundred thousand for the *sāmānikas* or those equal in status but not in authority, twelve hundred thousand for the *pāriṣadas* or courtiers, fourteen hundred thousand for the *madhyama-pāriṣadas* or courtiers of the second rank, sixteen hundred thousand for the *bāhya-pāriṣadas* or courtiers from outside, thirty-three for the *trāyastriṁśas* or ministers, six for the *mahattaras* or chamberlains, one for the *mahattarī* or lady chamberlain and eighty-four thousand for the *aṅga-rakṣakas* or body-guards. The sixteen lotus-ponds are named as Utpala-gulmā, Nalinā, Utpalā and Utpalotpalā in the *āgneya*, Bhṛṅgā, Bhṛṅga-nibhā, Kajjalā and Kajjala-prabhā in the *nairṛtya*, Śrī-bhadrā, Śrī-kāntā, Śrī-mahitā and Śrī-nilayā in the *vāyavya* and Nalinā, Nalina-gulmā, Kumudā and Kumudā-prabhā in the *aiśāna*. This forest also has four *Jinendra-prāsādas* like those in the Pāṇḍuka forest. Here each direction and subdirection have a *kūṭa* or peak, one 100 *yojanas* high and the same in width

at the bottom. On these *kūṭas* reside respectively the eight Kanyākumārīs named Meghaṅkarā, Meghavatī, Sumeghā, Meghamālinī, Toyandharā, Vicitrā, Puṣpamālā and Aninditā.

The Nandana forest is again of the same characteristics in general, except that the dimensions are double those in the Saumanasa forest. The Bhadraśāla forest also resembles those situated upwards. The dimensions here are four times those in the Pāṇḍuka forest.

Depiction of Meru was perhaps nowhere done in architecture, but occurs in plastic art[46] and painting. It is actually the *caityālayas* and the Pāṇḍuka forest with the four *śilās* which make the Meru significant.

The word Meru may mean here a mountain (Fig. 20), but in most of the canons of architecture it is described as a type of *prāsāda*, mostly multistoreyed.[47] According to the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (LVI. 20)[48] a type of hexagonal buildings has twelve storeys, variegated windows and four entrances and is 52 cubits wide and of forty-five kinds. There are some Jaina records,

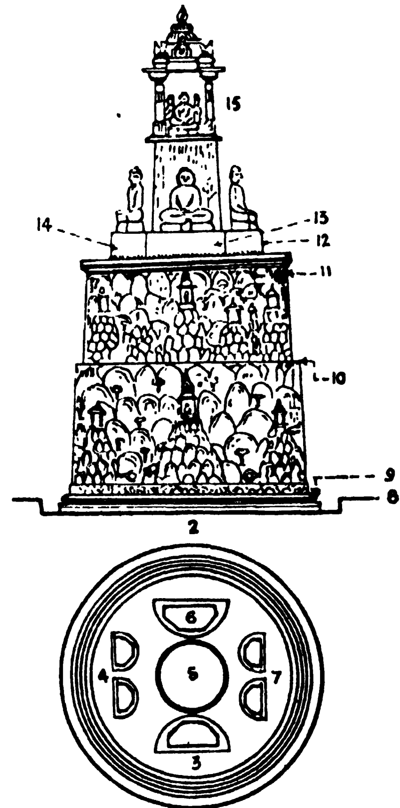


Fig. 20

The Meru (After P. O. Somapura) 1, plan of the Meru; 3, 4, 6, and 7, four *siṁha-pīṭhas* called *siddha-sīlās*; 5, eternal *Jina-caityas* or the four-fold image of Tīrthaṅkara on the *cūlikā*; 2, side-elevation of the Meru; 8, Bhadraśāla forest; 9, Nandana forest; 10, Saumanasa forest; 11, Pāṇḍuka forest; 12 to 14, *pīṭhas* of the Tīrthaṅkara; 15, as 5 above

both epigraphical and literary, which mention temples having been made and called after the Meru,[49] but no traces of this particular type of building have as yet been seen. Again, Buhler suggests that the suffix *mer* seen in the nomenclature of quite a few cities in Rajasthan, e.g. Ajmer, Jaisalmer, Barmer, etc., represents the *meru*-type of *prāsāda*, i.e. the Jaina temple which might have been built by someone whose name prefixed to *meru* gave the name to the concerned city. The suggestion is plausible, but the suffix may have come from *maru*, 'desert'.

Nandīśvara-Dvīpa: Nandīśvara-dvīpa, the eighth[50] continent in the middle world, is the most significant out of the innumerable continents except the two-and-a-half ones. Just in the middle of the two rims of the circular continent are mountains,[51] black in colour, therefore called Añjanas, named Devaramaṇa in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha in the west and Ramaṇīya in the north. Each of the Añjanas has again in each direction a square lake which accommodates a mountain called Dadhi-mukha. White as curd and circular in shape, it has on its top *taṭa-vedīs* or edge-railings and parks. In each of the two outer corners of the four lakes is a golden circular mountain called Ratikara. That is, there are four Añjanas, sixteen Dadhi-mukhas and thirty-two Ratikaras, together numbering fifty-two. Each lake has its name: Nandā, Nandāvatī, Nandottarā and Nandi-ghoṣā in the east; Arajā, Virajā, Aśokā and Aparājitā in the south; Vijayā, Vaijayantī, Jayantī and Aparājitā in the west; and Ramyā, Ramānujā, Suprabhā and Sarvatobhadrā in the north.

Each of the lakes in each direction has a forest respectively of *aśoka* or Jonesia Asoka Roxb, *saptacchada* (*saptaparṇa*) or Alstonia Scholaris, *campaka* or Michelia Campaka and *āmra* (*cūta*) or Manglifera indica. The forests make a total of sixty-four. Peripatetic or the Vyantara-Devas with their families reside in the sixty-four *prāsādas* or abodes which are situated one each in the central part of the forest. The *prāsādas* are square on plan and twice the length in height.

On the top of the fifty-two mountains are, one each, the *dvāpañcāśat akṛtrima-caityālayas*.[52] Each of these natural temples is 100 *yojanas* in length, half as wide and 70 *yojanas* high and has a door in each direction. Within the temples are *maṇi-pīṭhakas* or jewelled platforms, 16 *yojanas* in length and width and 8 *yojanas* in height. On the platforms are *devacchandakas* or the diases of jewel with their length and width exceeding those of the platforms. On the diases are placed one hundred and eight eternal images of the Tīrthaṅkaras seated in *paryaṅka*-posture. Made of jewels, the images are flanked each by two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas, two pitcher-carriers and an umbrella-

bearer. On the diases are also incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the eight *maṅgala-dravyas* or auspicious symbols, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments as full pitchers, etc. There are *mukha-maṇḍapas* or entrance-porches, *prekṣā-maṇḍapas* or theatre-pavilions, *akṣa-vāṭakas* or arenas, *maṇi-pīṭhakas*, *stūpas*, statues, *caitya*-trees, Indra-*dhvajas* and lotus-lakes in succession.

In the fifty-two *caityālayas* assemble numerous Devas to celebrate the eight-day function or *āṣṭāhnika-parvan* thrice a year; the custom even today prevails amongst the Jainas. This function falls on the last eight days of bright fortnight of the months Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna. The *Nāndīśvara-paṅkti-vrata*, referred to in the *Bṛhat-Jaina-śabdārṇava*,[53] seems to be the same as the eight-day function falling thrice a year. A similar *Nandīśvara-tapas* practised by the Śvetāmbaras along with *pūjā* of the *Nandīśvara-paṭa* is referred to in the *Pravacanasāroddhāra*.[54]

Ṭhakkura Pheru does make a provision for the *dvāpañcāśat Jinālaya* type of temple which is a set of fifty-two small sanctuaries (Fig. 21) including of course the main one which would find its place in the centre (Fig. 22), with seventeen each on its both the sides and eight on the front and nine in the back sides. This number, fifty-two, resembles that of the *Jinālayas* in the Nandīśvara which has, unlike this one, its own design according to cosmography and likewise to the architectural tradition, but there is no other go but to conclude that this type of temple is a simplified form of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa type of temple.

Nandi-śāla and Nandīśa, along the twenty-five types, suggest an architectural representation of this type of temple, though with no description

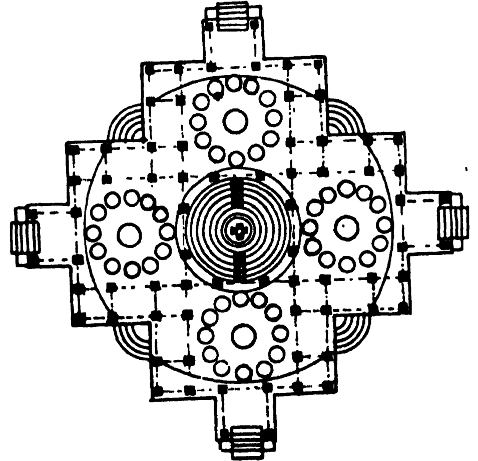


Fig. 21
Nandīśvara-dvīpa-*prāsāda*
(After P. O. Somapura)

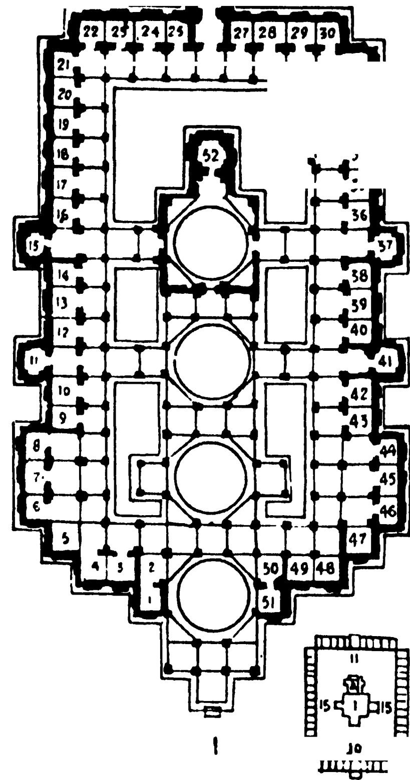


Fig. 22
Variants of Nandīśvara-dvīpa-*prāsāda* (After P. O. Somapura) 1, distribution of fifty-two sanctuaries; 2, simplified presentation of the fifty-two sanctuaries

available, it hardly serves any purpose. Also are listed fifty-two Jina-*prāsādas* which may be taken to be the ones in the Nandīśvara-dvīpa; then only could be known the names with a few details of these *caityālayas*.

Nandīśvara-dvīpa has various representations in art by way of models in stone[55] or bronze, mosaic work and painting, but in architecture as such it seems to have taken shape only in the last century when two temples of this type were built on the Satrunjaya hill in Gujarat.[56] These are interesting as they have, in addition to the fifty-two, one more sanctum in the centre to represent the Satrunjaya hill. Recently has been built up by the Digambaras a large Nandīśvara-dvīpa *Jinālaya* at Madhuban near Parasnath hill in Bihar. So far as the miniature representations are concerned, the Digambaras put fifty-two small figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras on a four-tiered *vedī* or platform or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, whereas the Śvetāmbaras represent miniature shrines in four groups of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone plaque or in metal and arranged in different artistic ways.

The Samavasaraṇa: The Tīrthaṅkara[57] would lay a sermon only inside the *samavasaraṇa* or an auditorium fascinatingly planned by Kubera under the orders of the Indra of Saudharma Heaven. The *samavasaraṇa* must vanish with the Tīrthaṅkara shifting to another place, where a fresh *samavasaraṇa* would be built up. The structure, better called a vast park-*cum*-auditorium, is circular like the solar disc and spreads over 12 *yojanas*.[58]

Its lofty plinth is reached by circular flights of two thousand steps, each step 1 cubit high. On reaching the top one would find wide avenues with railings on both the sides. All the four avenues start with each point, cross the ground of blue gems and lead towards the centre. The railings are made of crystal and provided with doorways, above which arches and flags and festoons produce a pleasing effect.

Then comes the compound-wall called *dhūli-śāla*, with four gates, Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita, one each in the four directions; they are three-storeyed structures, adorned with the auspicious symbols, the nine jewels and large effigies carrying incense-burners. The gates have the *makara-toraṇa* at the exterior and *ratna-toraṇa* at the interior; at the middle of each side is a theatre-hall; the Devas or celestial ones holding rods of jewel guard the gates.

Enclosed by the *dhūli-śāla* compound is the region called *caitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*, 1 *krośa* by five-sixths of a *krośa* in dimensions. This is the wide band that lies between the first circle and consists of palaces between the first circle and the railing on the inner side. The *caitya-prāsāda-bhūmi*, attributive of its name, consists of palaces with a *Jinālaya* placed between every fifth of them. The four avenues continue here too and are flanked by theatres and dancing-halls. At each of the four places where the avenues reach this region, there is a huge column called *māna-stambha*, literally the pride-pillar, which rises up on a platform comprised of three terraces. They are reached by a flight of sixteen steps, eight for the lower terrace and four each for the intermediate and the top ones. The platform is surrounded by three enclosures with doors facing the four cardinal points and opening on to four beautiful lakes filled with crystal-clear water. A railing provided with gates, steps made of jewels and two appended pools are the prominent features of each lake. The height of a *māna-stambha* is twelve times the height of the body of the Tīrthaṅkara concerned and is divided into three segments, the basal segment with *vajra-dvāras* or the doors too hard, as a thunderbolt, to be perforated, the circular second one made of *sphaṭika* or crystal and the top one of *vaiḍūrya* or cat's eye. All round there are flywhisks, bells, rattles, string of gems, banners, etc. On the top of the

māna-stambha there is a Tīrthaṅkara image in each direction brought by Indra for this casual installation specially from some *akṛtrima caityālaya*, all of them with eight *prātihāryas* or attending symbols, namely the *aśoka*-tree, *siṁhāsana*, triple parasol, halo, *divya-dhvani*, heavenly shower of flowers, sixty-four *cāmara-dhārī* Yakṣas and drum-beaters. The railing bounding this region on its inner side is provided with four gates, one for each cardinal point. Within this railing there is a region of water known as *khātikā-bhūmi*. Full of crystal-clear water and water-lilies and water-beings, the *khātikā-bhūmi* is provided with steps made of precious stones.

Bounding the region of water on its inner side, there is again a railing which encloses a forest called *vallī-bhūmi*. This, the third region, with dimensions twice those of the first region, is full of pleasant scenery and wooded bowers and raised seats in the midst of clear spaces. The forest is bordered by a compound-wall, second in the structure, which is provided by tower-like gateways, one facing each cardinal point and decorated with paintings of animals and female figures and guarded by Yakṣas.

Enclosed by the second compound-wall is a garden or *upavana-bhūmi*. With wooded avenues of *aśoka, campaka, cūta* and *saptaparṇa*, this region, fourth in the structure, has the dimensions twice those of the first region. Here too are theatres where dances and music are a permanent feature. The *caitya-vṛkṣas* or tree-shaped structures also are the very prominent features here. The third *vedikā* or compound-wall borders this region inside.

With a row of fluttering flags along its four gates, like those of the earlier one, this wall gives the region encircled by it the name *dhvaja-bhūmi* or the region of flags, the dimensions of which again are twice those of the first one. Numbering in millions the flags bear specific marks of lion, elephant, bull, *garuḍa*, peacock, moon or a piece of cloth, sun or a garland, swan, lotus and *cakra*. The compound-wall bordering the interior here resembles the *dhūli-śāla* for the provision of gates and music-halls but is double in dimensions.

Then the spectator's gaze falls on the illuminating wish-trees scattered about in the wood in elegant confusion, all along the *kalpa-vṛkṣa-bhūmi*, the sixth region in the structure. The ten kinds of these trees or the *kalpa-vṛkṣas* are significantly called *pānāṅga, tūryāṅga, bhūṣaṇāṅga, vastrāṅga, bhojanāṅga, ālayāṅga, dīpāṅga, bhājanāṅga, mālyāṅga* and *jyotiraṅga*. Recessed by theatres and music-halls the wish-trees shelter golden platforms on which are installed the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras. This region, of dimensions twice those of the first region, is bordered inside by the fourth *vedikā*, the four gates of which are guarded by Nāga-kumāras.

Now one would get into the region of mansions called *bhavana-bhūmi*, the seventh and last of this type which has the same dimensions as those of the first one. Consisting of innumerable mansions and other habitations built of precious stones and metals, this region has in each of the four cardinal avenues a line of nine *stūpas* named *loka*, *madhyama-loka*, *mandara*, *graiveyaka*, *sarvārtha-siddhi*, *siddhi*, *bhavya*, *moha* and *bodhi* respectively. In the *stūpas* are enshrined images of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Siddhas; they have a hundred *makara-toraṇas* between every two of them. The compound-wall at the interior here is called *ākāśa-sphaṭika-śāla* because it is made of white crystals. It resembles in all the ways the *dhūli-śāla*, but here the four gates are guarded by Kalpa-vāsins or the heavenly ones.

Further up, one would step into the clean open place of 1 *yojana* by 1 *yojana*, where in the middle is situated the circular auditorium called *śrī-maṇḍapa* or *lakṣmīśvara-maṇḍapa*. The heart of the *samavasaraṇa*, this auditorium is divided into the twelve *koṣṭhas* or compartments of equal dimensions, following a clockwise order and falling three each in between the four cardinal avenues, the dividing walls, therefore, being sixteen in number. Made of crystal, the walls are supported by golden pilasters. The audience is supposed to have seats compartment-wise, i.e. respectively, all the saints including the *gaṇadharas* or main disciples of the Tīrthaṅkara; female Kalpa-vāsins; women including the *āryikās* or nuns; damsels of the stellar celestials; female peripatetics; female Bhavana-vāsins; male Bhavana-vāsins; male peripatetics; stellar celestials; male Kalpa-vāsins; men including the kings, chieftains, etc.; and animals.

Right in the centre of the *samavasaraṇa* is the cottage of fragrance known as *gandha-kuṭī*, separated from the circular *śrī-maṇḍapa* by a railing which is the fifth and last and similar to the fourth compound-wall in the structure. Supposed to be a lofty platform for the preaching Tīrthaṅkara, the *gandha-kuṭī*, itself being square, stands on three circular *pīṭhas* or podia placed one above the other. Resembling those of the *māna-stambhas* referred to above, these podia are made of gems and decorated with various motifs and auspicious symbols and have in all the four directions Yakṣendras standing with *dharma-cakras* on their heads. The basal podium has sixteen flights of sixteen steps each. Four of the flights start from the cardinal avenues, whereas the rest begin from the twelve compartments wherefrom the listeners like *gaṇadharas* get on this podium and after circumambulating on it and offering worship to the Tīrthaṅkara return to their respective compartments. The intermediate podium is embellished with gemmy staffs having at the top the banners with emblems of

lions, bulls, lotuses, *cakras*, garlands, *garuḍas* and elephants. Artistically placed here are the incense-vases, nine *nidhis* or treasures, objects for worship and the auspicious symbols. This podium, like the top one, has an eight-step flight facing each cardinal point. It is the third podium over which is centrally placed the *gandha-kuṭī* itself, which, attributive of its name, is ever fragrant with many kinds of incense, e.g. *gośīrṣa, malaya-candana, kālāguru,* etc. Flywhisks, rattles, strings of gems, banners and lamps are some of the decorative members of the *gandha-kuṭī*. On a grand *siṁhāsana* placed right in the centre of the *gandha-kuṭī* and embedded with all the precious stones and gems of the world and the heavens put together, sits the Tīrthaṅkara on a blossomed thousand-pettaled lotus-flower, without however touching it, but suspended in the air about four fingers above it. Shown near him is the *aśoka*-tree and above him three white parasols. Sixty-four Yakṣas attend on him with flywhisks in hand. Behind him shines the resplendent halo. In the sky rises the sound of celestial drums. He now fully deserves the epithet Tīrthaṅkara to appear to be looking in all the four directions, though he only sits facing the east. When he speaks, he speaks in Sarvārtha-māgadhī language which resembles the roar of surging oceans. His speech is distinctly heard by everyone present because it is produced independently of the movements of the glottis and is for that reason termed *anakṣarī* or without letters. The *gaṇadharas*, who interpret the speech to all assembled, arrange all his teachings under twelve main heads called *dvādaśāṅga* or *dvādaśāra*, the last of which, named *pūrva*, has fourteen sections. After the speech is over Saudharmendra summons his retinue of dancers to express his feelings. And, then the Tīrthaṅkara proceeds on his divine mission, and the *samavasaraṇa* is dispersed, to be planned afresh wherever his next halt is to take place.

The mythological symbols like *samavasaraṇa, māna-stambha, gandha-kuṭī*, Aṣṭāpada, etc., the cosmographical ones like the Meru, Nandīśvara-dvīpa and so on, as well as those of iconographic nature, do meagrely correspond to the canons, even to the classical texts which actually serve as canons particularly in the case of symbolism for some reason or the other. As a matter of fact, symbolizing even in a large structural form the vast and complex area like the *samavasaraṇa* or Nandīśvara-dvīpa is more or less impossible for an architect or a sculptor to achieve.[59]

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Sūtradhāra Virapāla, *Prāsāda-tilaka*, ed. P. O. Somapura, Ahmedabad, 1972, pp. 6 ff., enumerates the following *gharānās*: (1) Somapura *gharānā*, well-known in west India, specializing in traditional architecture and possessing a rich collection of architectural treatises; (2) the Mahāpātra *gharānā* of Orissa; (3) the Pañcānana *gharānā*, spread over large parts of the Deccan, at present divided into five professional classes, viz. *śilpī*, *suvarṇa-kāra* (goldsmith), *kāṁsya-kāra* (worker in bell-metal), *kāṣṭha-kāra* (carpenter) and *loha-kāra* (ironsmith); (4) the Telengana *gharānā* of Andhra Pradesh, with the same professional classes; and (5) the *Virāṭa-Viśva-Brāhmaṇācārya gharānā* of the Draviḍa region, named after their *gotras* Agastya, Rājyaguru and Ṣaṇmukha-Sarasvatī.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[3] P. K. Acharya enlists with available details two hundred and seven names of such treatises, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, Allahabad, 1927, appendix II, pp. 805-14.

[4] Ed. P. O. Somapura, Palitana.

[5] Ed. Bal Ram Shrivastava, Varanasi, 1964.

[6] Ed. Bhagwan Das Jain, Ahmedabad, 1961.

[7] Ed. P. O. Somapura under the name *Prāsāda-mañjarī*, Ahmedabad, 1965.

[8] Ed. Bhagwan Das Jain, Jaipur, 1936. Parts of the present chapter are based on this text unless otherwise stated.

[9] Bhagwan Das Jain, *op. cit.*, says that a manuscript of this book, with the first folio missing, was acquired by him through Muni Darśanavijaya from Śrī-Caritravijaya of the Jaina Jñāna Mandira, the founder of the Yaśovijaya Jaina Gurukula.

[10] Edited by Bhanwar Lal Nahata and mentioned in *Muni Śrī Hazārīmala Smṛti-grantha* (Hindi), Beawar, 1966, p. 105 (*lekhaka-paricaya*).

[11] Generally based on the *Vatthu-sāra-payaraṇa.*

[12] 'It can hardly be doubted that there exists some connection between temples and tombs', A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, p. 47.

[13] *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā*, Sholapur, 1935, p. 46.

[14] *Caityam āyatanaṁ tulye*, *Amarakoṣa*, II. 2. 7.

[15] Mainly based on the *Vatthu-sāra-payaraṇa.*

[16] P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, London etc., 1927, p. 588.

[17] See, Viśvakarman's *Dīpārṇava*, tr. (in Gujarati), P. O. Somapura, Palitana.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 317-18 (pp. 9-10 of the reprint of *Uttara-khaṇḍa*).

[19] *Dharma* and *a-dharma* have in Jaina cosmography been used in a technical sense entirely different from their ordinary meaning.

[20] For an analytical study of this substance, see G. L. Amar, 'Darśana aur vijñāna ke āloka men Pudgala Dravya', *Muni Śrī Hazārīmala Smṛti-grantha* (Hindi), Beawar, 1965, pp. 368-88.

[21] The Śvetāmbaras regard this substance as a modification of *jīva* and *a-jīva*, and not as an independent one.

[22] This and the following paragraphs are based on the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* with Rāja-vārttikālaṁkāra (Sanskrit-Hindi), Kashi, 2 parts, 1953-54.

[23] The universe is denoted by the word *loka* in Jainism where the words *viśva* and *brahmāṇḍa*, though virtual synonyms of *loka*, are not much common.

[24] The transmigrating souls, within which are not included the Siddhas who are emancipated, are either mobile (*trasa*) or immobile (*sthāvara*). Earth, water, fire, air and plants are immobile beings, all with the only sense of touch. The mobile beings, having a gradual increase in the senses of taste, smell, sight and hearing, may be termed as two-sensed and onwards. The five-sensed ones are all the celestial, human and hellish beings and partly the animals.

[25] Literally a rope, the *rajju* is a linear astrophysical measure, being the distance which a male celestial being flies in six months at the rate of 2,857,152 *yojanas* in one *samaya* or the shortest unit of time, though all this cannot be subjected to any mathematical computations.

[26] These earths or the *narakas* are situated one below the other, each surrounded by three kinds of air and space. The word earth is intended to indicate the particular nature of substratum which is solid like the earth. The infernal regions are not like the layers of heavens, which rest without any substratum like the earth.

[27] Jambū, the first continent, is encircled by Lavaṇa ocean which itself is encircled by Dhātakī-khaṇḍa continent, the encircling ocean here being Kāla, which is in turn encircled by the continent Puṣkaravara, which, i.e. the predecessor's name, has been taken by the encircling ocean, as has been done by all the oceans onwards.

[28] The fourth and onward continents are Vāruṇī-vara, Kṣīra-vara, Ghṛta-vara, Kuṇḍala-vara, Śaṅkha-vara, Nandīśvara, Aruṇa-vara, Aruṇābhāsa-vara, Kuṇḍala-vara, Śaṅkha-vara, Rucaka-vara, Bhujaga-vara, Kuśa-vara, Krauñca-vara, etc. And, to begin from the last backwards, the continents are Svayambhū-ramaṇa, Ahīndra-vara, Deva-vara, Yakṣa-vara, Bhūta-vara, Nāga-vara, Vaiḍūrya-vara, Vajra-vara, Suvarṇa-vara, Rūpya-vara, Hiṅgulika-vara, Añjanaka-

vara, Śyāma-vara, Sindūra-vara, Haritāla-vara, Manaḥ-śila, etc.

[29] A measure of distance. 24 *aṅgulas* or finger-tips, each equal to an inch in general, make 1 *hasta* or cubit, 4 *hastas* make a *dhanuṣ* or *cāpa*, literally a bow, 2,000 *dhanuṣes* make 1 *krośa*, which may equal 2 miles, 4 *krośas* make a *yojana* in general, whereas 2,000 *krośas* make the *mahā-yojana*.

[30] For details, see afterwards sub-section *The Merus* in this article.

[31] The names in cosmography may significantly correspond to those in art and architecture.

[32] This region is divided into three parts called Deva-kuru, Uttarakuru and Videha.

[33] This region, just like Bharata, is divided into six horizontally by a mountain called Vijayārdha and vertically by the two rivers; the division in the outer centre is Ārya-khaṇḍa, whereas the other five are Mleccha-khaṇḍas.

[34] They are Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Rohita, Rohitāsyā, Harit, Harikāntā, Sītā, Sītodā, Nārī, Narakāntā, Suvarṇa-kūlā, Rūpya-kūlā, Raktā and Raktodā.

[35] For the detailed study of the second Jambū, see G. L. Amar, 'Dvitīya Jambū-dvīpa', *Anekānta* (Hindi quarterly), XXII, 1, Delhi, 1969, pp. 20-4.

[36] They are of ten classes: Asura, Nāga, Vidyut, Suparṇa, Agni, Vāta, Stanita, Udadhi, Dvīpa and Dik, each with the suffix *kumāra*.

[37] They are of eight classes: Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Mahoraga, Gandharva, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Bhūta and Piśāca.

[38] They are of five classes: suns, moons, planets, constellations and scattered stars.

[39] Those which make the beings residing in them feel as possessing merit are called *vimānas*, and those who live in the *vimānas* are called *vaimānikas*: the word *vimāna* does not mean here a chariot or a car moving in the air or in the sky; it is an absolutely fixed abode, shaped like a *vimāna* as anciently conceived.

[40] Saudharma, Aiśāna, Sānat-kumāra, Māhendra, Brahman, Brahmottara, Lāntava, Kāpiṣṭha, Śukra, Māha-śukra, Śatāra, Sahasrāra, Ānata, Prāṇata, Āraṇa and Acyuta.

[41] Sudarśana, Amogha, Subuddha, Payodhara, Subhadra, Suviśāla, Sumanas, Saumanasa and Priyaṅkara.

[42] Lakṣmī, Lakṣmī-mālika, Vairevaka, Rocanaka, Soma, Soma-rūpya, Aṅka, Palyaṅka and Āditya.

[43] Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparājita and Sarvārtha-siddhi.

[44] The one hundred Indras are enumerated as: *Bhavaṇālaya-cālīsā Vyantara-devāṇa homti battisā / Kappāmara-caubīsā Caṁdo Sūro ṇaro*

tiriyo.

[45] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, IV. 18. 21.

[46] U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 117-18. He incorrectly names one Meru as *pañca-meru* in fig. 78, as he does also in the text.

[47] Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-15.

[48] *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, VI, p. 318.

[49] G. Buhler in *Indian Antiquary*, XXIV, p. 164. In addition to many examples given by Buhler may be mentioned *Jaya-meru-Śrī-Karaṇa-maṅgalam*, E. Hultzsch, 'Inscriptions of Rājarāja I', no. 50, *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 103.

[50] Not the last, as U. P. Shah says, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[51] The *Nandīśvara-kalpa* in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabha-Sūri, Santiniketan, 1934, pp. 48-9, slightly differs in naming the mountains, etc.

[52] The number is fifty-two only and not more, as Shah suspects. His 'Central mountain', which also has 'Śāśvata-Jinālayas on it,' is nothing but the Añjana without the inclusion of which the total cannot come to fifty-two. The early texts referred to by him in this context also do not support his suspicion. See Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[53] *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, II, Surat, 1134, p. 512.

[54] Special reference to the commentary by Siddhasena-gaṇī, Bombay, 1952, *gāthā* 1915.

[55] T. N. Ramachandran refers to a miniature Nandīśvara-dvīpa in stone, which is shaped like a *vimāna* superimposed on a square base, and has for each side an arched niche. The finial surmounts the whole giving it the dignified appearance of a *Jina-prāsāda*. See *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temple*, Madras 1934, p. 181, plate XXI, fig. 4.

[56] J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (revised edition), Delhi, 1967, II, pp. 29-30, fig. 279. A full description of the temples is given there.

[57] The Tīrthaṅkaras must be born only in the *karma-bhūmis* and not in the *bhoga-bhūmis*.

[58] The spread goes on reducing gradually in the case of every succeeding Tīrthaṅkara, except in the Videhas.

[59] The line-drawing illustrations in this chapter have been adapted from: *Vatthu-sāra-payaraṇa*, ed. Bhagwandas Jain; *Dīpārṇava* by Viśvakarman, ed. P. O. Somapura; and Bra. Muktyanand Singh Jain, *Mokṣa-śāstra-kaumudī*, Muzaffarpur, 1957.

9

SOME ARCHITECTURAL CONVENTIONS OF KERALA

ARCHITECTURE is one of the most important forms in which the Indian culture has found expression from very ancient times. Even a casual observer of the Indian architecture will be struck by the great differences it exhibits; and this becomes all the more surprising when it is also pointed out that all Indian structures, that is to say, Hindu ones, claim to be based upon the same authoritative texts. To the South Indian nowhere is this difference more pronounced than when a comparison is instituted between the east coast and the west coast structures—so different from each other do they appear. It is not difficult to illustrate this aspect even by a superficial comparison. Almost everywhere in India, the temple formed the focussing point in all civic and social life and many of our towns and villages have grown about the temple. While this is generally true everywhere, it has at the same time led to exuberant difference in practical working. The west coast temple towns are in every respect different from those on this side of the Ghats. Coming to the temples themselves, on the east coast the *gopuram* (gate) constitutes the most important, the most imposing part of the temple, speaking from the architectural point of view. But on the west coast, it is essentially a *gopuram* both in appearance and function: it is never allowed to usurp the place of importance, which is always assigned to the *sanctum sanctorum*. The shrine is the central *aṅgin* on which the architect spends his thought and skill, while the other figures only as an *aṅga*, an appendage. There are radically different viewpoints and according as the one or the other is given the predominance, there will be practical differences. The whole temple area again bears a distinct proportion to the size of the idol: the height of the basement and the superstructure of the *sanctum sanctorum*, the height of the *gopuram* and its distance from the shrine, the *matilakam* (enclosure) and its area—all these bear a distinct proportion to the size of the idol. In other words, given the size of the idol, one could easily picture the lay-out of the temple area. Such is the convention obtaining in Kerala (Malabar), but speaking from a superficial observation, it appears such a convention is not observed on the east coast. There is again another convention strictly

adhered to almost everywhere in both the parts that a private dwelling-house should not exceed the height of the temple in the locality. Ambitious rich men have never been wanting who wished to build houses bigger than the temple. To satisfy the vanity of such as these a convention came to be accepted on the east coast that they might do so provided that they added one more storey to the temple. The result of this convention was that while there grew up big houses all around, the temple also grew larger and larger. Here is the point at issue. The acceptance of this convention led to the haphazard growth of the temple with the result that it lost its organic unity not merely with reference to itself, but also with reference to the town that grew up around it. On the west coast also a convention came to be adopted regarding this and it was to hand over the building to the deity and then take it back from him for a nominal payment. Hence in spite of the growth of bigger buildings in the town, the unity of the temple was never affected. Here then differences in accepted conventions constitute an essential basis which leads to ultimate differentiation.

The differences also arise from natural causes operating in different places. Architecture is primarily utilitarian, both in conception and in practice; and at the same time it is expected to satisfy our aesthetic sense. A structure which has any pretence to architectural quality must satisfy both these aspects of utility and of beauty. This was particularly insisted on as regards religious structures, which, as one could easily see, are also intended to appeal to human emotions and rouse in them a sense of religion. These are the two fundamental basic motives of all forms of architecture and these are found accepted by everybody. But on the practical side they differ and differ considerably. For the ideas of utility are generally governed by the need for protection from the inclemencies of weather and from the cruel man and beast as well as for secrecy, space, etc., and these give ample field for ensuring great differences. To these are to be added differences due to climatological and physiographical conditions on one side and aesthetic outlook on the other; that is to say, situation on one side and the people for whom the structure is intended on the other. Thus terraced structures are a general feature on the east coast, while roofed houses are a regular feature on the west coast. The reason is clear: the climatic conditions of Kerala with its heavy seasonal rainfalls put it out of the question to have terraced roofs in our houses. The general cleanly simple character of the Malayali is seen reflected in houses, while the character of the people is no less reflected in the structures on the east coast. Similarly, the space and accommodation found in a palace is essentially different from what is found in an ordinary house. Again ornamental

motives and forms of structure are as dependent upon the taste of the people as upon the materials used in the structure; and these give their own quota to ensure differences.

Thus even when fundamental bases governing the principles of Hindu structures are the same, the acceptance of different local conventions and modes of escaping conventions, no less than the existence of climatological, physiographical and aesthetic differences and consequent differences in details, tends to make the styles and types different. Such differences are inevitable in the very nature of things, and this we do find in almost every sphere. It is particularly so as regards architecture and other forms of art. These are localized and individualized on one side, but on the other they also possess the element of the universal; the former tending to introduce limitations and hence differences, and the latter stressing the fundamental unity. Unity and differences are not mutually inconsistent; they are on the other hand inherent; and therefore we can with scientific attitude speak of *unity* in Indian architecture and at the same time speak of *different styles* of Indian architecture.

Where do the styles of Indian architecture differ? How far do they differ? These constitute, I believe, an important and interesting subject for students of our architecture. For only after a realization of these can they understand the fundamental unity underlying it, and this can be understood if only a detailed study be made of the styles prevailing in various parts of India. One aspect of the subject with reference to Kerala architecture is the theme of this paper, viz. the conventions obtaining in Kerala with regard to the choice of a site for dwelling-houses, this being the most important of the preliminaries in connection with house-building.*

A site is chosen or rejected in accordance with certain widely accepted conventions, the more prominent of which are the proximity of temples, rivers and mountains, the shape, rise and dip of the land, the presence of certain trees in particular parts, and lastly, the nature and quality of the soil.

A site for a human dwelling is generally tabooed in the immediate neighbourhood of a temple, particularly of a temple dedicated to what are termed *ugradevatās* (fiery deities), except that intended for those who have to work in the temples. Even when necessity drives one to choose a site near a

* The matter presented here is generally taken from the *Manuṣyālaya-Candrikā*, the standard text-book for Kerala architects. The writer is translating it into English with critical notes and diagrams.

temple, he is advised to see that he does not select a site in the rear or in front to the right of such powerful deities as Bhadrakālī and Narasiṁha. Similarly, when the deity Aryan is located in a rising place, there should be no dwelling-house anywhere near. Again, it is the convention that a house built within the *saṅketa** of a temple should never be higher than the temple itself. The basis of this convention is pretty clear, for it is inconsistent to have a dwelling-house bigger than the house set apart for the god, who is supposed to be bigger than man himself. As regards the position of the chosen site with reference to the shrine, the basis of the convention may be found in the associations of the temple.

Similarly, sites very near rivers, oceans and mountains are condemned. Here the taboo arises from practical danger. Our river-systems are exposed to seasonal floods and danger arising from these is ever present and real, while the seashore has been subject to occasional land slides and land accretions. Mountain proximity is condemned probably for the reason that there is lack of security. The site in the vicinity of hermitages is tabooed to avoid disturbing the seclusion of the dwellers therein. The convention prohibiting the proximity of dairy farms must have arisen from reasons of health. In these cases also, then, a sufficiently satisfactory explanation can be given from the viewpoint of local conditions.

The shape of the site is an important factor in deciding the choice. A site having a circular crescent shape, or having three or five or six corners is to be tabooed. That site also is condemned which resembles a trident in shape or a sieve, or if it faces a corner. Evidently the condemnation of such sites is born out of well-developed tastes. What pleases the eye is always good and what does not please the eye is always bad. This principle is accepted by our architects and forms the deciding factor in all matters of doubt.

The nature of the surface of the site is still another determining factor. When the surface of the site looks like a fish, or the back of an elephant, or the head of a cow, it is not to be chosen. Again the rise and dip of the surface constitute another basis for the choice of the site. As a matter of fact, this constitutes the most important basis. The most general rule regarding this is the preference shown for such sites as have a northward or an eastward slope. Sites sloping in

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**Saṅketa* is the area round about a temple, its extent depending upon the importance of the temple. It served as a *safety zone* for political offenders and refugees and it has been a convention that fighting chieftains never carried fire and sword to the temple *Saṅketa*. As such it played an important part in the political and even social life of Kerala.

directions other than these, as well as those dipping into or rising towards the centre, are to be eschewed. This forms the most important of the conditions to be satisfied before a site could be chosen. Based upon these rises and dips, three are the main types that are to be chosen, those called by the names *go-vīthī*, *gaja-vīthī*, and *dhānya-vīthī*.

Another secondary factor that has to be considered in choosing a site is the presence or absence of particular trees in particular parts of it. *Bakula* (Mimesops Elengi) and *vaṭa* (Ficus Bengalensis) in the east, *udumbara* (Ficus Glomerata) and *ciñcā* (Tamarindus Indica) in the south, *pippala* (Ficus Religiosa) and *saptacchada* (Alstonia Scholaris) in the north and *punnāga* (Rottlera Tinctoria) and *plakṣa* (Ficus Infectoria) in the west, are generally auspicious in the site. The same trees in places other than those mentioned presage ill luck to the occupants thereof. It is particularly good to have *panasa* (Artocarpus Integrifolia) and *śrīvṛkṣa* (Gmelona Arborea) and these are excellent everywhere. Trees, presaging ill luck, are never to be allowed to stand anywhere in the whole compound and they should be cut down.

Regarding the existence and planting of trees, sound practical advice is given. In the first place is laid down the distance where they should stand away from the house. All trees ought to be away from the house twice their own height, and a tree that does not satisfy this condition must be cut down even if it be a tree of gold. This is an eminently practical advice, particularly when it is remembered that Kerala is exposed to the full force of both the south-west and the north-east monsoon. The second principle relates to the nature of the trees to be allowed to stand in the site. Trees are generally divided into four categories according as they are internally woody, externally woody, all woody and not woody at all. The trees nearest the house—subject of course to the rule already laid down—must be of the first kind; the second kind must be next to it further beyond; and the third still further beyond it. The last variety, however, should be found nowhere in the compound chosen for a dwelling-house. Plantains, Joli jasmines, *yūthī* (Jasminum Pubescens), *campaka* and betel-creepers are everywhere auspicious.

The presence of trees, as we have already mentioned, is only a secondary factor in the determination of a site. For another convention would have it that if there are undesirable trees, or even desirable trees in undesirable parts of the compound, they are to be cut down.

A more important determining factor is the nature of the soil, which is to be examined from the point of view of its density, colour, taste and smell. A soil that is rich and dense is generally held to be an excellent one for a dwelling-house.

This density is to be determined by digging a pit, and if the earth dug out is put back and it fills the pit, it is *madhyama* (middling), but if it is more, it is *uttama* (best), and if it does not fill, it is *adhama* (worst). When a site has thus been chosen with reference to its density, it is to be assigned to different castes, as based upon the taste and colour and smell. A soil which is white in colour is good for Brahmins, red soil for Kṣatriyas, yellow soil for Vaiśyas, and dark soil for Śūdras. Similarly, a soil which smells of ghee is good for Brahmins; of blood, for Kṣatriyas; of food, for Vaiśyas and of liquor, for Śūdras. Again a sweet soil is prescribed for Brahmins, astringent for Kṣatriyas, bitter for Vaiśyas, and pungent for Śūdras. This preference is presumably based upon the associations of the caste.

So far the site has been considered from the external point of view; the contents of the soil are no less important in determining its acceptance. If the site reveals, when broken by a plough, the presence of ashes, charcoal, husks, bones and hair, ant-hills and internal cavities, worms and other forms of life, it is to be shunned. Herein we see a taboo from the practical point of view connected no doubt with unlucky associations. Ashes, charcoal, bones, etc. indicate that it is a ruined site, if it be not a cemetery, and neither would be acceptable as a site for a dwelling-house. The presence of underground life and cavities also indicates no sense of safety. And hence these sites are to be shunned.

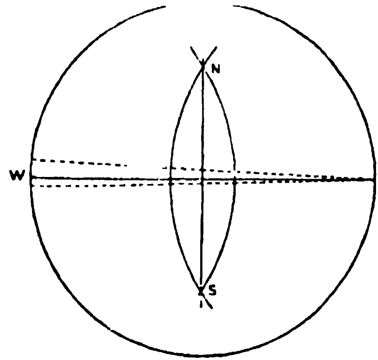
In the light of these and other conditions, a site is to be chosen. That forms an excellent site which abounds in trees rich with fruits and flowers and juice, which is even or dipping eastwards, is sticky to touch, is firm when sounded and is neither very hot nor very cold. Another essential condition is that it must be rich in water, and should preferably have a flowing water-channel around it. Where these features are absent, the site is *adhama*, and where these are found mixed up, it is *madhyama*. Apart from this, a general condition is laid down regarding the acceptability of site: The site chosen must ensure pure air and pure water and be pleasing to the eyes; this, be it noticed, is the most important deciding factor in the choice of a site.

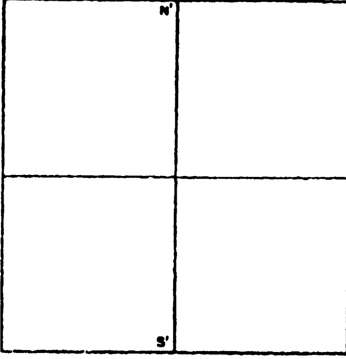
As a matter of fact, it is only very seldom that we come across an ideal or *uttama* site, one which satisfies all the conditions laid down. Generally sites have mixed characteristics. In such cases the acceptability or otherwise is to be determined by conducting the following experiment: Make a pit a foot and a half in dimension and place there a pot filled with paddy. On the top of the pot, place a pan filled with ghee with four lighted wicks in four different colours, white, red, yellow and dark, each facing a cardinal point beginning with the east

and then cover up the pit. Allow the wicks to burn for forty-eight minutes. If at the end of the period all the wicks are burning, the site is good for all castes, and if all are gone out, it is good for none. If some wicks are burning, the site may be assigned according to the colour: if the white wick is burning, it may be assigned to Brahmins; if red, to Kṣatriyas, and so on. There is still another experiment laid down and that is to fill the pit with water and put there some flowers of the *droṇa* (probably Leucas Linifolia) plant. If the flowers float about clockwise, it is good for all castes; if anti-clockwise, for none. If they halt against the sides half way, they are auspicious, but if they reach the corners, they are inauspicious.

The rationale of this experiment is not easy to explain. The most that these experiments may prove is the strength and kind of the underground gases that may be coming forth when the pit is first dug, if, indeed, such a thing is existing. But it passes one's comprehension how a site can be good for one caste, if it is bad for another. Evidently it is faith, pure and simple. We leave ourselves to be guided by chance.

The site having thus been determined with reference to the conditions set forth above, the next step is its proper orientation. The traditional method adopted even now is as follows: Level in the centre of the site an area four cubits square and right at its centre fix a peg, called gnomon, 12 *aṅgulas* (i.e. 9 inches) long. With the gnomon as the centre and with a radius double its height, describe a circle by means of a cord. Then at a fixed time on an auspicious morning when the sun is in the northern horizon, make a mark on the circumference when the shadow of the sun cuts it on the western side. Similarly, in the evening, at so many hours before sunset as it was after sunrise in the morning, make a mark on the circumference on the east when the shadow cuts it. At the same time the next morning also make a mark on the west. Divide the distance between the two marks into three parts and move the western first point further up by one part. Join this new point on the west with the point already marked on the east. This line gives the due east-west line. Let these points be *W* and *E*. With *E* and *W* as centres and with a radius more than half *EW* draw two circles intersecting each other, say at *N* north of the line and at *S* south of the line. Join *N* and *S*, intersecting *EW* at *O*. Produce *OS* and *ON* to

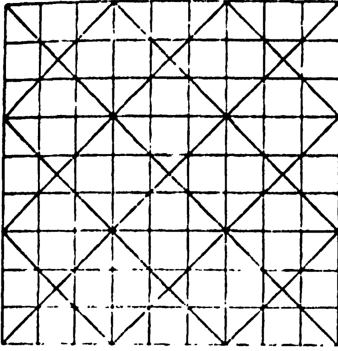




OŚ and *OŃ* so as to make *OŃ* and *OŚ* equal to *OE* and *OW*. With the four cardinal points thus obtained, *E*, *Ś*, *W*, *Ń*, construct a square. Enlarge this square so as to occupy the whole site. Now in the square thus constructed, there are two lines *ŃŚ* and *WE*, called the *Yāmyasūtra* and the *Brāhmyasūtra* respectively, which *divide* the square into four plots and the plots are called, beginning with the *ŃE* *manuṣya-khaṇḍa*, *agni-khaṇḍa*, *nirṛti-khaṇḍa* and *asura-khaṇḍa*. Of these four plots, the first and third are excellent sites for putting up dwelling-houses. If the site happens to be very big, then once again divide the first or third *khaṇḍa* into four, and of those choose the *nirṛti-khaṇḍa* of the *manuṣya-khaṇḍa*, or *vice versa*. This gives us the approximate site in the compound chosen. The acceptance of this convention and strict adherence to it have had a very beneficent influence in that it saved Kerala from the street houses so common elsewhere in India.

Having thus fixed up the particular spot for the building in the chosen site, the next item is the *vīthīvinyāsa* (fixing of circuits). Construct a square in it and then divide it again into three hundred and twenty-four pieces. This will give nine rings one around the other, and these beginning from the external one are called Paiśāca, Daiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Yama, Nāga, Jala, Agni, Gaṇeśa, and Brahma. Of these the house proper must not come within the Paiśāca, Nāga and Agni *vīthīs*. Unless the compound chosen happens to be exceedingly spacious, it will be practically impossible to accommodate the house in these particular circuits. Hence in actual practice a convention is accepted that it is bad only if the house stands entirely in the bad circuit. To gain the required size and to escape the bad effects, the house is made to begin in an auspicious circuit and pass along an inauspicious circuit to reach another auspicious one. Still another convention accepted is this: the consideration of circuits need not be made if the site is small, that is, less than seventy-two cubits in extent.

Two more considerations have to be noted before the foundations for the building are laid, and they are the avoidance of *marmas* and



sūtra-vedhas, which are accepted everywhere. The actual site where the building is to stand having been settled, it is to be divided into eighty-one plots or *padas*, which will then have ten lines running north and south and ten east and west which are called *sūtras* (threads). Then draw the two diagonals and on either side of these draw two more diagonal lines, one passing through six *padas* and the second through three *padas*. Thus there will be ten lines passing diagonally and these are called *rajjus* (ropes). When all the *sūtras* and *rajjus* are drawn, there will be one hundred *marmas*, i.e. points where *sūtras* and *rajjus* or *sūtras* themselves cross each other. Now with reference to these *marmas*, the general rule laid down is that walls and pillars and pilasters should not be on these. And lastly, the central *sūtras* and central diagonals should not run against the central *sūtras* of the main wings and the diagonals of the corner wings. In a square this cannot be avoided, and so another convention is accepted and that is to give these an extension in length by eleven, nine, seven and five *aṅgulas*. Thus the actual foundations are to be laid with reference to the *vīthīs*, *marmas* and *sūtras*.

It will be seen from the above that there are numerous conventions laid down in Kerala with reference to the selection of a site for building a dwelling-house. Such conventions exist also as regards the other items of work. A detailed study of these in comparison with what obtains in other parts will prove an interesting subject of study for students engaged in the science of architecture.

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10

THE SPIRIT OF TIBETAN ARCHITECTURE

THERE is hardly any other form of art that expresses the soul and nature of a country or of a whole civilization more perfectly than architecture. Because architecture is a compromise between man and nature, a synthesis of mind and matter, of material necessities and spiritual aspirations. In purely secular architecture, the former prevails, in religious and monumental architecture the latter. Both however, are equally influenced by climate and landscape, which do not only determine the material conditions, but are at the same time the most powerful influences in the growth and development of our psychic organism. The technical skill of man might be counted as another factor of importance for the constructive side of architecture. But technical skill is generally only the consequence of a particular tendency of the human mind or of the subconscious aesthetic attitude of feeling. Technical skill is only developed, if there is an urge towards a particular achievement.

The transcendental aspiration of the Middle Ages of European civilization led to a tendency to overcome gravitation, to defy the heaviness and substantiality of matter, to dissolve its compactness. Consequently means and ways were found to relieve the heaviness of walls and the tension of vaults by a system of secondary, supporting arches and to turn solid stone into lacework.

Up to the present day it is a riddle how medieval builders, with their comparatively primitive standard of mathematical knowledge, were able to solve the highly intricate problems of this complicated architecture. Apparently intuition and practical experience solved problems which baffle even the mind of a modern mathematician. At any rate the Gothic architect achieved the desired effect. By emphasizing the vertical, the heaviness of matter gave way to a feeling of upward movement, and by breaking up the surface of walls into elaborate dynamic patterns of lace-like carvings, the substantiality and solidity of matter was dissolved and dematerialized which to the Christian was a pre-condition, if not an equivalent, of spiritualization.

The Tibetan, on the contrary, emphasizes the substantiality and massiveness of walls and the horizontal. He is not less spiritual than his Christian brother of

the Middle Ages, but he is not transcendental in the sense that he negates this world for the sake of another (Higher) one. To him *Saṁsāra*, the world of life and death, and *Nirvāṇa*, the realm of the deathless, are only the two sides of the same reality: the one seen with the eyes of ignorance ; the other with the eyes of wisdom. The laws and forms of matter are none other than the laws and forms of the spirit.

Thus, the Tibetan has a strong sense of matter without being a materialist. Matter to him is not merely a medium of expression, but expression itself. It is something that has to be respected for its own inherent qualities. It is an exponent of reality as much as the mind– or as little –which really does not change the issue, because if everything is illusion, then illusion is the only reality. The Tibetan believes as little in bodiless spirits, as the modern scientist in gravitation without matter. Even the most wonderful idea is useless and remains unreal, as long as it is not materialized.

Though Tibetan mentality has often been compared to that of the Middle Ages of Europe, it is exactly the opposite with regard to its attitude towards matter. This is not only of theoretical value, but the key to the understanding of Tibetan life and culture, and therefore of Tibetan architecture. Because, as we have pointed out already, architecture, more than any other form of art, is a synthesis of art and culture.

We cannot live in a picture, nor in a sculpture, nor in a song. We can only admire them or create them, if we have the capacity. But we live in a house, a palace, a monastery, and to some extent, in a temple. So, every material form and proportion must adequately express the spirit of those who dwell in them and at the same time satisfy their material needs. And as these forms are not only meant to serve single individuals but whole generations, all merely accidental elements have been excluded and the collective experience of many generations have gone into their making.

This traditional aspect of architecture in Tibet is furthermore strengthened through the limitation of building materials. There is very little choice, as there are only three kinds of materials available to the Tibetan architect: stone, earth (or clay, made into sun-dried bricks) and wood. Wood, however, is so scarce that it can be used only sparingly.

In spite of these primitive materials Tibetan architecture is most effective and often of monumental dimensions, like the gigantic palace of the Dalai Lama, the palaces of the ancient kings of Western Tibet and the majority of monasteries. They dominate the landscape without doing violence to it, because they have grown out of it, crystallizing and embodying the very



Hemis monastery Ladakh, Painting by Lama A. Govinda

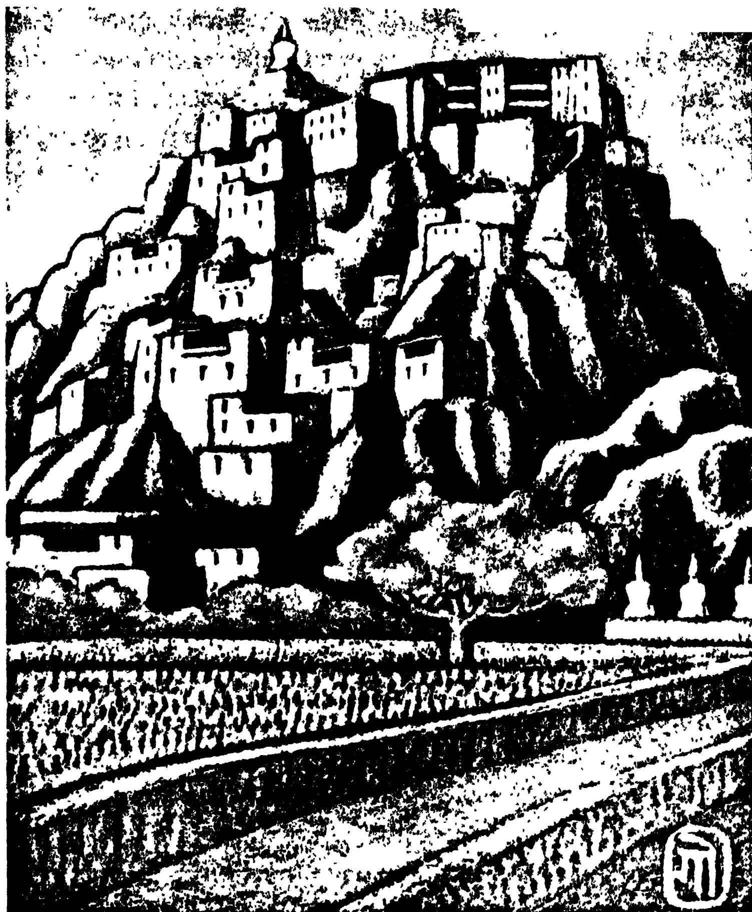
spirit of the landscape and giving it a living centre, a pulsating heart. There is a deep inner relationship between mountains and monasteries. What they both have in common is greatness, solitude and strength. The sloping lines of mighty mountains are repeated in the slanting walls of massive architecture.

Tibetans have conquered nature by making use of nature's own laws and forms—and this not only in the physical but in the spiritual sense as well. 'Proudly isolated on summits beaten by the wind, amidst wild landscapes, Tibetan Gompas look vaguely aggressive, as if bidding defiance to invisible foes, at the four corners of the horizon. Or, when squatting between high mountain ranges, they often assume a disquieting air of laboratories where occult forces are manipulated. That twofold appearance corresponds to a certain reality. The hard conquest of a world other than that perceived through the senses, transcendental knowledge, mystic realizations, mastery over occult forces, such were the aims for the pursuit of which were built the lamaist towering citadels and those enigmatic cities concealed in the maze of snowy hills.'[1]



Abbots' Residence and Palace of the Kings of Western Tibet, Painting by Lama A. Govinda.

Wherever beauty, solitude and grandeur produce an atmosphere of awe and religious inspiration, there will be found a sanctuary, a hermitage or a monastery. They are not merely places of retirement from the turmoil of the world, but the soul and life of Tibet. Without them the country would be a desert. The monasteries have always been sources of culture, strongholds of civilization, the fortresses of man against



Monastic Town, Painting by Lama A. Govinda

the hostile forces of nature. And yet they are the fulfilment of nature, as they express its spirit more than any other thing. This proves their greatness as architecture.

But even simple buildings, like the average farm-house, look imposing in their fortress-like compactness and solidity. Tibetans not only do not try to escape gravitation or to divert it through the construction of vaults and arches, on the contrary, they try to emphasize the weightness of matter, and to make it aesthetically effective. They achieve this not only by the slanting lines of walls and window-frames, but by accentuating the edges of their flat roofs with dark red-brown cornices, which form a heavy horizontal line (like the protruding edge of a lid), separating most effectively the white or light-ochre walls from the deep blue of the sky. When buildings rise up in terrace-like fashion, as it is

mostly the case with big monasteries, these red-brown cornices are like the punctuation in a rising rhythm, and they beautifully set off one building against the other. Only temples and monastic buildings possess this decorative red-brown cornice, and it is not only used at the edge of the main roofs, but also for the small roof-like cornices over every window and verandah and over the main entrances of those buildings. This red-brown, which is so characteristic for the Tibetan landscape is also repeated in the colours of the outer window-frames. This combination of structural and decorative elements, in other words, the elevating of architectural functions into visible, aesthetically satisfying forms of artistic expression, reminds one of similar tendencies of modern architecture.

Now-a-days we are striving again towards simplicity, clarity and functional truthfulness. We abhor meaningless decoration and prefer plain walls, monumental proportions and big cubic blocks. We have again learned to appreciate the horizontal and to respect the materials which we employ. All this we find realized in Tibetan architecture not as a result of aesthetic planning, but flowing from an inborn sense for colour and form and the intuitive capacity to enter into the mood of the surrounding landscape, while making the best use of the natural qualities of the materials at their disposal.

Thus towering citadels and monuments of an unshakable faith are built on lofty rocks, monastic cities rise in tiers on steep mountainsides, between peaks of eternal snow, hermitages cling like swallows' nests to inaccessible rock-walls or nestle in the folds of bare mountains, while others are carved out from the cliffs of hidden canyons. Tibetan architecture never offends the landscape, but forms its crowning beauty, intensifying its natural effect. It certainly can be said that the Tibetan has created a maximum of effect with a minimum of building materials and technical means. He has created something so powerful and noble, that it appeals to people of all races and all times. It is, truly speaking, timeless architecture, born from a timeless spirit and an unçonquerable faith.

*Year of publication: 1972**

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11

INDO-ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE (1192-1803 A.D.)

(A) ARCHITECTURE OF THE SULTANATE PERIOD (1192 - c. 1565)

(1) THE EARLY PHASE

(1) *QUWWAT'UL-ISLĀM MASJID (1192-1229)*

THE Second Battle of Tarāin (1192 A. D.) marks the end of the Rajput ascendancy and the beginning of the Muslim rule in India. The Turks, under Shihābu'd-Dīn Muhammad Ghorī alias Muhammad bin Sām (1192-1206), captured Delhi. There, they converted the most important temple, situated in Lāl-Koṭ at Mehraulī, into a mosque and used the material of 27 temples in its construction, as is faithfully attested to by the inscription on its eastern gateway.[1] This is the earliest mosque of the Delhi Sultanate. It was designated the *Quwwat'ul-Islām* (The Might of Islam) *Masjid*. It was completed by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak (1206-10), his slave, commander of his army and governor of his recently conquered Indian territories. Temple pillars, bracket-stones, lintels and flat-ceilings (both corbelled and 'lantern'), all of stone, bearing typical Hindu designs and figures of divinities, were reassembled around a court to make-up a spacious Jāmi (Friday or principal Congregational) mosque. There was no arch or dome or any other characteristic mosque feature. Aibak added in 1199 A. D. an arcade (*maqsūrah*) on the facade of the western colonnade, made up of a central arch, flanked on either side by two subsidiary arches. Thus a formal sanctuary (*Iīwān*) (Plate 1) was made. The Iron Pillar (uprooted *Viṣṇu-Stambha* or *Garuḍa-Stambha* from some Viṣṇu temple) was planted just in front of the central arch (Plate 2), meaningfully.[2]

It is noteworthy that except for the provision that the congregation (*Jam'āt*) must face the *Qiblah* (the direction of the *Ka'bah*), there was no pre-conceived plan or design of the mosque and all this was a patch-work, determined by the ready-made site and material. In fact, the Turks had only soldiers and clerics in their train and, for any building activity, they were entirely dependent on the local artisans. These builders (*śilpins*; *salāts* or *silāwaṭs*) were conversant with

stone work in the trabeate order and they did not know to build a true or radiating arch with voussoirs, or vault, or dome. Hence, the arches of this arcade are corbelled and bear a distinct ogee (*gavākṣa*). They also used their own wave (*laharavallarī*) designs on its piers along with calligraphic compositions of Qur'āṇic verses which were, in all probability, drawn on paper or cloth, in actual size.

Aibak's arcade was extended on either side by his successor Iltutmish (1211-36) in 1229 A. D. Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316) further extended it on the northern side about 1311 A. D. and also provided it with gateways, of which the *Alāī Darwāzah* has survived. These additions were intended to represent the western (*Qiblah*) wall of a gigantic mosque which, seen from afar, would make a strong impression upon the minds of the subjects of the newly established Sultanate, and architectural effect, rather than a religious ritual, was the *raison d'etre* of these ventures. This demonstrates the difficult circumstances under which the early Muslim Sultans of Delhi could give expression to their architectural aspirations.

(2) THE *ADHĀĪ-DIN-KĀ-JHOMPRĀ MASJID*, AJMER

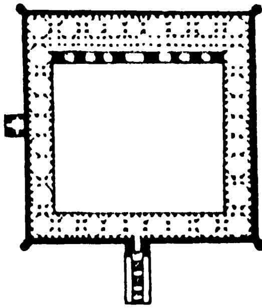


Fig. 1
Plan of the *Adhāī-Din-kā-Jhomprā Masjid*, Ajmer (*c.* 1194-1229)

The *Aḍhāī-Din-kā-Jhoṁprā Masjid* at Ajmer (Fig. 1), built almost contemporarily (*c.* 1194-1229 A. D.) also stands on the site of a Hindu shrine and, except for the arcade of the sanctuary (Plate 3) which was added by Iltutmish, it was also built with the Hindu temple material, viz. pillars, lintels and flat-ceilings (Plate 4), all of stone, like the Delhi mosque. This arcade also has corbelled arches and the side ones have ogee too. Here, tripple columns, one over the other, have been used in the sanctuary, instead of double columns of the *Quwwat'ul-Islām Masjid*, Delhi, to give it additional height.[3]

Both the Delhi and Ajmer mosques are converted temples and represent the early phase of Sultanate buildings when the Turks freely used temple sites and material for raising shrines of their own faith. These were Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosques, having a central court (*sahn*) open to sky, with a tank (*hauḍ*) for ablution (*vuzū*) and cloisters (*dālāns*) on its three—northern, eastern

and southern—sides, the main gateway being provided in the middle of the eastern side, with or without subsidiary gateways on the two other sides, and a prayer-hall (sanctuary, *līwān*) on the western side containing the *mihrāb* which denoted the *Qiblah*. An arcade of 3, 5, 7 or 11 arches was provided on the facade of the sanctuary, and this was the only original Muslim structural features in these early mosques. This single-quadruple plan continued to remain the most standard form of mosque in India, down to the modern times.

(3) THE *QUṬB MINĀR*

The *Quṭb Minār* (Plate 5) is the first original building the Turks raised in India, with a plan (Fig. 2) and design of its own, and also with the material which was requisitioned and chiselled for the *minār* itself. It stands in the courtyard of the *Quwwat 'ul-Islām Masjid*. It was founded by Aibak (*c.* 1200 A. D) and finished by Iltutmish (*c.* 1215 A. D). It is a five-storeyed, stupendous, tapering tower built of red sandstone, local grey quartzose and white marble with a diameter of 14.73 metres at the base. It rises to a height of 72.54 metres and contains an internal staircase having 379 steps. Four beautiful balconies, supported on stone-corbels designed as stalactite (*muqarnas*) separate the storeys, the lowest having 24 projecting ribs, alternately angular and circular, the second only circular ribs, the third only angular and the fourth plain round. The encircling horizontal bands inscribed with Qur'ānic verses in beautiful flawless *Naskh* style in stone-carving provide an exquisite relief to the plain fluted masonry. Balconies and their stalactite, however, constitute its most effective ornament, essentially architectural though it is.

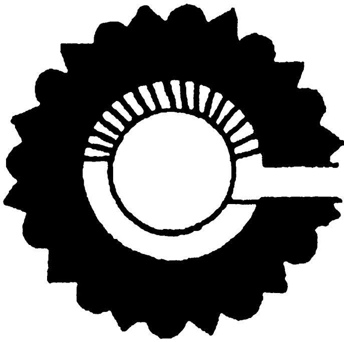


Fig. 2
Plan of the *Quṭb Minar*, Delhi
(*c.* 1200-1215)

It is noteworthy that the *Quṭb Minār* is not a *māzīnah*, for giving the call to prayer (*āzān*); instead, it was raised as a grand memorial to the establishment of Muslim rule in India and to represent and proclaim the might of Islam. It is not functional and its *raison d'etre* was symbolic and ceremonial. Such ceremonial *mīnārs* were built in Muslim countries west of India on a large scale and a few representative examples were in existence in Afghanistan when the Turks moved into India. The *Quṭb Minār*, both in respect of its plan and design, was inspired by the *Minār* of *Khwājah Siāh Posh* (*c.* 1150 A. D.).[4] Built with the help of

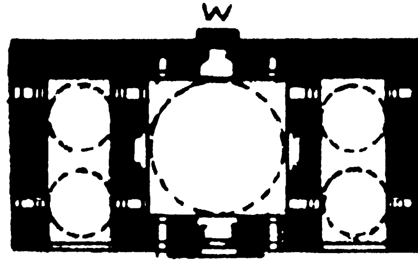


Fig 9
Plan of the *Jam 'āt-Khānah Masjid*, Delhi (1311)

beautiful texture. Besides such features as nook-shafts, receding planes and fringe of spear-heads which give this monument an impression of chiselled beauty, the architect has also taken recourse to calligraphic ornament along the whole exterior, on arches and oblong panels in fine stone-carving.

(6) THE *JAM 'AT-KHANAH MASJID* (1311)

The *Jam 'āt-Khānah Masjid*, situated in the courtyard of the *dargāh* of the Sufi saint Nizamuddin Auliya, was also built contemporarily, *c.* 1311 A. D. It does not have a court, cloisters or gateway of its own and, technically, it is a part of the Saint's *dargāh*. Rectangular in plan, it measures 29.18 x 17.22 square metres. It is composed of three compartments (Fig. 9): a central square nave (*bahū*) which measures 11.73 metres a side internally, and side chambers each 16.15 x 5.79 square metres in size. The facade, correspondingly, consists of three broad arches which, like the *Alai Darwazah*, bear fringe of spear-heads. Three shallow domes roof the sanctuary, one on each hall. Squinches have been used to support this spherical superstructure on a square plan in each case. This mosque, thus, has such typical Muslim structural features as arch, squinch and dome and this, like the *Alāī Darwāzah*, is an original building of Islam in India. It seems certain that architects and builders from the Muslim countries had been migrating to India and participating in the planning, designing and making of the Sultanate buildings though, both structures being entirely built of stone except the domes, there is hardly any doubt that indigenous artisans of stone were also working with them on these projects. This mosque is a perfect specimen of a class, viz. the Three-Arched (*Trimukhī*) Mosque which has been built continuously in northern India throughout the medieval period whenever a small-scale and modest building consisting of the sanctuary alone was contemplated.

(7) THE SQUARE (*CATURĀŚRA*) TOMBS

The square (*caturāśra*) plan of the *Alāī Darwāzah* was essentially inspired by the *Cahār-Tāq* of the Zoroastrian Fire Temples of the Sassanian period (226-641 A. D.) of Iran, which was a square structure having four arches on the four sides, supported on four pillars or piers, covered by a dome (Fig. 10). The whole of it, as a single element was also adopted in the form of nave (*bahū*) in the *Jam'āt-Khānah Masjid*. The *Cahār-Tāq* plan of the *Alāī Darwāzah* and incorporation of the *Īwān*-form on its external sides were revolutionary innovations on the Indian soil which make it an extremely important building of the Sultanate period. It set a trend and a particular tomb-form, viz. Square (*Caturāśra*) Tomb evolved with these basic elements (Fig. 11). It has a simple square plan, with an archway, viz. the *Īwān*, in the centre of each, northern, eastern and southern side (the western one being generally closed to accommodate the *mihrab* denoting the *Qiblah*, which had been introduced in

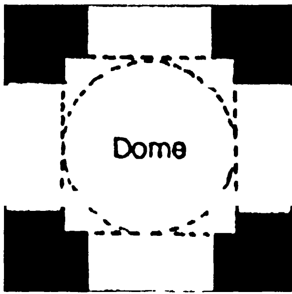


Fig. 10
Plan of the *Cahār-Tāq*

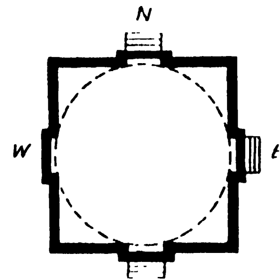


Fig. 11
Plan of the typical Square (*Caturaśra*) Tomb

the tomb-form to impart it the sanctity of a *masjid*). Wings have ornamental two or three storeys, each having two or three oblong or arched panels. The superstructure is composed of a single dome, supported on squinch-arches and flanked by pinnacles on the facades or *chatrīs* at the corners. A new feature was introduced in the tomb of Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq (*c.* 1325) soon after the *Alāī-Darwāzah*. It was the provision of lintel-and-brackets entrance along with the *Īwān*-form, on each open side. This was a typical indigenous feature which was most harmoniously accommodated and adjusted with the arch-form on each facade in the best spirit of evolving a composite style. The most prominent tombs of this class are the *Kāle-Khān-kā-Gumbad* (1481), *Choṭe-Khān-kā-*



Fig. 12
Chote-Khān-kā-Gumbad, Delhi (*c.* 1490)

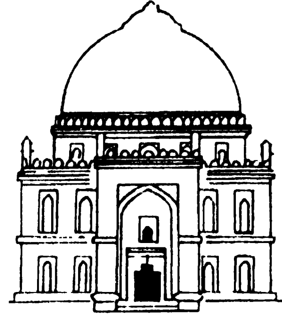


Fig. 13
One Side Elevation, *Barā-Gumbad*, Delhi (*c.* 1490)

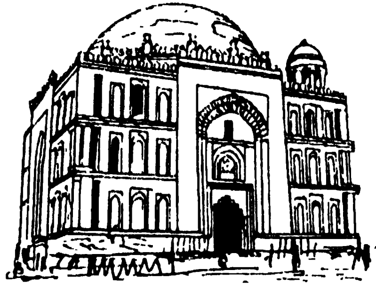


Fig. 14
Bare-Khān-kā-Gumbad, Delhi (*c.* 1510)

Gumbad (*c.* 1490) (Fig. 12), *Shīsh-Gumbad* (*c.*1490), *Barā-Gumbad* (*c.*1490) (Plate 8) (Fig. 13), *Bāgh-i-Ālam-kā-Gumbad* (1501) and *Bare-Khān-kā-Gumbad* (*c.*1510 A. D.) (Fig.14) at Delhi.[6] Tombs of the Square (*Caturāśra*) class were also built in the Punjab, Haryaṇa (e.g. the tomb of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, grandfather of Sher Shāh Sūr at Nārnaul, built *c.* 1540-55), Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan (e.g. at Tijārā and Nāgaur) and Madhya Pradesh (e.g. at Māṇḍū, Canderī and Gwalior) with local stone and regional stylistic variations during the period from the decline of the Delhi Sultanate, *c.*1400 A. D. to the ascendancy of the Mughals, *c.* 1560 A. D.

(8) THE OCTAGONAL (*AṢṬĀŚRA*) TOMBS

The other tomb-form which, beginning with the tomb of Khān-i-Jahān Telingani (1368-69 A. D.) (Fig. 15), came into vogue during the Sultanate period

was the Octagonal (*Aṣṭāśra*) Tomb. Tombs of Mubārak Sayyid (*c.*1434), Muhammad Sayyid (*c.* 1444 A. D.) (Plate 9), Sikandar Lodī (*c.*1517) and Īsā Khān (1547) at Delhi and those of Hasan Khān Sūr (1540-45) and Sher Shāh Sūr (1545 A. D.) at Sāsārām, are the most outstanding examples of this class. This type of tombs is octagonal in plan, with three arches on each octagonal side, protected above by a *chajjā* supported on brackets or bracket-stones, and a rotating *dālān* having spherical soffit in the middle of each side with ornamental stalactites and transverse arches on the sides. The interior consists of an octagonal hall invariably with bracket-and-lintel entrances. The superstructure is composed of a high massive dome resting on an octagonal drum with pinnacles or *chatrīs* at the angles. The most interesting feature of the Octagonal Tomb was the introduction of stone buttresses at the angles of the octagon. These give a pyramidal effect as a whole. The *chajjā* over the *dālān* provides it with a pleasant shadow, so necessary for aesthetic effect in tropical climate. The drum of the dome has been raised much higher than its counterpart in the Square (*Caturāśra*) tomb; here it has been converted almost into an independent storey. This has helped to give the Octagonal (*Aṣṭāśra*) tomb a magnificent elevation which is so different from that of the Square (*Caturāśra*). While the former (Square) appears to dominate on the elevation (*Ūrdhvacchanda*) and the latter (Octagonal) on the ground-plan (*Talacchanda*), in the former the superstructure does not occupy more than 1/3 of the total height, while in the latter it is generally 1/2 of the total elevation and at Sāsārām, the superstructure makes up its 2/3.

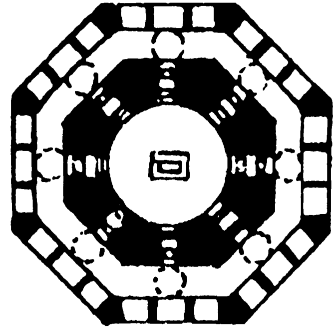


Fig. 15
Plan of the Tomb of Telingani, Delhi (1368-69)

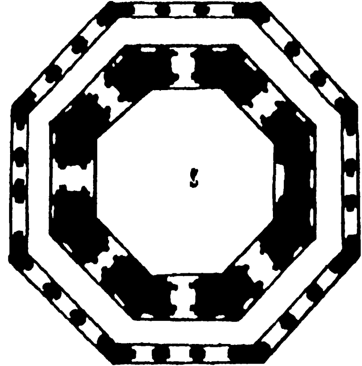


Fig. 16
Plan of the Tomb of Sher Shah Sūr, Sāsārām (*c.* 1545)

By far, the tomb of Sher Shāh Sūr at Sāsārām (*c.* 1545 A. D.) (Plate 10) marks the perfect stage of the evolution of the *Aṣṭāśra* tomb. With all the basic

elements of its type (Fig. 16), this tomb has the additional advantage of its situation in the middle of a vast lake, on a grand plinth (*cowkī*) which has octagonal *chatrī*-pavilions at the corners and projecting *jharokhās* on the sides; harmonious stationing of the octagonal *chatrīs* below and above the drum; and beautiful crowning of the great bulk of the dome with such traditional features as *mahāpadma* (lotus-petals), *āmalaka* (myrobalan) and *kalaśa*-finial. As a whole, its is an extremely gorgeous composition, the effect being architectural in essence. This is undoubtedly the best monument of the Sultanate period.[7]

(9) THE PYLON (*BṚHATMUKHĪ*) MOSQUES

The *Quwwat 'ul-Islām Masjid* served as the *Jāmi Masjid* for the people of Delhi for about a century. The next important public mosque was built by Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51 A. D.) in his new city Jahānpanāh.[8] It is famous as *Begumpurī Masjid*. In accordance with the usual mosque-plan, it is a Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) *masjid*, having sanctuary on the western side, containing the *mihrab* denoting the *Qiblah*, and colonnaded *dālāns* on the three sides of the court (*sahn*), and a gateway in the centre of each of them (Fig. 17). It is composed of series of square bays, each one made up of pointed arches supported on stone pillars on the *cahār-tāq* system with a vaulted ceiling

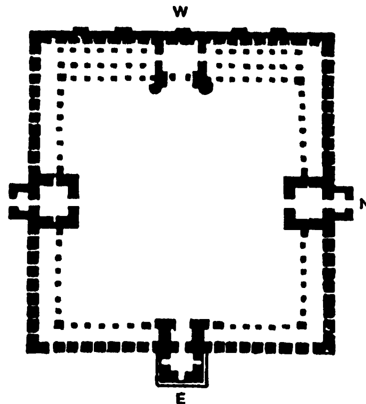


Fig. 17
Plan of the *Begumpurī Masjid*,
Delhi (*c.* 1343)

in the interior and a cupola roof on the exterior. Except pillars, it is a rubble-and-plaster construction. The most magnificent element of this mosque is the *Pylon* or *Īwān*-composition in the centre of the facade of the sanctuary (Plate 11). It rises well over the roof of the wings and even conceals the main dome on the nave. With tapering turrets attached to its quoins, it is the most imposing and also the most distinctive feature of this mosque and it is on account of this that it has been named *Pylon* (*Bṛhatmukhī*) *masjid*. Its too was an original conception which served as a prototype to the Sharqī Mosques of Jaunpur (*c.*1400-1485 A. D.), the *Aṭālā Masjid*, the *Lāl-Darwāzah Masjid* and the *Jāmi Masjid* being the most important of them. Though the Jaunpur mosques have extremely refined features, owing to the use of stone and stone-carving, instead of rubble-and-plaster work, these are made of the basic elements of the *Begumpurī*, and *Pylon* is their most distinctive characteristic.[9]

(10) THE FOUR-QUARTERED (*CATURĀṄGANA*) MOSQUES

In contrast to the Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosques, a new type of Four-Quartered (*Caturāṅgana*) Mosque was introduced in the 14th century. Instead of a central courtyard, with sanctuary on the west and *dālāns* on the three other sides, the *Kalān Masjid* of Nizamuddin, Delhi (1370-71) (Fig. 18) and the *Khiḍkī Masjid* (Plate 12) at Khiḍkī, Delhi (1375 A. D.) (Fig. 19) each has four inner courts, one in the centre of each of the four quarters of the mosque. Each interior hall consists of wide cloisters composed of square *cahār-tāq* bays, roofed by cup-shaped, semi-spherical cupolas.

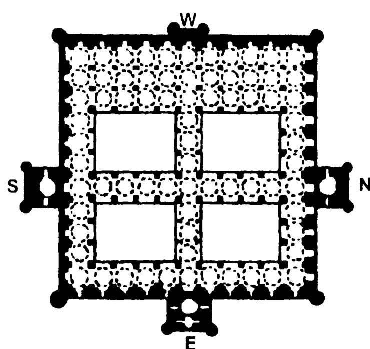


Fig. 18
Plan of the *Kalān Masjid of* Nizamuddin, Delhi (1370-71)

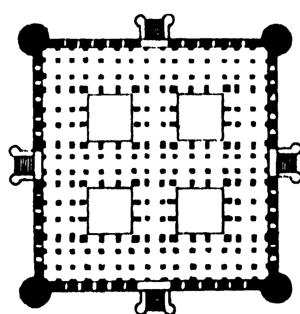


Fig. 19
Plan of the *Khiḍkī Masjid*, Delhi (1375)

Square monolithic pillars have been used to form the piers, above which spring the arches which support the vaults on which rest the cupolas. There is no facade of the sanctuary and there is virtually no superstructure, as the whole terrace has a cluster of these cupolas (Plate 13), the mass-assembly of which under the open sky looks monotonous. It appears more to be a caravan camping in the desert (Fig. 20), rather than the terrace of a *Jāmi Masjid.* The absence of a monumental dome has marred its design. Conical bastions at the corners and tapering turrets at the quoins of the entrance porches help to save the effect to some extent. These sloped elements were characteristic features of the Tughluq architecture[10] which continued, more or less, for nearly three centuries at Delhi and at regional centres like Jaunpur and Māṇḍū, as far into the south as Gulbargā and Bīdar.

Covered or partially covered mosques, i.e. without a central court, were built in several countries outside India. The *Jāmi Masjid* of Gulbargā in the Deccan (1367 A. D.) also does not have an inner court open to sky and the whole building is covered by 75 cupolas, four domes at the corners and the great dome on the nave. It must be noted that except for a few early mosques, e.g. the *Adīnā Masjid* of Pāṇḍuā (*c.* 1364 A. D.) and the *Bara Sonā Masjid* of Gauḍ, which belong to the Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) class, the mosques of Bengal, by and large, are closed and covered by *Bāṅglādār* (curved) roofs, *caukhaṇḍis* and domes, and they do not have an inner court, cloisters or gateways. *Chota Sonā Masjid* of Gauḍ (1493-1519 A. D.) (Fig. 21) provides the most prominent example. Brick is the chief building material used in most of these mosques. The closed mosques were not built otherwise in northern India

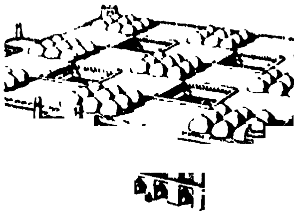


Fig. 20
Perspective View of the *Khiḍkī Masjid*, Delhi (1375)

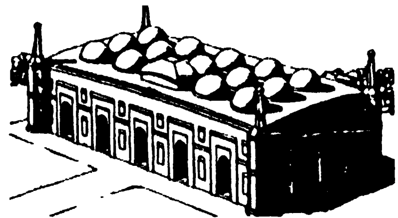


Fig. 21
Choṭa Sonā Masjid, Gauḍ (Bengal)
(1493-1519)

after the *Khiḍkī Masjid*, though the practice continued in the Deccan where the *Ibrāhīm Rauḍā Masjid* at Bījāpur (*c.*1615 A. D.) provides an illustrative example. Square in plan and built in typical Ādilshāhī style, it is entirely closed and covered by a bulbous dome which is flanked by corner turrets to make up an impressive superstructure. *Chajjās* have also been used on the facades effectively. Otherwise the Single-Quadruple mosque plan continued to remain in vogue. The *Jāmi Masjid* of Māṇḍū (*c.*1440 A. D.) also has a central court open to sky, with cloisters (*dālāns*) on its three sides. Three large domes roof the sanctuary, while 158 cylindrical cupolas, one on each bay of the interior, make up its superstructure. The *Jāmi Masjid* of Bijapur (*c.*1570 A. D.) also has an open court with cloisters on the three sides and sanctuary on the west. A single dome on the nave is the only superstructure of this mosque which is otherwise built in the beautiful *Ādilshāhī style*. This shows that different designs of mosques were worked out on these two plans, in accordance with the availability of the building material and the artisans, tastes and likes of the builder-patron, and above all, the imperceptible influence of the local style of architecture in different regions of this vast country.

(11) THE FIVE-ARCHED (*PAYCAMUKHĪ*) MOSQUES

Another type of mosque which was built popularly in the age of the Lodīs, Sūrs and early Mughals (*c.*1451 to 1565 A. D.) is the Five-Arched (*Pañcamukhī*) *Masjid*, of which the *Barā-Gumbad Masjid* (1494), the *Moth-kī-Masjid* (1505), the *Jamālī Masjid* (1528) and the *Qal'ā-i-Kuhna Masjid* at Delhi are the most important examples. It does not have a formal court, side-*dālāns* or a ceremonial gateway or *mīnār* and it is a sanctuary (*Īwān*) only. It is rectangular in plan, composed of five bays, the central one being the nave (*bahū*) containing the *mihrāb* and the *minbar*, and roofed invariably by a dome. Some mosques have additional domes on the side-bays also. The architect was almost entirely concerned with the make-up of the facade.

The *Qal'ā-i-Kuhna Masjid* (Plate 14) in the Old Fort, Delhi (Fig. 22) is the largest and also the most beautiful mosque of this class. It was commissioned by

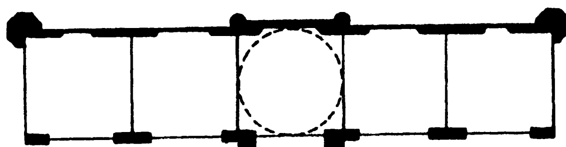


Fig. 22
Plan of the *Qal'ā-i-Kuhna Masjid*, Old Fort, Delhi (1533-65)

Humāyūn (*c.*1533) and was finished by Akbar (*c.*1565 A. D.). It is entirely built of red sandstone with which local grey quartzose has also been used. Stone carving is the chief mode of ornamentation. Recourse to inlay of multi-coloured stones has been taken here as an innovation. *Īwān*-forms have been harmoniously incorporated with its arches which also have fringe of lotus-buds (Plate 15). Graceful nook-shafts have been attached to the angles of the arches and *mihrābs*. Wings are protected by *chajjās* supported on beautiful struts. While gorgeously carved and designed corbelled pendentives have been used (Plate 16) in the nave to support the single dome, ingenious modes of arched and vaulted ceilings have been employed in the side bays. *Jharokhās* have been used on the sides of the mosque and multi-storeyed octagonal towers on the corners of the *Qiblah* wall. Though a wide variety of designs have been used for surface decoration, the architect has primarily relied on a rhythmic play of depths in the third-dimension by provision of a variety of zones and planes, and creation of pleasant shadows. This is the most important feature of its architecture. Though it belongs to the class of Five-Arched mosques, it stands head-and-shoulders above its predecessors owing to the ingenious ways its design and details have been worked out. It is the most beautiful mosque of the Sultanate period and also ranks with the best of the Mughals. It is without doubt an architectural gem which crystallized the genesis of the subsequent art of the Mughals. This way it marks the end of the pre-Mughal phase on the one hand, heralds the beginning of a new architectural era, on the other; it is, in fact, a connecting link between the old style of Imperial Delhi and the oncoming style of the Great Mughals, covering the whole of the Jamuna-Chambal region. Much of its grace and charm can be attributed to the indigenous artisans of stone who were employed on this project and were given enough freedom for the display of their art.[11]

(12) THE REGIONAL STYLES •

By and large, it was the Delhi Sultanate style which initially shaped the styles of the region which were politically affiliated to it; it constituted the backbone and also supplied the blood. The local variations would, no doubt, be there, as determinants to an architectural style differ from region to region at least in such a vast and diverse country as India. In Kashmir, for example, the construction is mainly in wood, while in Bengal it is in brick, which is the easily available building material in either case. Local red, grey, yellow or white sandstone or limestone has been used, likewise, in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and the texture accordingly differs from Tijārā to Nāgaur and from Māṇḍū to Canderī,

for example. Climate and local building tradition have also contributed enormously to the evolution of the respective regional style.

Arch, the principal feature of medieval style has been used in different forms with different accessories in different regions. It has a very prominent ogee (*gavākṣa*) at Canderī, while at Māṇḍū the ogee is almost imperceptible. Cusped or engrailed arch is popular at Gauḍ and Pāṇḍuā (Bengal); fringe (*jhālar*) of spear-heads or lotus-buds along its intrados is a favourite theme at Jaunpur and Māṇḍū. The typical pointed arch has also been used side by side in the true 3-centred arch conformation. Corbelled arch, built on trabeate system with horizontal courses, has been used as popularly as the true radiating arch with voussoirs and keystone. The technique of giving recessed planes and containing the arch into an ornamental *Īwān* has also been followed throughout. In any case, the arch is not a mode of spanning an opening and supporting a superincumbent load only; it is the decisive element of the facade and much of the total, viz. architectonic, effect is produced by the organization of arches on facade. It was in these several ways, in fact, that the arch-form was Indianized.

The superstructure was generally weak during the pre-Mughal period. Various domes evolved from simple cupola (cup-shaped, 1/3 spherical) to the broad high massive form (hemispherical to 2/3 or 3/4 spherical), but they rarely roofed the structure effectively. Lack of proportions and excessive massiveness were their main defects. These domes were invariably crowned by such features of the Hindu temple *śikhara* as *mahāpadma* (lotus-petals), *āmalaka* (myrobalan) and *kalaśa* (water-vase) finial. Vaulted roofs were used in Bengal from which grew the *bāṅglādār* (curved-roof and bent-cornice) style. The architect had to rely gradually on such indigenous features as *chatrī*, *chaparkhaṭ* and *caukhaṇḍī*, for the effect of the superstructure.

Stone pillars (*stambha*), brackets (*madala*) and bracket-capitals (*kīcaka*) were also used on a very large scale, e.g. at Canderī and Māṇḍū, and on the largest scale in Gujarat. Strut which hardly supported any load and was mainly an ornamental accessory, also became prominent, e.g. at Canderī and Gujarat. The indigenous things were gradually absorbed in various regional styles. With stone elements, came to a preponderant position the accompanying mode of ornamentation, viz. stone-carving in incised, low, medium and high reliefs, in a wide variety of motifs and designs, both exotic and indigenous.

Stone-art developed to the most magnificent scales in Gujarat. Pillars, brackets and bracket-capitals, struts making up beautiful *toraṇas*, *gavākṣa* (windows), flat and corbelled ceilings (*vitāna*), clerestories, *chajjās*,

jharokhās, and curvilinear buttresses attached to the central arch on the facade, all in the predecessor Hindu style of the region, are the distinctive characteristics of this style. In fact, of all the medieval styles of India, Gujarat's is the most indigenously Indian. These buttresses bear carved panels depicting graceful arabesques. These were surmounted by minarets. Some of them shook and became famous as *Jhūltī-Mīnārs* (Swinging Minarets). This is an architectural ingenuity, another example of which is not found anywhere else.

A word must also be said on the public works of this period. No doubt, the Delhi Sultan and his regional *satraps* professed to rule by the Canon Law. But the rigours of the theocratic policy of the State were more applicable in Polity than in Architecture and, as far as the ruler's relationship with the people was concerned, he was alive to the question of their general welfare. Iltutmish built a large reservoir at Mehraulī (Delhi) with massive embankments, *ghāṭs* (quays) and *chatrīs*, to contain the devastating rain-water of the area, and store it for use the year round. It is called *Hauḍ-i-Shamsī* and is still in use. Several *bāolīs* (step-wells) of the Ilbarī period have also survived at Mehraulī. The seat of the government shifted at least seven times during the Sultanate period, and roads, *sarāis* (inns) and public wells were invariably constructed as soon as a new city was founded. Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's *Hauḍ-i-Khāṣṣ* was originally a large dam (*bund*) with a vast catchment area to its north. He is also credited to have built a large number of *sarāis*, hospitals and other public works. This also happened in regional capitals. Māṇḍū has a large number of tanks for storage of the rain-water. Some beautiful *wāvs* (*bāolīs*; step-wells) were built, in the predecessor Hindu style and tradition, in Gujarat during this period.

Fīrūz Tughluq's is, however, the greatest name in this respect. In his autobiography entitled the *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, he claims to have founded 30 *hissār* and *shahr* (forts and towns); 50 *nahar* (canals and water-courses); 60 *pul* (bridges); 40 *masjid* (mosques); 30 *madrasha* (colleges); 20 *khānqah* (Ṣūfī shrines); 100 *kushk* and *qasr* (palaces); 200 *sarāi* (inns); 100 *bund* (dams and reservoirs); 5 *shafākhānah* (hospitals); 100 *maqbarāh* (tombs); 10 *hammām* (baths); and 1200 *bāgh* (gardens). Many of his public works have come down to us and are still in use. Howsoever bigoted he was, he did all this for the benefit of the people at large, without distinction of caste or creed. Sher Shāh Sūr connected Agra, the seat of his government, with Lahore, Jodhpur and Burhanpur by roads which were maintained and provided for by the State. It was, of course, under the Mughals, particularly under Jehāngīr (1605-27 A. D.) that the Public Works Department made the most enduring contributions.

(B) ARCHITECTURE OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD (1526-1803 A.D.)

(13) BĀBUR'S CONTRIBUTION TO MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

Building forms and types had been evolved by the time the Mughals took over the country. They did not begin on a clean slate and the Sultanate legacy was already there to guide them. They gave the medieval architecture of India a new orientation, outlook and spirit and, in fact, they gave it a new temperament (*mizaj*). They were an extremely refined people and were generally free from bigotry. They had an inherent taste for beauty, without any taboos or inhibitions. Their liberal and enlightened patronage brought the best things of the Orient together in single homogeneous composition.

Except for a few examples in which natural environment was used to accelerate the architectural effect, e.g. at Sāsārām and Māṇḍū, the pre-Mughal monument stood isolated, without a setting and background and, like the Hindu temple, it stood as an army camp in the enemy territory. Bābur (1526-30 A. D.), the founder of the Mughal rule in India, introduced gardening and water-devices to the architecture of this country and combined it with landscaping. He laid down a large number of gardens at Agra, Dholpur and other places, on two techniques, viz.

I. the *Terraced* system of carrying down the running water through canals, water-chutes (cascades, *cādar*) and lily-ponds, from one terrace to the other; and

II. the *Cār-Bāgh* (or *Cahār-Bāgh* = Four-quartered) plan of the garden (Fig. 23) on each level (terrace).

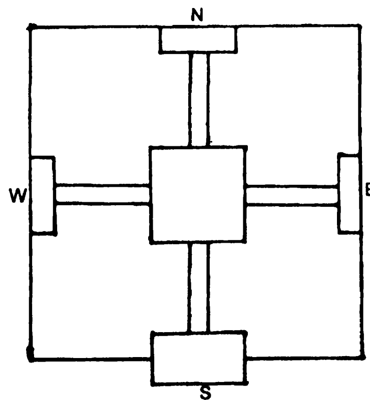


Fig. 23
Cār-Bāgh Plan

It was amidst this setting that he planned his buildings, e.g. in the ***Bāgh Gul-i-Afshān*** and *Bāgh Zar-i-Afshān* at Agra.[12] The garden-craft, as he founded it in India, was based on the fundamental principles of planning the building (pleasure pavilion, palace or tomb) in relation to, and coordination with, stone-paved paths, canals, tanks and other water-devices and in equally harmonious relation to tree-avenues and flower-parterres, and it was this way that architecture was inseparably associated with gardening and water-devices. His was an epoch-making contribution which revolutionized the art of building and gave it an unprecedented effect and grace. The Mughal building, e.g. the Mughal Tomb, stood no longer in stern isolation, but was presented through the garden, the stone-paved pathways and water-channels, stone tanks and cascades—all arranged as integral part of the plan and design of the building. Formal garden is his greatest contribution to Indian Art.

(14) THE TOMB OF HUMĀYŪN AT DELHI

The Tomb of Humāyūn (Plate 17) which was built by Akbar (*c.*1560-70 A.D.) is the first monumental mausoleum of the Mughals. It was planned on the bank of the river Jamuna, in the centre of *Cār-Bāgh*, with stone-paved paths, shallow water-channels, ponds, cascades and waterfalls, tree-avenues and flower-beds, precisely, in a beautiful setting composed of garden and water-devices. The square tomb, measuring 47.54 metres a side, stands in the centre of a high platform (*kursī*). Each facade is composed of a central *Īwān* containing a portal, flanked on either side by a slightly projecting wing which has a small portal centre, flanked first by blind ornamental double arches and then by double-alcoves at the inclined angles—all in a double-storeyed arrangement (Fig. 24). Except the entrance on the south

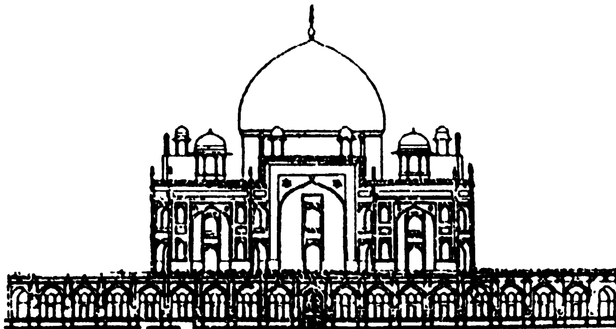


Fig. 24
West Elevation, Humāyūn Tomb, Delhi (*c.* 1560-70)

side, lower arches are closed by *jālīs*. Construction is in red sandstone with which white marble and black slate have been used lavishly for colour effect. The whole is superimposed by a high, cylindrical, bulbous, double-dome of white marble. It is set effectively amidst four red stone *chatrīs* at the corners. Though it lacks elevation, which defect has been rectified in later examples, it eloquently proclaims the beginning of the gorgeous sepulchral architecture of the Mughals.[13]

(15) AKBAR AND HIS BUILDINGS AT AGRA AND FATEHPUR SIKRI[14]

Akbar (1556-1605 A. D.) was a rare genius the like of whom appears only once in a millennium. He founded a great empire extending from Kabul to Assam, and from Kashmir to Ahmednagar on sound principles of polity and cultural institutions for which he drew on the indigenous sources. He realized the utter futility of the theocratic concept of the state in India, and by his various measures, mostly introduced at Fatehpur Sikri between 1572 and 1585 A. D., e.g. his Rajput policy and *Mansabdārī* system; *Mahdar* and *Allopaniṣad* (The *Upaniṣad of Allāh*); *Ibādat-Khānah* and *Dīn-i-Ilāhi*; and coinage and *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* (The Divine Era), he emancipated it from any religious control or interference. Even more than creating a civil and secular polity based on the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace to All), he created a Culture State which was deeply rooted in the soil. He extended whole-hearted patronage to Indian arts such as Music, Painting and Architecture, and his artists, in each discipline, laid the foundations of a Mughal school which had its source in the indigenous order of things and which had also drawn on the contribution the medieval period had made. Much of this has come down to us.

His buildings in the Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri represent his style and also, unmistakably, reflect his personality. It is noteworthy that he built no mosque in the Agra Fort where he lived, and no *Jāmī Masjid* at Agra which was his capital. The *Jāmī Masjid* of Fatehpur Sikri was built by Sheikh Salīm Cishtī (1564-72 A. D.), though Akbar might have funded the project. The emphasis, obviously shifted from sectarian to civil architecture. He built in the local red sandstone almost exclusively and it is mostly the beam-and-post, i.e. trabeate construction, the characteristic features of which are curvilinear square pillars; beautifully designed, multi-tiered brackets and serpentine struts supporting broad projecting *chajjās*, *jharokhās*, *chatrīs*, *chaparkhaṭs* and *caukhaṇḍīs*, with which arch and dome have been intermixed, with complete coherence and uniformity. Stone-carving is the principal mode of ornamentation, but it goes to his credit that almost all techniques of architectural embellishment

then known in the Orient, have been used side by side. Friezes and domes have polychrome glazed-tiling; interiors have painting, stucco and mosaic. Mosaic of coloured stones has also been applied on the exteriors. His forty and odd *hammams* at Fatehpur Sikri have the finest specimens of incised plaster art, which excel the best of the Moorish examples.

A similar attitude of accepting and absorbing all good things without reservations was maintained in the selection of motifs and designs and we meet, in his buildings at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, such typically Hindu motifs as *padma* (lotus), *swastika*, *cakra*, *haṁsa* (swan), *hastīn* (elephant), *makara*, *ghaṇṭikās* (chain-and-bell) and *Kīrttimukha*, used freely with typically Muslim designs as geometrics, arabesques, stalactites and even calligraphics, in innumerous forms, in relief and *jālī*-art. Thousands of floral designs were stylized during this phase and became typically Mughal, under which brand they are still in vogue in various arts and crafts. Hundreds of geometrical designs were invented by the Mughal geometer whose ingenuity knew no bounds. It was this way that Mughal art created a repertoire of its own, providing an inexhaustible source for the future generations.

Akbar established his capital at Agra in 1560 A. D. Here he reconstructed the existing brick fort with red stone (Plate 18) and in it he built a series of beautiful palaces, some of which now known as *Akbarī-Mahal* and *Jehāngīrī-Mahal* (Plate 19) have survived. With predominant use of brackets (Plate 20), *jharokhās* and flat-ceilings (Plate 21), they look like Hindu temples. Out of the four monumental gateways of this fort, the *Delhī-Darwāzah* and the *Akbar-Darwāzah*, now called the Amarsingh Gate, are extant. It is, however, at Fatehpur Sikri where the heir to the throne Prince Salīm (later Jehāngīr) was born in 1569 A. D., and where Akbar set up his seat of government in 1572 A. D. and resided till 1585 A. D., that the most representative buildings of his style are situated. The so-called *Masjid Sangtarāshāṇ* (The Stone-Cutters' Mosque) is the earliest building of this township. It is composed of a sanctuary, measuring 16.92 x 6.16 square metres, divided into 9 compartments (Fig. 25)

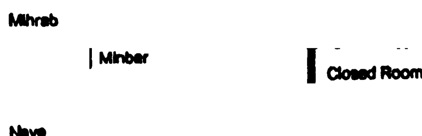


Fig. 25
Plan of *Masjid Sangtarāshān*, Fatehpur Sikri (*c.* 1569-72)

on beam-and-post system. It has no cloisters, *mīnār* or dome, or any other paraphernalia of a standard mosque complex. Arches of the *Qiblah* wall are *toraṇa*-shaped. Its idea, obviously, travelled with the artisans from Gujarat. Its arches have no voussoirs; instead, each one is 'carved' in a slab and, supporting the load horizontally as it does, it is technically a lintel, shaped as arch. The most distinctive feature of this mosque, however, is the use of monolithic struts on the facade below the extremely broad and slanting *chajjā* (Plate 22). They provide the facade with an exquisite ornament and impart to it an impression of gorgeousness, even without a superstructure. The strut belongs, essentially, to the *maṇḍapa* of the Hindu temple, and it was introduced here, and later around the tomb of Sheikh Salīm Cishtī (Plate 23) in the courtyard of the *Jāmi Masjid*, obviously, by the Gujarati artisans.

The *Jāmi Masjid* of Fatehpur Sikri (1564-72 A. D.) ranks among the largest and finest mosques of the world. It is a Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosque, with a courtyard measuring 109.68 metres (N-S) and 133.73 metres (E-W), on the two sides of which are extremely spacious cloisters (*dālāns*) of 11.66 metres width, divided into square bays in double series (Fig. 26). Broad pointed arches supported on simple square pillars make up the facades. These arches have no voussoirs and these too are ornamental arches (Plate 24). These

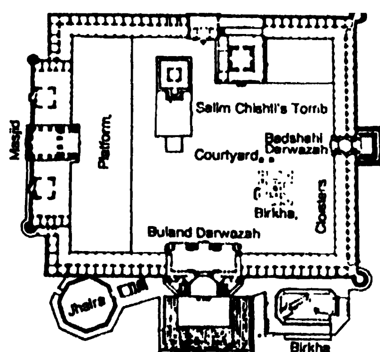


Fig. 26
Plan of the *Jāmī Masjid*, Fatehpur Sikri (*c.* 1564 -72)

are protected by broad slanting *chajjās*. A series of square *chatrīs* above the parapet, one over each pillar, gives each arcade an emphatic elevation. The sanctuary which measures 87.78 x 19.81 square metres is divided into several sections. While the central nave, 12.50 metres square in size, is roofed by a high dome supported on squinches, wings have colonnaded halls with a square

domed chamber in the middle of each one. The corbelled pendentives (Plate 25) used in the phase of transition of these domed chambers are unique in the whole range of medieval Indian architecture. An *Īwān* portal has been used in the middle of the facade of the sanctuary, as usual. The entire construction is in local red sandstone and such indigenous features as pillars, *chajjās*, flat-ceilings and *chatrīs* predominate in its scheme of things.

The *Buland Darwāzah* (Plate 26) was built by Akbar in *c.* 1601 A. D. after the conquest of the Deccan, in place of the south gateway of the mosque. Multi-storeyed and containing large halls, small chambers, passages and stairways, on the two sides of the *Īwān*, it is a complete monument in itself (Fig. 27). It is raised on a platform 12.80 metres high above the road, and is itself 40.84 metres high; the total height from the road is thus 53.64 metres, with a total of 123 stairs. Across the front it measures 39.62 metres. The facade is composed of an oblong central plane containing the semi-octagonal *Īwān*-portal, crowned by a series of 13 *chatrīs*. The planes on the sides (wings) are smaller and recede (offset) at an angle of 135°. Both the quoins have attached turrets surmounted by pinnacles. It has been built of red sandstone along with which yellowish grey coloured stone has also been used for a pleasing contrast.

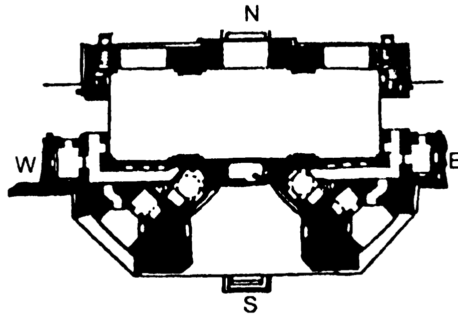


Fig. 27
Plan of *the Buland Darwāzah*, Fatehpur Sikri (*c* 1601)

It is an extraordinarily high gateway, standing majestically and imposingly on the highest point of the ridge, towering over its surroundings. With the vast array of stairs and the colossal height to which it rises, it is not a functional building and it was planned and designed, essentially, to commemorate Akbar's conquest of the Deccan. In such cases as this, particularly in respect of buildings of such thoughtful builders as Akbar, the idea which led to the incarnation of an edifice which, except for a grand memorial, could have no use or utility, matters

and it is necessary to know it. This idea, as monumentalized by Architecture, could be philosophic, ritualistic, political, commemorative or simply ceremonial, in faithful adherence to the dictum: 'Verily, our relics tell of us.' It is from here that this consideration began to exercise a decisive influence on the architectural ventures of the great Mughals.

Akbar also commissioned, during this period (1572 to 1585 A. D.), a large number of palatial mansions at Fatehpur Sikri for residential and administrative or ceremonial purposes. The palace in which his *Harem* (*Raniwās*) was lodged is, at present known by the misnomer *Jodhbāi-kā-Mahal* (Plate 27). It has a crooked, though a beautifully designed, entrance portal, and a spacious courtyard in the interior, on the sides and corners of which double-storeyed suites have been provided. Such folk features of the region as *tibārā-dālān*; *chappar* ceiling (Plate 28) and *khaprel*-roof; and *caukhaṇḍīs* (with pyramidal roofs) have been built here in red sandstone. Open spaces abound and every effort has been made by the architect to ensure a comfortable as well as a decent living. Akbar's own palace which too bears the misnomer *Bīrbal-kā-Mahal* is also a unique building (Plate 29). It is a double-storeyed mansion, made entirely of red sandstone of the finest quality. It comprises four square rooms, each measuring 5.13 metres square, all inter-connected through open doorways, and oblong entrance-porches on north and south sides (Fig. 28). While rooms have flat ceilings, porches have triangular chappar ceilings. A broad slanting *chajjā* protects this storey on all sides. It is supported on extremely beautiful brackets (Plate 30), which are unexcelled by any other example in Indian Architecture. Each one is, in fact, made of three gracefully designed brackets put together as a single unit. They support a flat

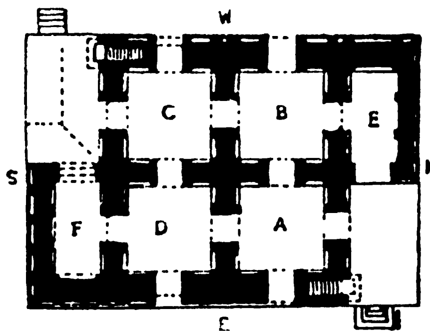


Fig. 28
Plan of the so-called *Bīrbal-kā-Mahal*, Fatehpur Sikri (1572-85)

beam, upon which rests the broad slanting *chajjā*. Altogether it makes up an unusually pleasing composition and imparts to this building a distinctive characteristic, and also a grand personality like that of Akbar. Bearing exquisite surface decoration by carving in incised, low and medium relief, in geometrical, arabesque and stylized designs which have been judiciously spread on all mural areas including pillars and brackets, in the interior as well as on the exterior, it is also the most profusely ornamented monument at Fatehpur Sikri.

The most blatant, however, is the misnomer attached to the so-called *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*. It is a square building (Fig. 29) exteriorly designed as a double-storeyed mansion (Plate 31) but containing only a single-storeyed hall in the interior, measuring 8.74 metres square, the point of attraction of which is a central unitary column (Fig. 30) supporting a circular platform above the capital, which is connected, by narrow diagonal bridges, with the inner balconies of 0.71 metre width, at the corners (Plate 32). By no stretch of imagination, this could have been used as the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ* or the Hall of Private Audience, or for any other function. Accounts of such contemporary historians as Abū'l Faḍl and Badāonī, a few miniature paintings, his personal shield preserved in the Prince of Wales

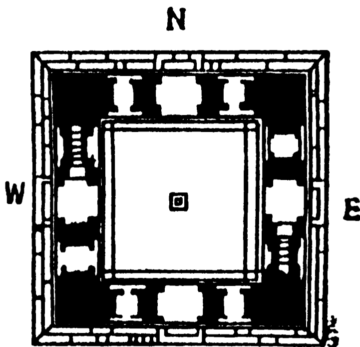


Fig. 29
Plan of the so-called *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*, Fatehpur Sikri (1572-85)

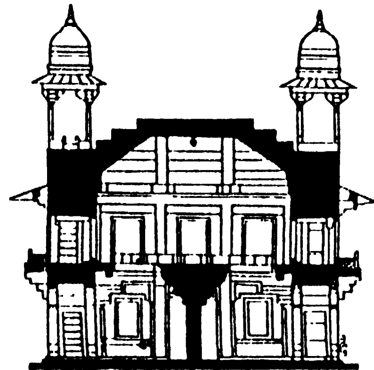


Fig. 30
Section of the so-called *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*, Fatehpur Sikri (1572-85)

Museum, Bombay, and the *Sūrya-Sahasra-Nāma* which bears his signatures, confirm without the least doubt that Akbar believed in the efficacy of the Sun and he sought to derive his regal authority from this luminary, in emulation of the

traditional *Cakravartin* rulers of India and he had this building raised to symbolize the *Ekastambha* (The Unitary Pillar) concept of the world-creation and its daily sustenance by Viṣṇu in the form of the Sun, in faithful adherence to the dictum: '*Ālamba-stambham-ekaṁ-Tribhuwana-Bhawanasya*'. Rather than fulfilling a function, it represents an Idea.[15]

(16) TRANSITIONAL PHASE OF COLOUR AND DESIGN

Akbar began the construction of his own tomb at Sikandara near Agra (*c.*1605 A. D.).[16] It was finished by his son Jehangīr in 1612. It occupies the centre of the *Cār-Bāgh* plan, amidst a setting of garden, stone-causeways, pavilions, platforms and water-devices (Fig. 31). The southern is the main monumental gateway (Plate 33) of red sandstone in which mosaic and inlay of coloured stones have been lavishly displayed. A wide variety of stones have been used and all this is stone-art. The principal merit of this gateway, which is a perfect monument in itself, lies in four beautiful slender white marble minarets which rise from its corners. These are three-storeyed and are crowned by graceful *chatrīs*. They give this gateway a grand elevation and, but for a dome in the centre, they could have given it an ideal superstructure.

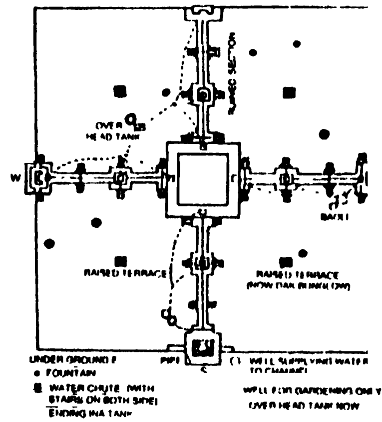


Fig 31
Lay-out of the Tomb of Akbar, Agra
(*c* 1605-1612)

The main tomb, measuring 103.94 metres square, is a pyramidal structure of four receding storeys, resting on an unusually high platform (*kursī*) which is composed of spacious arched *dālāns* having an imposing *Īwan*-portal, crowned by a marble *chaparkhaṭ*, in the centre of each side. The tomb proper is made up of arches resting on pillars in the main body, and cluster of *chatrīs* and *caukhaṇḍīs* on all sides around it (Plate 34). Made of one or two stone slabs only, these are ornamental arches and the construction is mostly trabeated. A dome which formed part of the original design of Akbar to give the building an effective superstructure, however, could not be built (Fig. 32). It has left a striking vacuum at the apex of the elevation. The construction is in red sandstone with which white marble has been used liberally, mainly in frontal

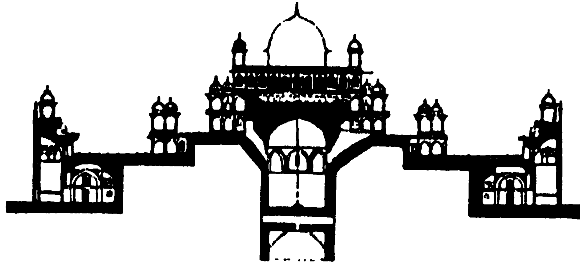


Fig. 32
Section of Akbar's Tomb with a conjectural dome

chaparkhats; on the cupolas of the *chatrīs* and the pyramidal roofs of the *caukhaṇḍīs*; and the whole of the uppermost storey. This represents the transitional phase from red stone to marble; from stone carving in relief to mosaic and inlay; and from purely colour schemes to architectural ornamentation. By far, Akbar's tomb is as beautiful a building as successful a specimen it is of the style which had now come into full form. Over and above anything else, it reflects Akbar's personality—sober, dignified, awesome and majestic, as faithfully as do his buildings at Fatehpur Sikri.

Jehāngīr was more a connoisseur of Painting than a builder like his august father or his gorgeous son. His was an age of Colour and Design which was natural in consequence of the predominance of the Iranians in the Mughal court-culture. He is recorded to have built a palace in the Agra Fort but it is not extant. Different types of buildings were raised in the important towns of the Empire by the grandees in the current style of architecture. The only great architectural relic which can be ascribed to Jehāngīr is the glazed-tiled Picture Wall of the Lahore Fort, which is assignable to the period from 1612 to 1619. It is unique in respect of its scale, scheme and subjects.[17] Originally it covered an immense mural area 500 yards in length and 16 yards in height (= 8000 square yards = 6688.80 square metres) of which only 116 panels were recorded to have survived in 1920. Recourse to an ingenious system of panelling had been taken which, besides stylized florals, arabesques and geometricals, depicted beautiful figurative compositions, e.g. animal-fights, hunting-scenes, games, pastimes, processions, winged animals and fairies,

musicians with instruments, portraits of nobles etc., all done in polychrome glazed-tiles. It was this way that Jehāngīr ventured to translate Painting, his first love, into architecture. It appears to be a Royal Gallery or Museum of Pictures, faithfully depicting the contemporary life and culture. Architect, potter, painter and glazed-tiler collaborated on this grand project which has no parallel in the world.

The Tomb of I'timād-ud-Daulah (1622-28 A. D.) (Plate 35) at Agra is one of the greatest tombs of the Mughals. It was built by Nūr Jehān to enshrine the mortal remains of her parents. Situated in the usual *Cār-Bāgh* (Fig. 33), it is a square building of pure white marble, measuring 21.34 metres a side, with massive towers attached at the corners, and superimposed, instead of a dome, by a *bārahdarī* (pyramidal pavilion) with a *caukhaṇḍī* roof. While the interior has all been decorated with stucco and painting, drawing popular motifs from the contemporary art of Painting, the whole exterior is richly covered by geometrical and stylized-floral designs in polychrome inlay (Plate 36) and mosaic. Though this ornamentation has been done a little too zealously, the total effect is extremely refined and gorgeous.[18]

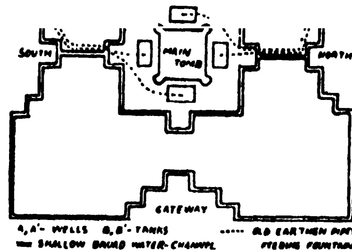


Fig. 33
Lay-out of the Tomb of I'timād-ud-Daulah, Agra (1622-28)

(17) SHĀH JEHĀN'S AGE OF
ARCHITECTURAL AESTHETICISM

Shāh Jehān (1628-58; d.1666 A. D.) was the greatest builder of the dynasty. White marble replaced red stone and his mosques, palaces and the world-famous Taj Mahal were built with this material. Instead of stone-carving, the

emphasis in ornamentation, accordingly, shifted to mosaic and inlay of coloured stone. Unlike his father and grandfather who did not favour sectarian buildings, Shāh Jehān commissioned mosques at Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The *Nagīnā Masjid* (Plate 37) in the Agra Fort and the *Motī Masjid* (Plate 38) in the Red Fort, Delhi are exclusive and of a private nature. They have three engrailed (cusped) arches on the facade. The *chajjā* above the arches and the parapet above it are, both, curved in the middle and this *bānglādār* feature is their distinctive characteristic; it gives prominence to the central part of the facade as well as to the elevation. This is how the *Īwān*-formula was absorbed in the body-fabric of the building during this age. Three high, bulbous, double-domes, one on each bay, are gracefully set on the skyline in each case; the central one is correspondingly higher than the side ones. They are crowned by extremely prominent lotus-petals (*mahāpadma*) and *kalaśa*-finial which, together, are as high as is the main body of the dome. The composition in each case is harmonious and pleasing. The *Motī Masjid* of the Lahore Fort is larger in size and is Five-Arched (*Pañcamukhī*).

Two of the most famous of the Congregational or Friday Mosques of this age are the *Jāmī Masjid* of Agra and the *Jāmī Masjid* of Delhi. Each one occupies a place just in front of the Fort in each town, perhaps to enable the Emperor to participate in the public prayer. Both are in red stone with a liberal use of white marble for emphasis. The *Jāmī Masjid* of Agra was commissioned by Jāhānārā Begum and was completed in 1648 A. D.[19] Its eastern side, including the main gateway, was demolished in 1857 A. D. Standing on a high plinth, it is a Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosque with cloisters (*dālāns*) on three sides and sanctuary on the west. Cloisters have ornamental engrailed arches surmounted by *chatrīs*. The facade of the sanctuary is composed of a broad arch in the centre and two arches of lesser dimensions on its either side. These are not engrailed and are too broad to be impressive. The nave has four slender turrets on its four corners surmounted by ornamental *mīnārs*. The sanctuary has three thick and massive domes which in comparison to their height are too flat and disproportionate. The narrow zig-zag courses of white marble, alternated by broad bands of red stone on them add to the monotony and confusion. The most significant feature of this mosque is the rhythmical disposal of *chatrīs*, all along the parapet above the cloisters and the sanctuary, and it is this which saves the otherwise primitive effect of its composition, to some extent.

The *Jāmī Masjid* of Delhi is a much larger and far more refined building. It was founded by Shāh Jehān and was completed in 1656 A. D.[20] The architect has raised it on a plinth of 9.14 metre height, just to give it an imposing appearance; the grand elevation of the building enables its three noble gateways, approached by beautiful flights of stairs, each one appearing as a great monument in itself, to tower over their surroundings majestically. It is also a Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosque having cloisters (*dālāns*) on three sides of the central court and the sanctuary on the west. Four voluminous pavilions (*bārahdarīs*) occupy its corners. The sanctuary measures 60.96 x 27.43 square metres. Its facade consists of the central *Īwān* flanked by five subsidiary arches of the engrailed type on each side (Plate 39). Two lofty *mīnārs* rise from the edges of the facade to a height of 39.62 metres. They are in three storeys and are surmounted by *chatrīs*. They have been longitudinally striped with white marble. The sanctuary is surmounted by three bulbous domes of white marble, with stripes of black, crowned by beautiful lotus-petals (*mahāpadma*) and *kalaśa*-finials. As a whole, it is a representative mosque of the Golden Age of Shāh Jehān.

The most beautiful mosque of this period, and in fact of the medieval period, is the *Moti Masjid* of the Agra Fort, built by him in 1654 A. D.[21] While its exterior has been finished in red stone, the whole of the interior is built in white marble of the finest quality. It is also a Single-Quadruple (*Ekāṅgana*) mosque (Fig. 34), with a central court having cloisters (*dālāns*) on its three sides with gateways, and sanctuary on the west. The cloisters are 3.28 metres in depth. Their arcades are composed of 12-sided pillars, with slight fluting, and 9-cusped arches. They are protected by *chajjās*. The sanctuary measures 48.46 x 17.07 square metres and is three-aisles deep, with an arcade of seven-arches on the facade. These arches are also engrailed, of 9-cusps each, and are of equal size, without a central *Īwān* (Plate 40). They are also protected by an imposing *chajjā*. Above the parapet are seven beautiful square *chatrīs*, one on each arch, crowning it gracefully.

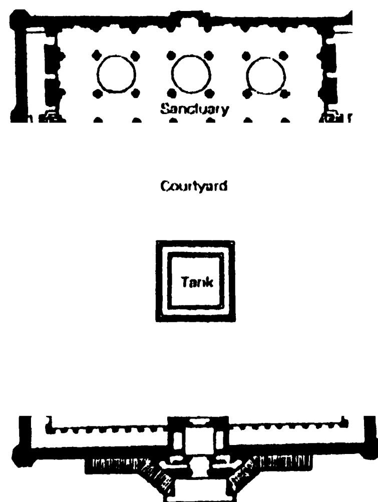


Fig. 34
Plan of the *Moti Masjid*, Agra Fort
(1654 A.D.)

Octagonal *chatrīs* have also been used on all the four corners of the court. Three bulbous, double-domes, resting on high drums, roof the sanctuary. They are surmounted by the usual lotus-petals (*mahāpadma*) and *kalaśa*-finials. The central one is slightly larger and higher. The combination of these graceful forms, and that too in pure white marble, is extremely pleasing. Like the Taj Mahal, it depends entirely on its architectural design, rather than on any decoration and its effect is fully and wholly architectonic. It has no colour and there is absolutely no ornamentation in this mosque. Owing primarily to the pleasing proportions of its parts and their harmonious integration in the totality of the architectural design, it stands unique and unexcelled by any other example in its class in the world, and it fully justifies the applause which the poet of its inscription lavished upon it that: 'Since the creation of the World, no place of worship like it, resplendent and brilliant from top to bottom, has ever appeared.'

Shāh Jehān also built a number of palatial mansions in the Agra Fort, the *Khāṣṣ-Mahal*, the *Shīsh-Mahal*, the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*, and the *Muthamman Burj* being the most important of them. He founded the Red Fort (*Lāl Qal'ā*) at Delhi (*c.* 1638 A. D.) and here also he built a series of beautiful palaces. These were mostly built of white marble, but wherever marble could not be used, the red stone surface was white plastered with Mother-of-Pearl (*Sīpī*) lime and glisteningly polished to look like real marble. Engrailed (generally 9-cusped) arches, resting on octagonal or 12-sided pillars with prominent bases, protected by *chajjās*; high bulbous double-domes; curved-cornice-and-bent-roof feature (*bānglādār*), generally predominating on the facades; and overall emphasis on the make-up of the superstructure and a grand elevation are the characteristic features of his buildings in the forts of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The development of 'dado' as a distinguishing ornament of the interiors also belongs to this age (Plate 41). Garden and such water-devices as canals, fountains, lily-ponds and cascades were also integrally associated with architecture. The *Nahar-i-Bahisht* (The Canal of the Paradise), for example, was flown amidst his palaces of the Red Fort, Delhi, through architectural organization, as their essential constituent. This was, surely, the creation of a wonderful architecture in imitation of the imaginary Paradise, and Shāh Jehān did not exaggerate when he had the famous Persian couplet inscribed in the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ:*

Agar Firdaus bar rūye zamīn-ast
Hamīn-asto, hamīn-asto, Hamīn-ast.

(If there be a Paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here.)

This is how the Great Mughals brought Architecture into their life, and took their living into Architecture.

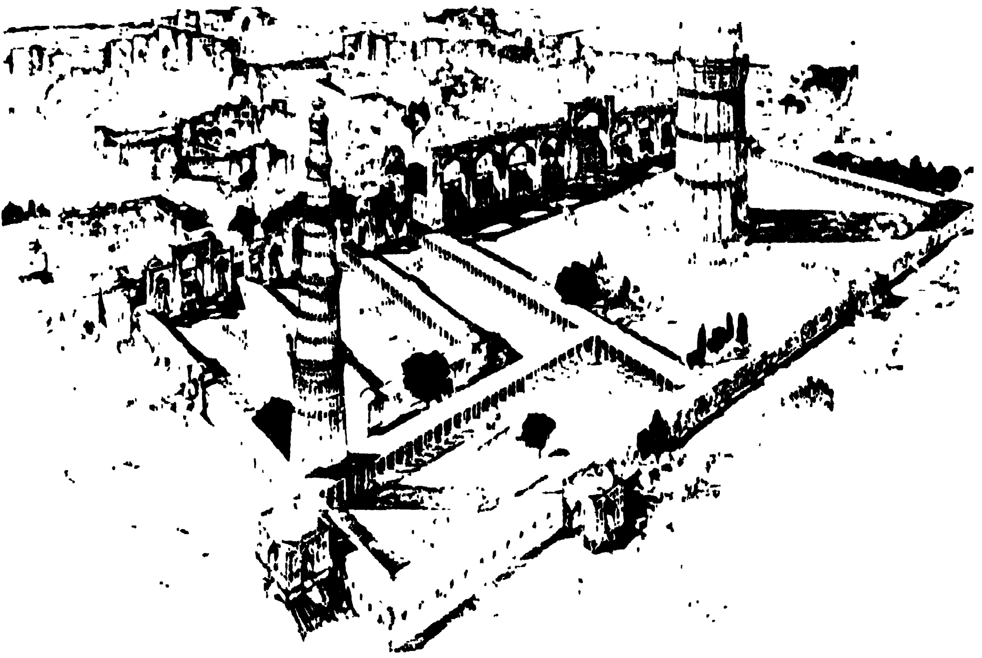


Plate 1 *Quwwat'ul-Islām Masjid*, Delhi: Conjectural Restoration, c. 1192-1229



Plate 2 Aibak's Arcade & Iron Pillar, *Quwwat'ul-Islām Masjid*, Delhi



Plate 3 *Aḍhai-Din-kā-Jhompṛā Masjid*, Ajmer: Arcade, c.1194-1229

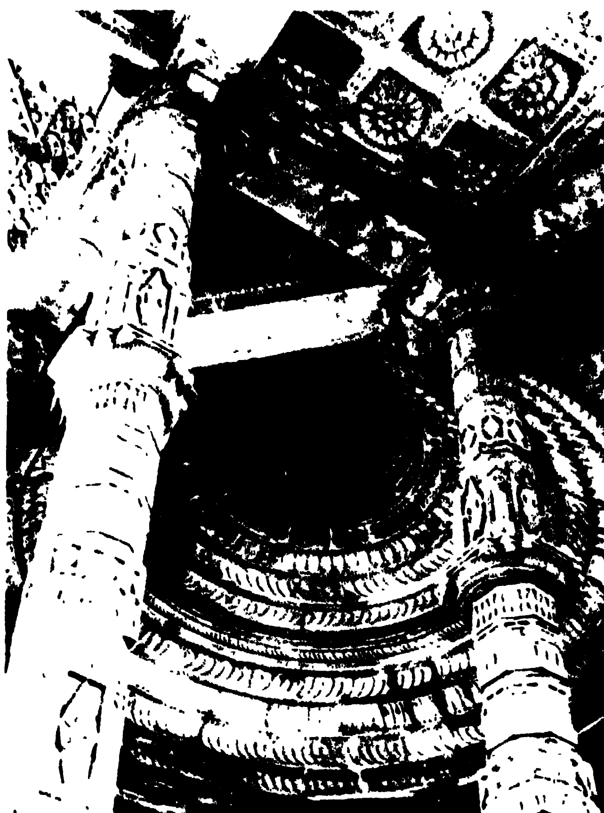


Plate 4 Hindu Temple Material (Pillars, Lintels & Ceilings), *Aḍhāī-Din-kā-Jhompṛā*, Ajmer

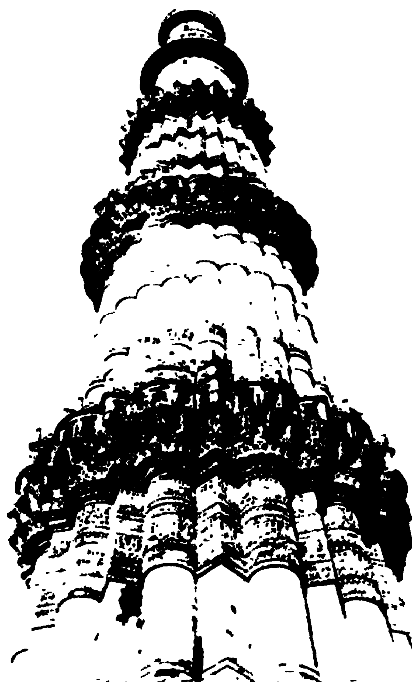


Plate 5 The *Quṭb Minār*, Delhi, *c.*1200-1215

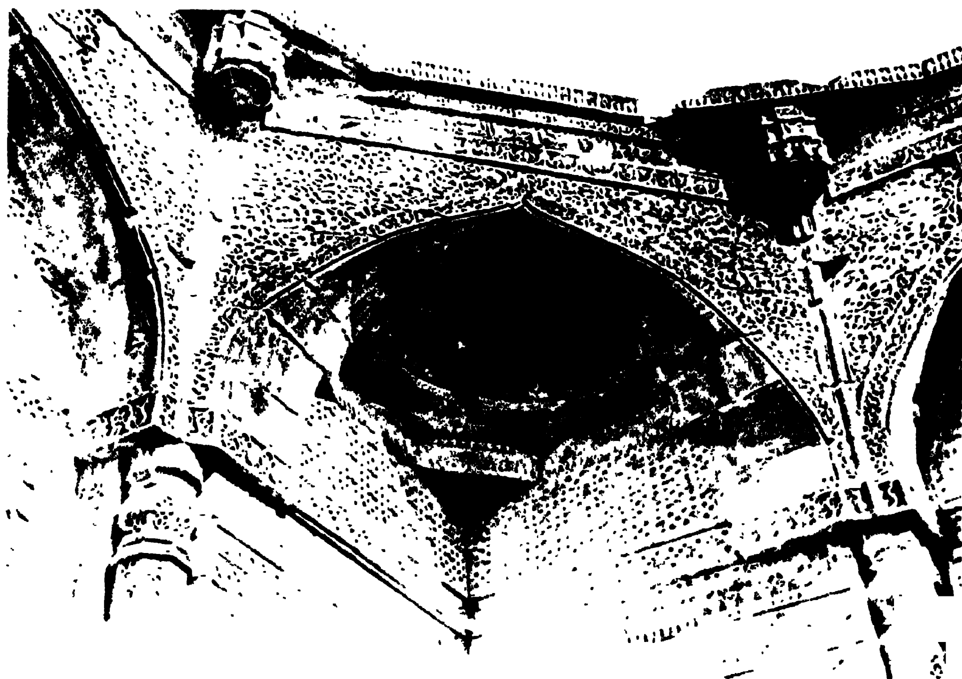


Plate 6 The Tomb of Iltutmish: Squinch, *c.*1236



Plate 7 *The Alāī Darwāzah*, Delhi, *c*.1311

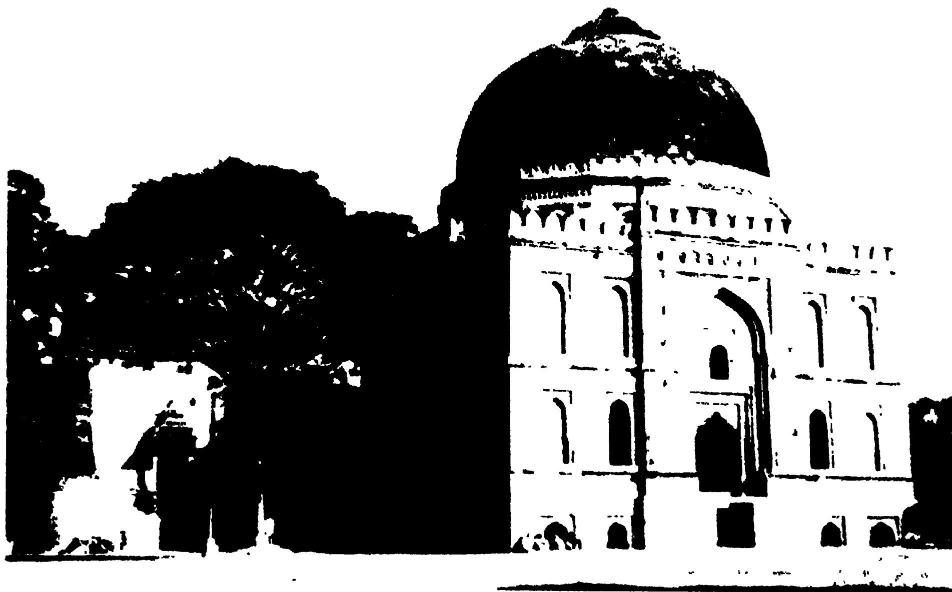


Plate 8 The *Barā Gumbad*, Delhi, c. 1490



Plate 9 The Tomb of Muhammad Sayyid, Delhi, c. 1444

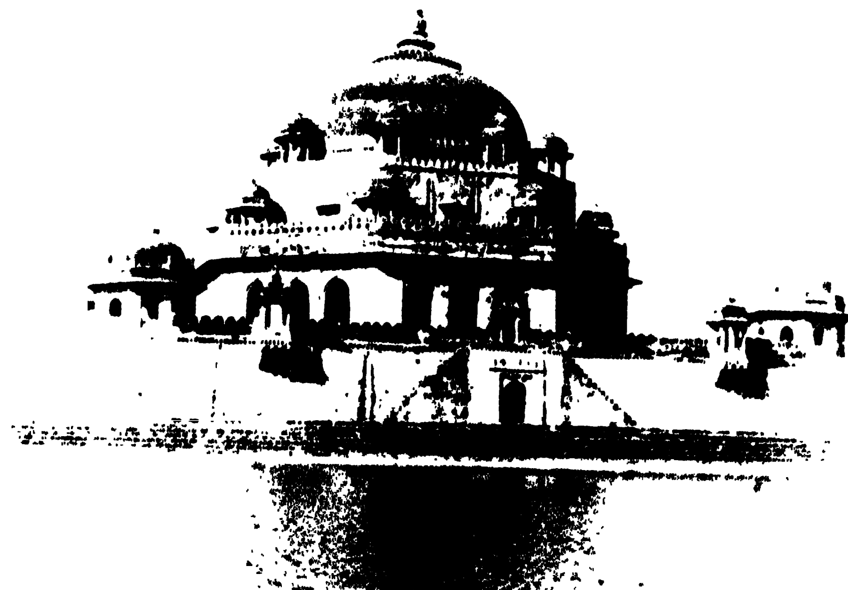


Plate 10 Sher Shāh's Tomb, Sāsārām, *c.* 1545

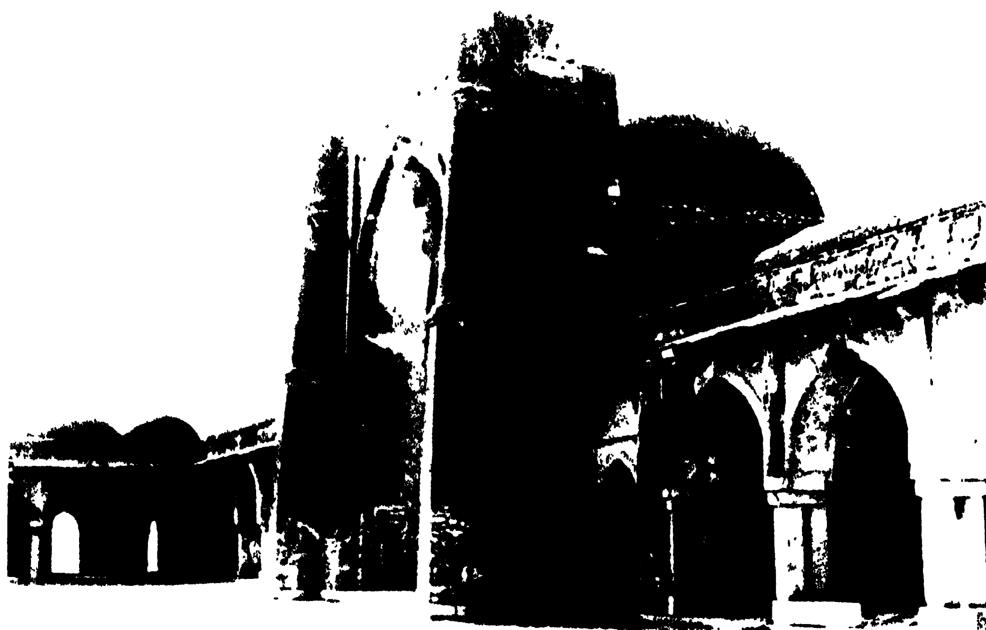


Plate 11 The *Begumpurī Masjid*, Delhi, *c.* 1343

Plate 12 The *Khidki Masjid*, Delhi, c. 1375

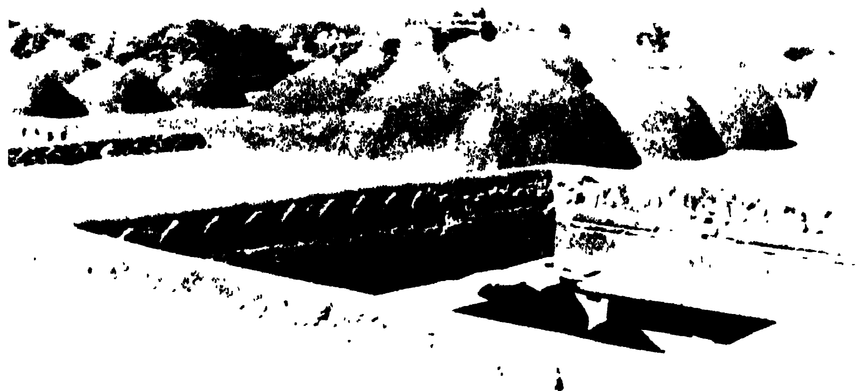


Plate 13 Superstructure of the *Khidki Masjid*, Delhi, c. 1375

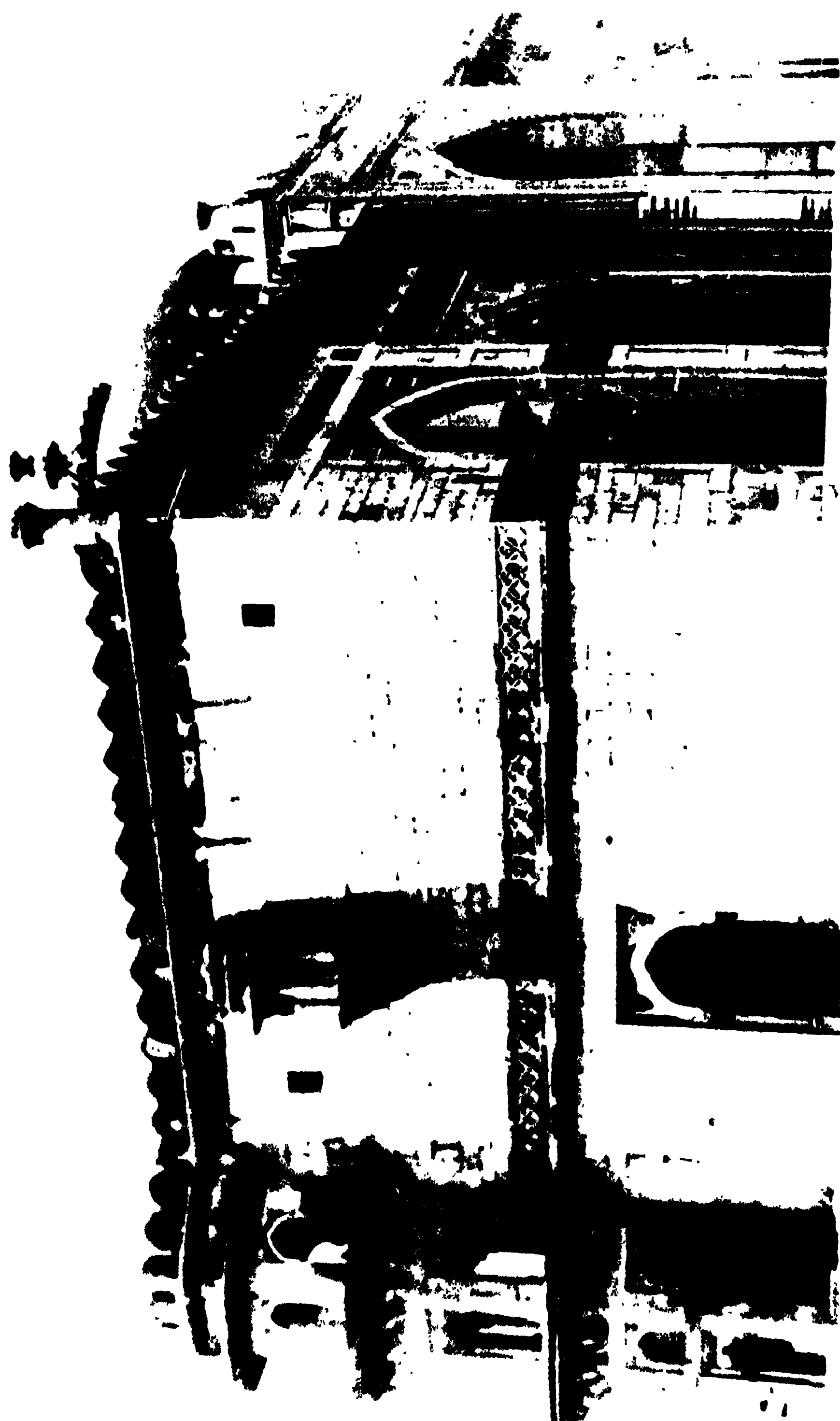




Plate 15 Central Arch & *Īwān* Form. *Qal'a-i-Kuhna Masjid*. Delhi



Plate 16 Ornamented Corbelled Pendentives in the Nave. *Qal'a-i-Kuhna Masjid*

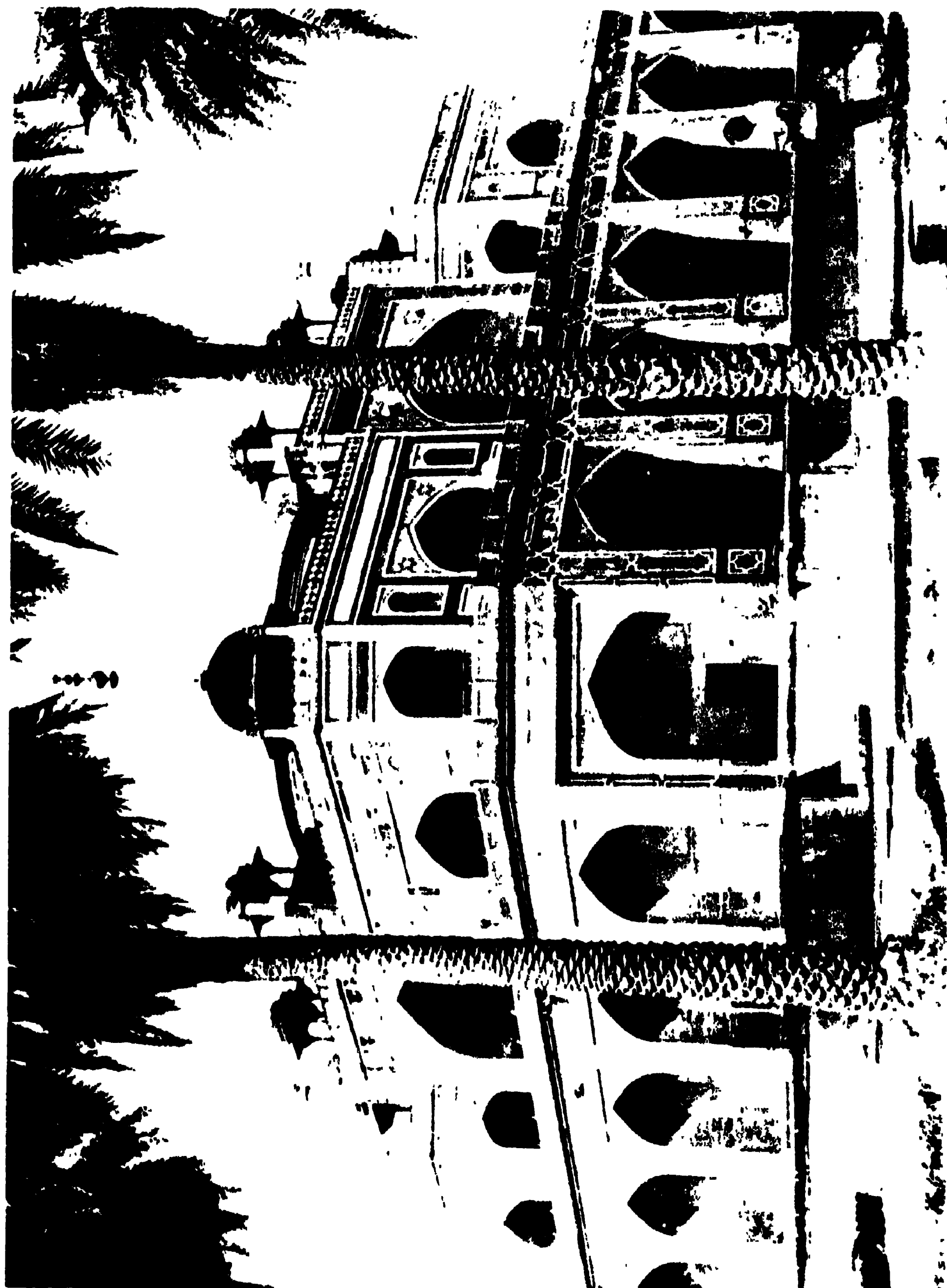




Plate 18 The Agra Fort, c. 1565-73

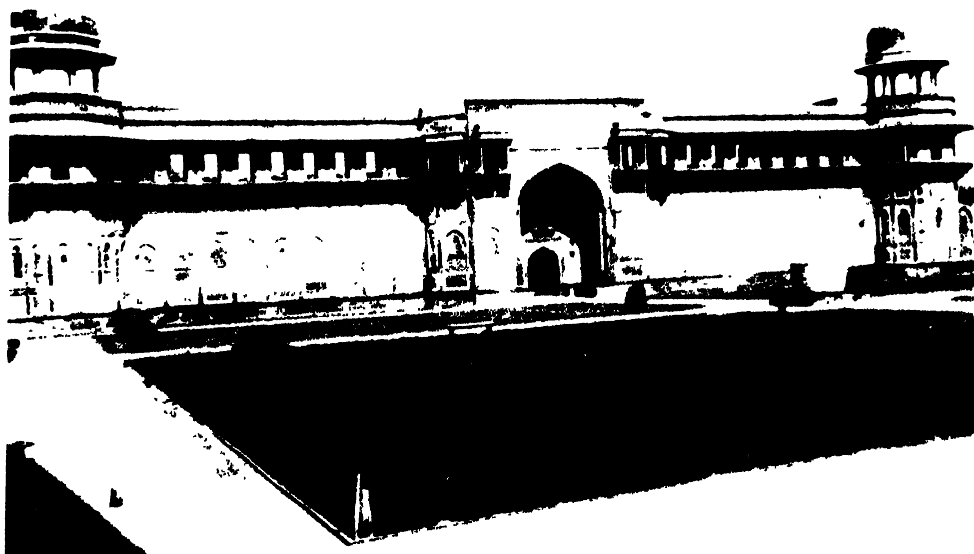


Plate 19 The so-called *Jehangīrī Mahal*, Agra Fort, c. 1569

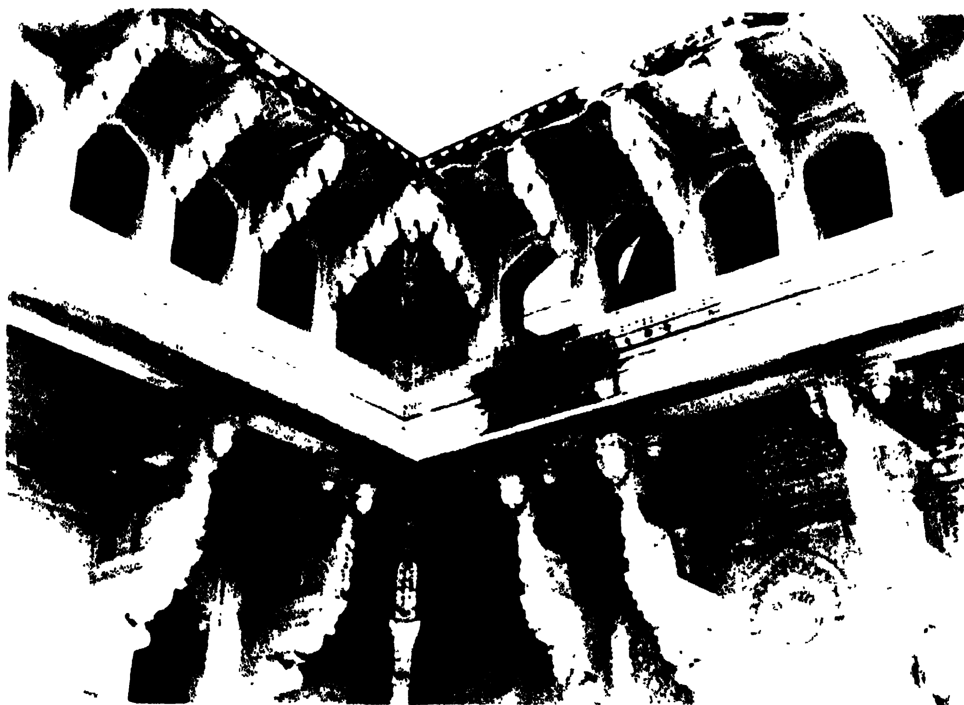


Plate 20 Bracket-Forms, *Jehāngīrī Mahal*, Agra Fort, *c.* 1569

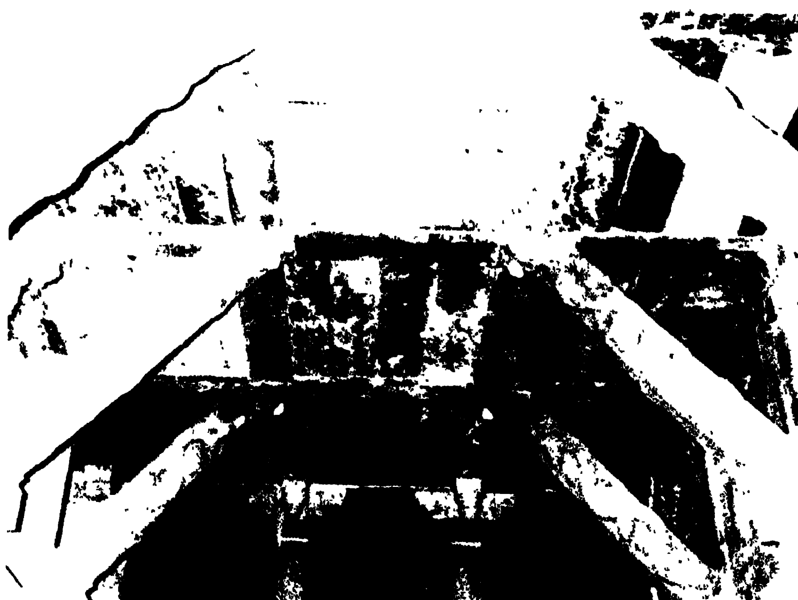


Plate 21 Flat Ceilings, *Jehangīrī Mahal*, Agra Fort, *c.* 1569



Plate 22 Struts, *Masjid Sangtarashan*, Fatehpur Sikri, c. 1569-72

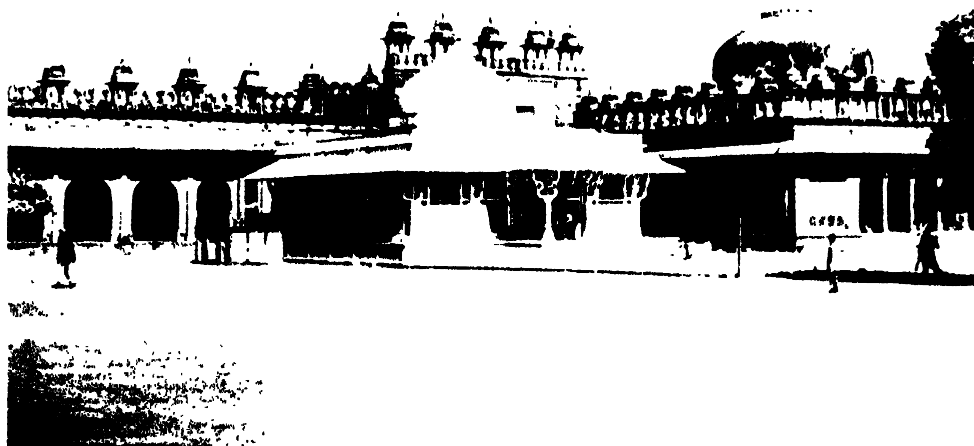


Plate 23 The Tomb of Sheikh Salim Cishtī, Fatehpur Sikri



Plate 24 *The Jāmi Masjid*, Fatehpur Sikri. Formation of Dālān Arches, c.1564-72



Sikri.

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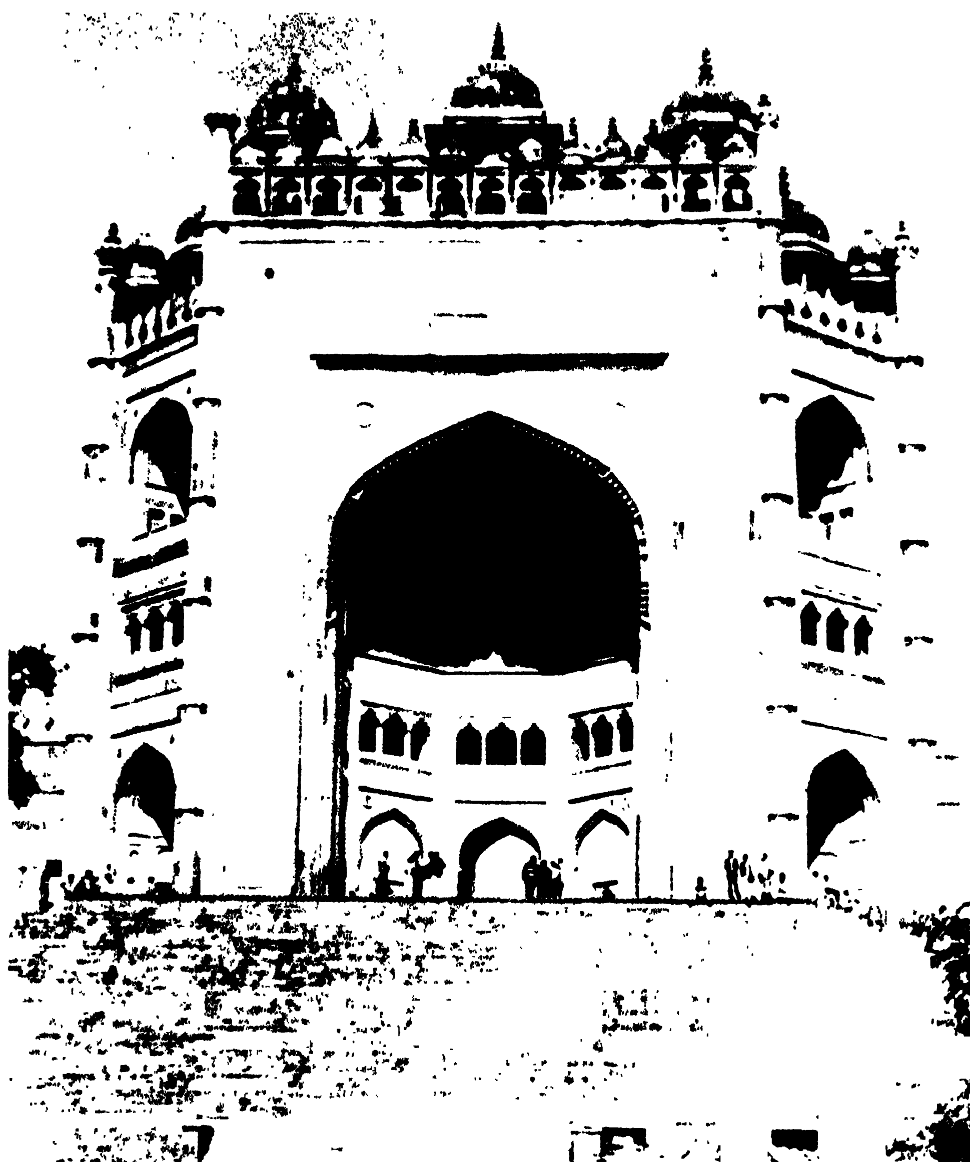


Plate 26 The *Buland Darwazah*, Fatehpur Sikri c. 1601

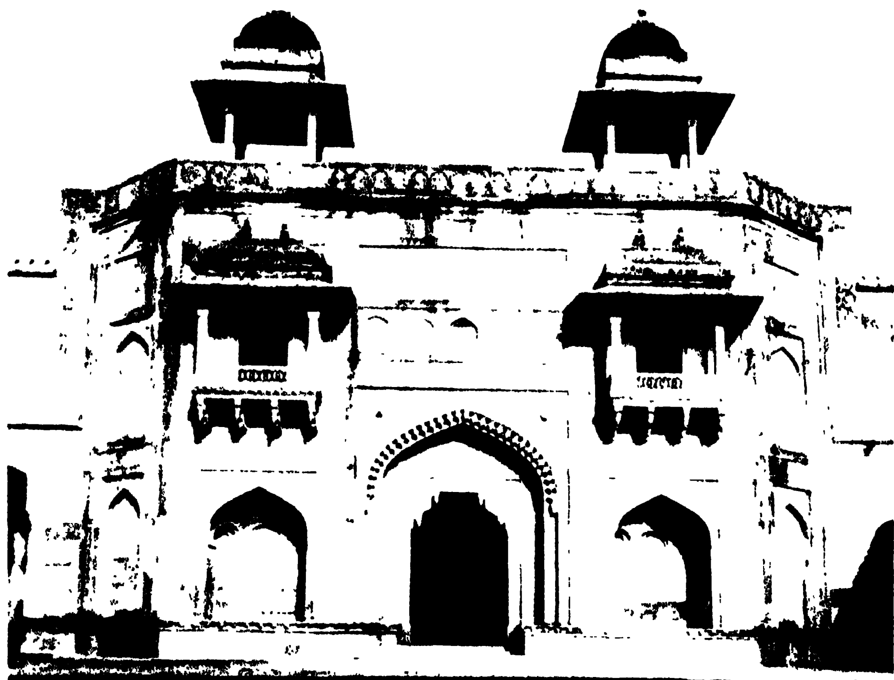


Plate 27 Facade of Gateway of *Ranīwās* (so called *Jodhbai ka Mahal*), Fatehpur Sikri, c.1572-85



Plate 28 *Chappar* Ceiling, *Raniwās* (*Jodhbāī-kā-Mahal*)



Plate 29 So called *Birbal-ka-Mahal*, Fatehpur Sikri, c 1572 85



Plate 30 Brackets of the *Birbal ka Mahal*
Fatehpur Sikri

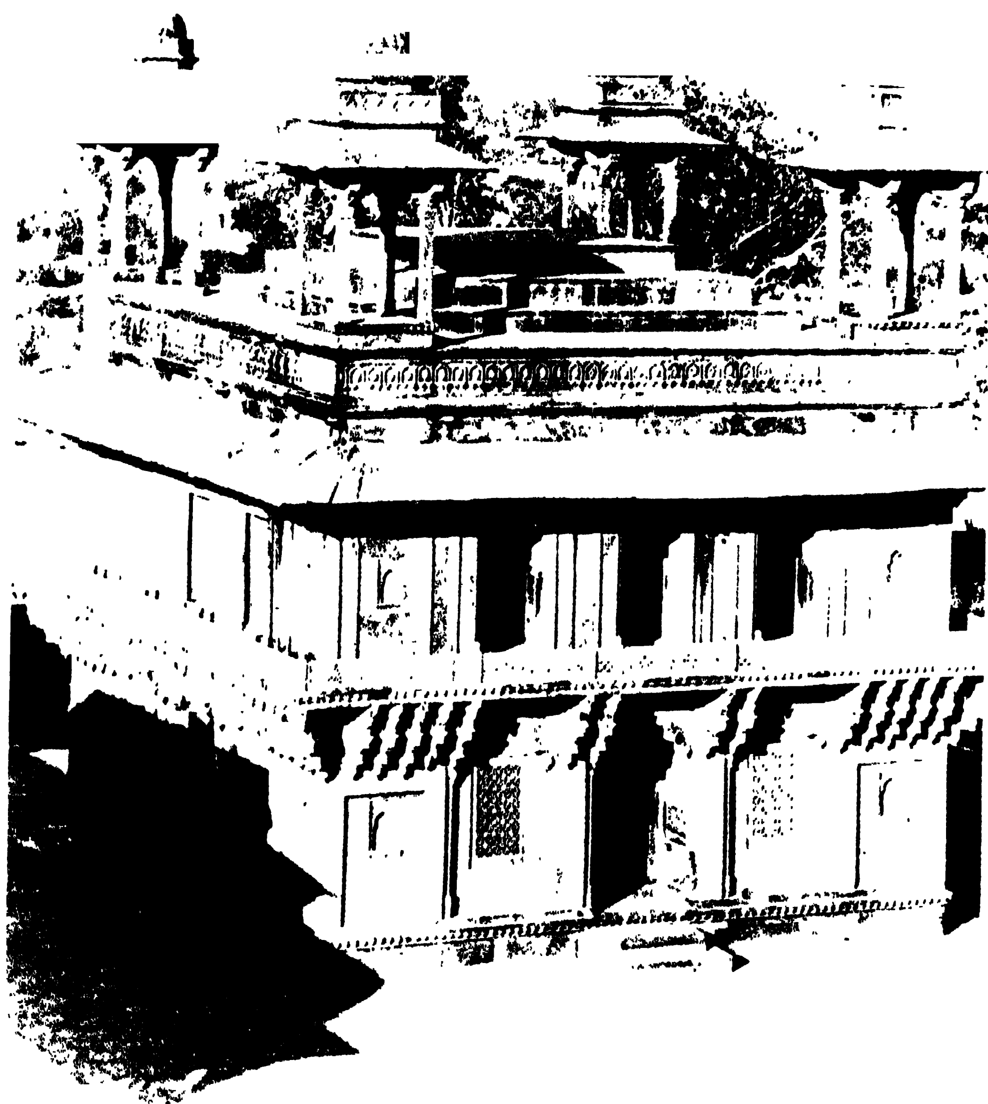


Plate 31 So-called *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*, Fatehpur Sikri, *c.* 1572-85

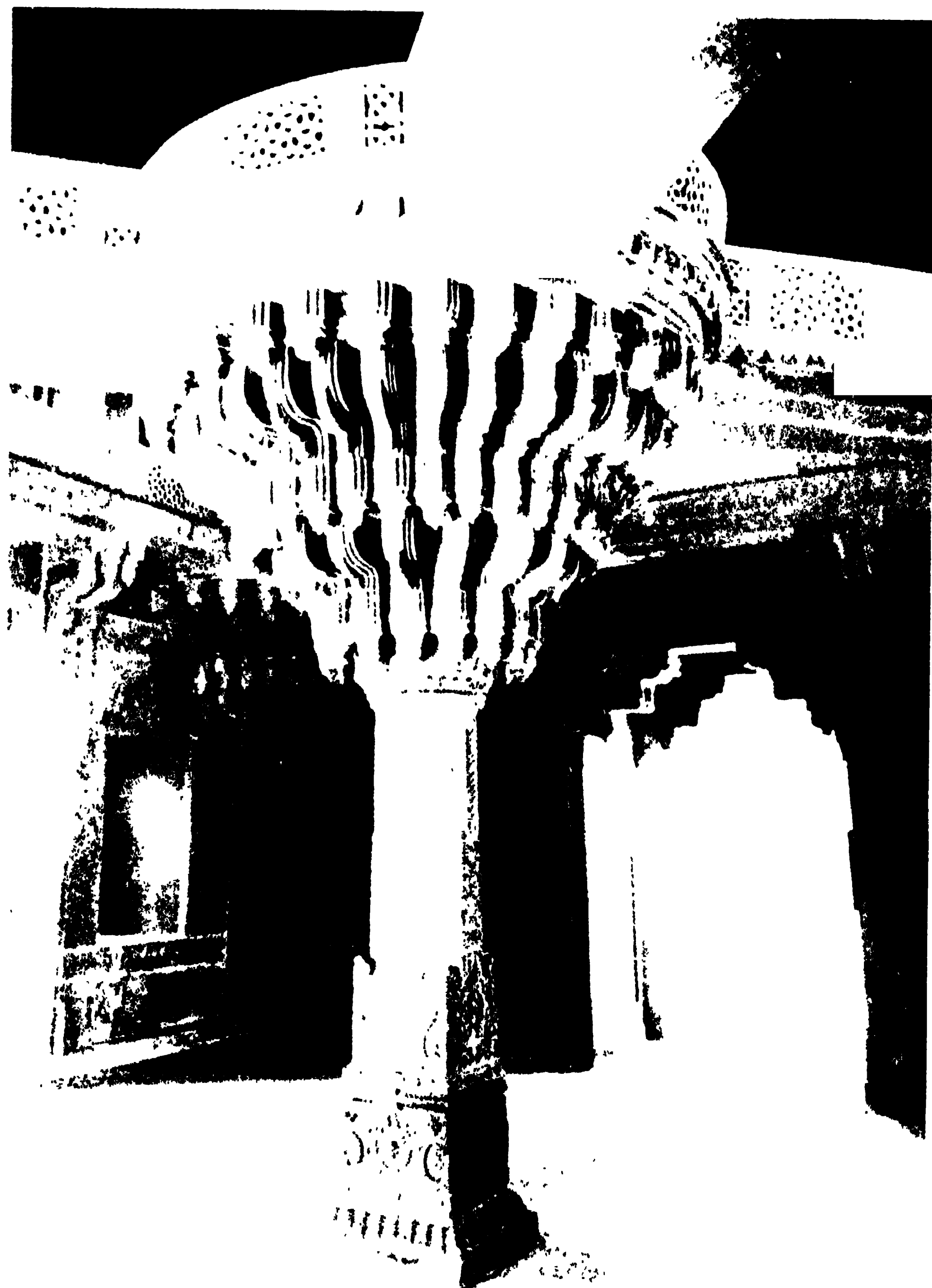


Plate 32 Central Unitary Pillar, *Dīwān i-Khass*, Fatehpur Sikri



Plate 33 Main (South) Gateway of the Tomb of Akbar, Sikandara, Agra, c.1605-12



Plate 34 Main Mausoleum, Akbar Tomb, Agra



Plate 35 The Tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah, Agra, c. 1622-28

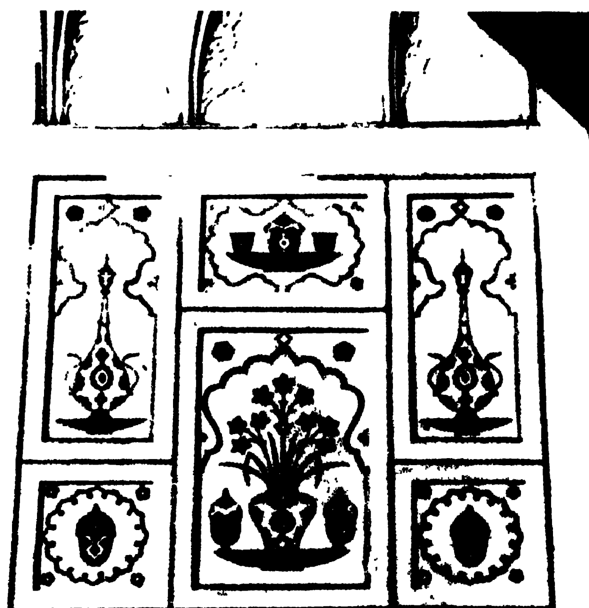


Plate 36 Inlaid Mosaic, Tomb of I'timad ud-Daulah, Agra

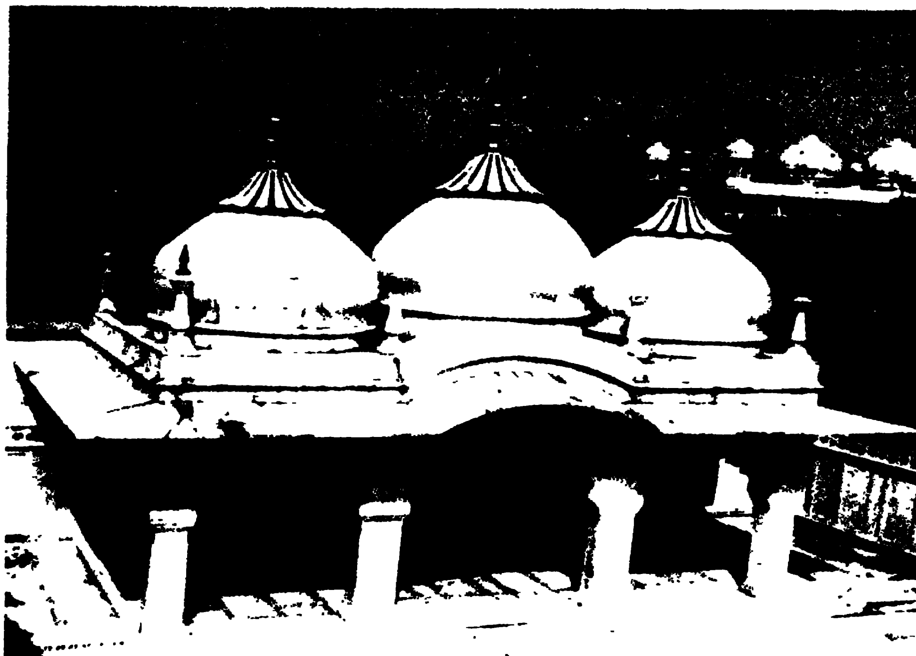


Plate 37 The *Nagina Masjid*, Agra Fort, *c.* 1628-38

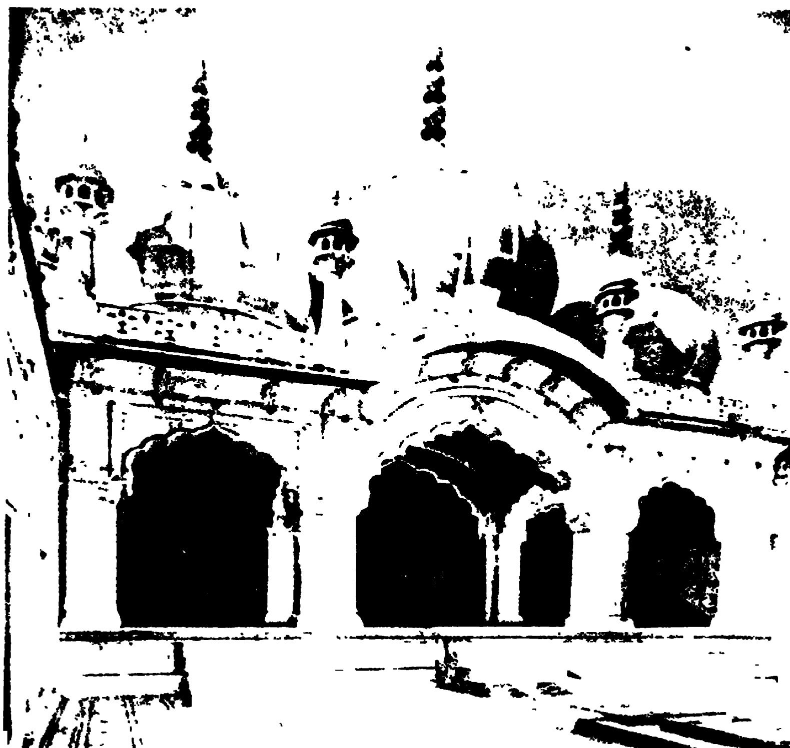


Plate 38 The *Moti Masjid*, Red Fort, Delhi, *c.* 1658



Plate 39 The *Jāmī Masjid*, Delhi, *c.* 1656

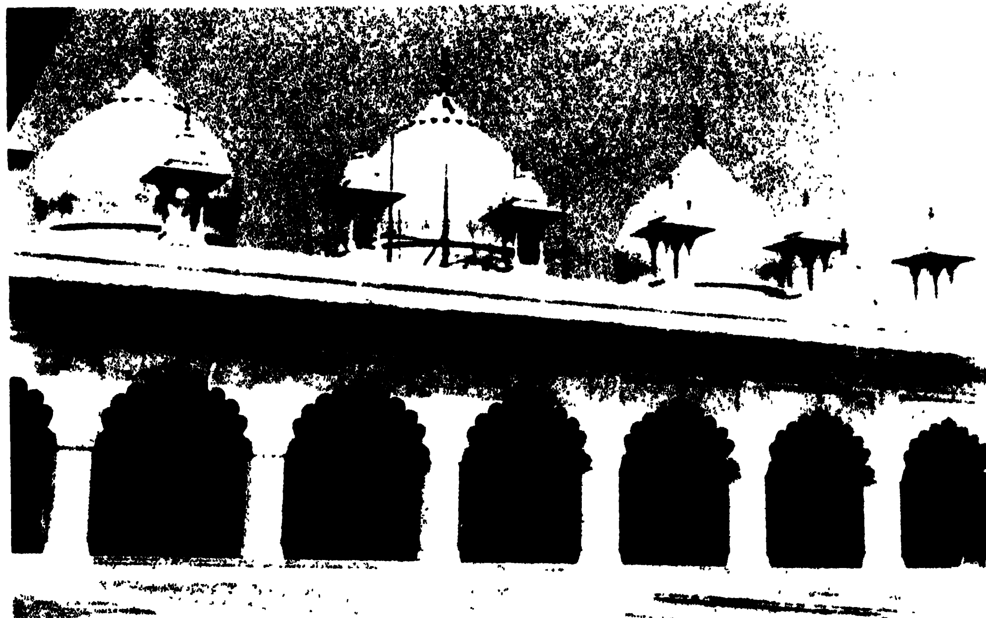


Plate 40 The *Motī Masjid*, Agra Fort, *c.* 1654



Plate 41 Dado of the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ*, Agra Fort



Plate 42 The Taj Mahal, Agra, *c.* 1631-48

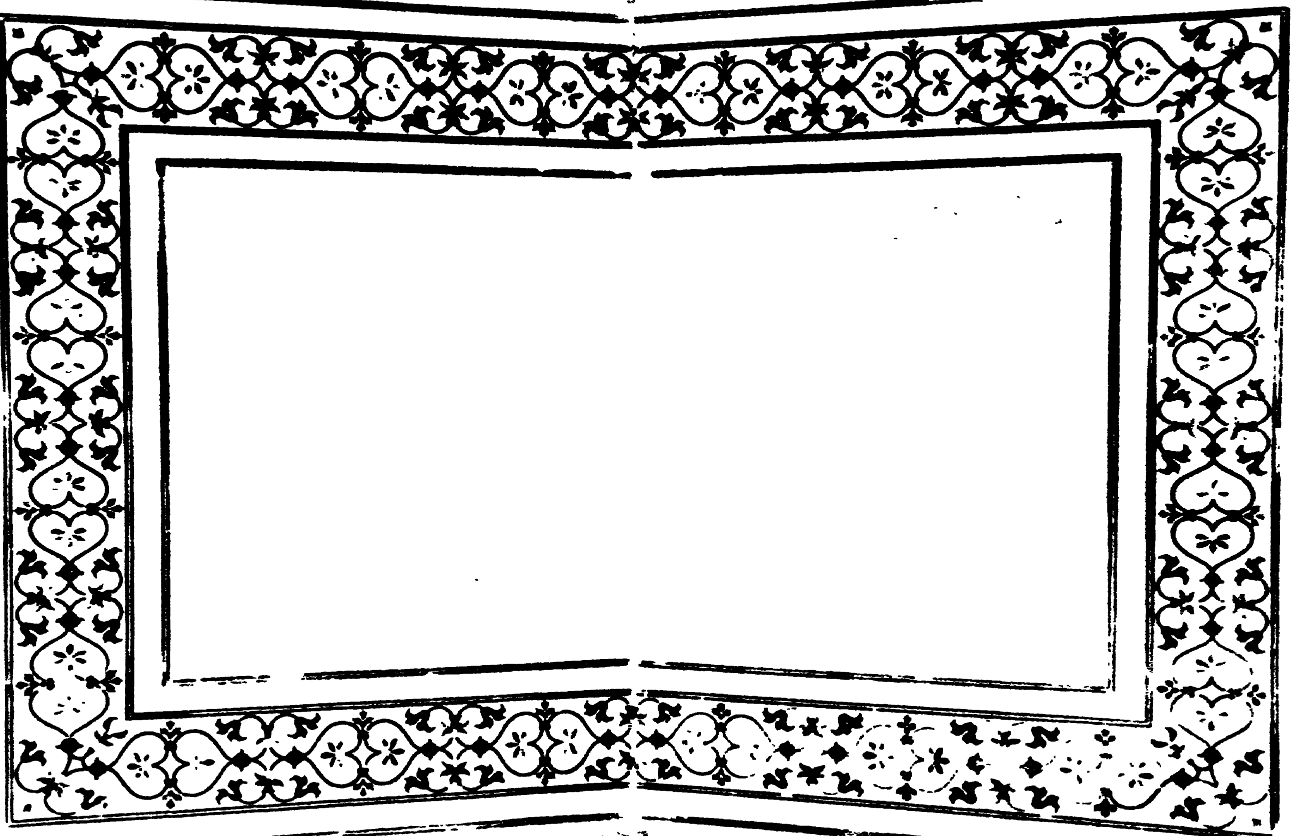


Plate 43 *Ghata-Pallava*, Dados of the Taj Mahal

The Taj Mahal (Plate 42) which he commissioned in 1631 and which was completed in 1648 A. D., as a memorial to his most beloved Queen Mumtaz Mahal, marks the perfect moment in the evolution of Mughal Architecture, the stage from where the art could, and in fact did, only decline. It was planned on the bank of the river Jamuna at Agra, not in the centre of the Cār-Bāgh as usual, but at its northern edge, overlooking the river, with the ever-changing sky in its background (Fig. 35). This is the secret of its newness and key to its total aesthetic impression, in accordance with the dictum:

Kṣaṇe ksq kṣaṇe yannavatām - upaiti
Tadaiva rūpaṁ ramaṇīyatāyā iti

(That which appears ever-new, every moment, is beautiful.)

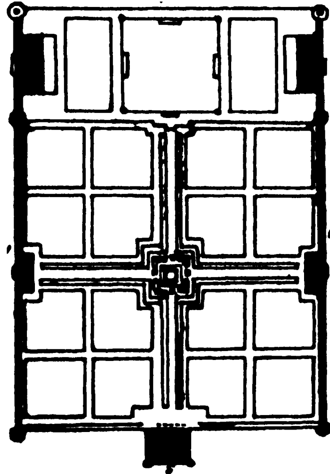


Fig. 35
Plan of the Taj Garden, Agra
(1631-48)

The ideal proportions of the Taj Mahal were evolved in wooden model.[22] That is why, though it has drawn on earlier examples, its proportions are unique. Resting on a 5.79 metre high plinth, and flanked marvellously at the corners by 40.50 metre high, three-storeyed slender *minārs* which are crowned by beautiful *chatrīs*, it is a square building measuring 57 metres a side, with a chamfer of 7.26 metres at the angles, having double-storeyed alcoves on each side of the central *Īwān*-portal and also at the corners. The superstructure is composed of a beautiful bulbous dome 44.41 metres high (from the base of the

drum) which is set harmoniously amidst a cluster of *chatrīs* at the diagonal points, and pinnacles which crown the turrets attached to the quoins. The entire composition is perfectly balanced; rhythm and harmony, viz. *chandas*, is its greatest merit. It is with the help of the environmental cues—the garden, the water-devices, the river-bank and the light blue sky in the background, that its total impression is made up. The architect has exploited Nature at the Taj in a novel way to bring about the best architectonic effect.

The Tomb is entirely built of pure white marble. Unlike in any previous building, decoration at the Taj Mahal is very simple and there is a predominance of plain surfaces. Inlay of coloured stones, mostly in stylized floral designs, is the chief mode of ornamentation which has been very judiciously and sparingly selected and combined. The bas-reliefs of the mortuary-hall, for example, have *Ghaṭa-Pallava* composition in relief (Plate 43), combined with inlay on the borders; this inlay of semi-precious stones has also been done on the *Jhajjharī* (*muhajjar*; jalied curtain) around the cenotaphs. This ornamentation is integral to the structure. These bas-reliefs are unique in the whole range of medieval Indian art The dados of the portals are simpler.

Rise and fall go together, like life and death, and decline of an art is as much part of the same evolutionary process as is its development. Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.) reversed the course of the Mughal polity and the theocratic policy which he imposed upon the Mughal State and the people, killed all incentives to fine arts. Though his age has a few relics to its credit and, in fact, the Mughals raised monumental buildings as late as 1754 A. D. when the Tomb of Manṣūr Khān Safdarjung was constructed at Delhi, the sources of the Royal patronage and inspiration dried up, and there was a downward trend. For all practical purposes, the year 1803 A. D. (when the British captured Agra and Delhi from the Mughals) marks the close of the dynastic art of the Great Mughals, which indeed depended on personal patronage and was essentially a Court Art.

(18) DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL ART: DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL STYLE

While the Mughal art declined after Shāh Jehān, a truly National Style of Architecture took over from it; it developed and flourished during the post-Mughal, precisely post-Aurangzebian, period down to the dawn of Independence (from early 18th to mid-20th centuries A. D.), in spite of political vicissitudes.

This process can be traced distinctly from the Palace of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Mewar (1433-68 A. D.) at Chitorgarh where the first sincere attempt was

made to accept and admit arch, vault and dome in a Hindu building. Here, arch has been made, on the openings, with voussoirs as well as stone brackets, with a combination of arcuate and trabeate modes of construction, with an emphatic ogee. Dome has been popularly used on the superstructure. It is built on pendentives, instead of squinches, and on the corbelling system; and, exteriorly, it is plain *Amrūdiyā* (guava-shaped); or *Piyājiyā* (onion-shaped) with volutes; or *Kharbūijiyā* (melon-shaped) with regular flutes; or *Kamarakhī*, octagonal with lateral flutes; or *Tarbūjiyā*, plain with broad octagonal sections, for example. This is how the western Indian artisans denoted domes in the local dialect. It is noteworthy that the dome in India was invariably crowned by such traditional features as lotus-petals (*mahāpadma*), *āmalaka* (*āmalasāraka*; myrobalan) and *kalaśa* (water-vase) - finial, and this dome is different from any other dome outside India. A wide variety of vaulted roofs, locally denoted as *ḍāṭdār* and *ladāo,* were also built.

A theory on the construction of 'mosque' was written around the same time, *c.* 1500 A. D. in the Maru-Gurjara (western Rajasthan and Gujarat) region. The text is entitled the *Rehamāṇa-Prāsāda* (The Temple of Rehamāṇa, the Compassionate Form of Allah), like the *Śiva-Prāsāda* (the Temple of Śiva) and the *Viṣṇu-Prāsāda* (the Temple of Viṣṇu). It prescribes the basic features of 'mosque' unmistakably, and these prescriptions are true to the standardized version of its architecture. It is noteworthy that these technical guidelines were laid down in respect of *masjid* only, and not for the construction of *maqbarah* (tomb) which was also an equally important and popular type of building of this period. The Indian Pundit did not write on the theory of Tomb Architecture simply because monumental tomb was technically an un-Islamic structure, and there could have been orthodox objection to the making of its universal theory. Mosque, on the other hand, was a valid religious forum of a large section of the urban people. In fact, it was deemed to be a type of *Prāsāda* (Temple) for the worship of *nirañjana* and *nirākāra* God, who was acknowledged to be identical with absolute *Brahman* and, accordingly, it was theorized along with the temples of the Hindus in the same work. The mosque was, thus, admitted in supersession of the much-professed taboos and inhibitions, into the orbit of the Sacred Architecture of India.

The things gradually moved from Medapāṭa (Mewar) to Gopādri (Gwalior) in the Jamuna-Chambal region which extended from Delhi to Gwalior. It included BRAJA (Mathurā, Vrindaban, Bharatpur, Agra and Dholpur), which was, culturally, the most important region of the Āryāvarta. This land was

traditionally connected with the Legend of Kṛṣṇa, the saviour of the *Mahābhārata*, and such saints of Medieval Renaissance as Caitanya and Ballabha, had to base their movement in the Braja and it was from here that Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti, as a measure of Reformation, spread to the whole country. It was the centre of the Indian people's psyche and ethos, as much as it was the seat of the paramount (*Cakravartin*) political power of the country.

The Mān-Mandir of Gwalior, built (*c.* 1500 A. D.) by Raja Mansingh Tomar (1486-1516 A. D.), is a landmark in the evolution of the medieval architecture of India. Arch, vault and dome have been used here, in a variety of forms, with the traditional features like pillar, bracket, *chajjā, jharokhā, chatrī, chaparkhaṭ* and *caukhaṇḍī*. The palace has a large number of vaulted (*ladāo*) ceilings which greatly inspired the ceilings of Akbar's buildings in the Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. Curiously, glazed tiling, the most typically Muslim mode of surface decoration, has also been used on a large scale, in varied designs, in this building. This shows the fusion of the exotic and indigenous elements into a single composite style of architecture. The Mān-Mandir of Gwalior is a typical growth of the Jamuna-Chambal region in respect of Art, as Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti was in respect of Religion, exactly contemporaneous.

It must be noted that while pointed, radiating arch with voussoirs and keystone is truly Muslim, arch without them, composed of one or two slabs of stone, or by corbelled stone courses, with or without ogee (*gavākṣa*) or fringe (*jhālar*), is fully an Indian feature which was developed here by the traditional stone builders. So is squinch with stone pendentives in the phase of transition, and so is dome made by corbelling, or supported on corbelled pendentives at the corners. Large stone beams and lintels, used with one or more square *hiṇḍols*, do the same miracle to support the superincumbent load horizontally in a variety of *ladāo* (vaulted) ceilings. Not only structurally, in ornamentation too, the emphasis shifted from Line and Colour and surface decoration, to the treatment of Mass and Volume of stone in the third-dimension, and the pleasant organization of 'Shadows', which is the key to architectural aestheticism in such a climate as this. The Muslim Art introduced beautiful geometrics, calligraphics and arabesques, which were used together with indigenous motifs and designs, homogeneously. With the help of this vast material, the ingenious Mughal artist created a thousand stylized designs which still bear the Mughal brand.

It is remarkable that the development of Architectonic in India belongs to the medieval period. The Hindu temple symbolized the idea of the mountain and the cavern, but the architecture which developed in medieval India is an art of

Silhouette on the skyline. It is the masterful organization of the superstructure mass and volume of the structure rising imperceptibly into the sky, combining some graceful curved lines, e.g. at the Taj Mahal, to leave, like a painting, beautiful rhythmic shadows on the canvas of horizon. This is its unique contribution to Indian Art.

It was this style which first went to the vassal Rajput (*mansabdār*) states and then, on the eve of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, in the 18th century A. D., to the people, and it was ultimately with the standardized Mughal idioms—tapering, fluted pillars with lotus designs on bases and capitals, engrailed (generally 9-cusped) arches, or arches with fringe of lotus-buds, made of one or two slabs of stone; broad, overhanging *chajjās* supported on exquisitely designed, three-tiered brackets, *bānglādār* (curved) central *chajjā* and bent cornice, *jharokhās*, *tibārā-dālān*, *duchattī*, *chappar* ceiling and *khaprel* roofs, *chatrīs*, *chaparkhats* and *caukhaṇḍīs*, set with fluted (*dhārīdār*) domes, crowned by prominent *mahāpadma* and *kalaśa* finials on the skyline, that houses, *havelīs*, palatial mansions, *chatrīs* (Rajput tombs), *ghāṭs*, *bāolīs* and other public buildings were made. It was essentially with these constituents that non-sectarian buildings from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, and Okha to Gauhati were raised during the whole of the 18th and 19th centuries, and this style, in fact, lasted -if the buildings of the Albert Hall, Jaipur, and St. John's College, Agra, both designed by Col. Swinton Jacob, can be an indication—till Independence. This style was national in character and it cannot be identified as Hindu or Muslim. The mosque too has freely drawn on it; it also went to the *maṇḍapa* of the Hindu temple, as is unmistakably illustrated by such Kṛṣṇa temples as those of Śrī-Govinda Deva, Śrī Madan Mohan, Śrī Rādhā Ballabh, Śrī Jugal Kishore and Śrī Gopī Nāth at Vrindaban; Śrī Hari Deva at Govardhana and Śrī Jagat Śiromaṇi at Āmber (Jaipur) (of the period 1570-1627 A. D.), though its *mūlaprāsāda*, comprising the *garbhagṛha* and the *śikhara*, remained unchanged. It was the PEOPLE'S ART, in letter and spirit. The process which began in the late 12th century A. D. thus found its culmination in the late 19th century A. D., and it is the story of the creative evolution of an art in such a geographically vast country, of such cultural diversities, as India, during a period of seven centuries.

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[6] For a detailed study, see *HSA*, pp. 76-83.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 251-67.

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[19] *Calligraphic Art in Mughal Architecture* (Calcutta, 1979), pp. 29, 62-3.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS *

* *Courtesy:* Author

SCULPTURE

12

INDIAN SCULPTURE: ESSENCE AND FORM

OF all branches of Indian Art, none is so difficult to understand and so difficult to sympathize with, as the schools of old Indian Sculpture. Their strange forms, their peculiar themes, and their special means and methods of expression characterize them as a unique and distinctive language of plastic thought, having very little in common with any schools of Sculpture in the West. Their peculiar conceptions and repellent forms are so remote from our modern conceptions of things that it has long delayed their appreciation in Europe; but thanks to the widening of the artistic horizon in the West, the art of the Indian sculptor has now won its votaries in Europe, and artists and connoisseurs have recently turned their admiring gaze to Indian Sculpture, and begun to appreciate its quality, as a new form of plastic expression and as the most characteristic phase of Indian Art. It is impossible to convey within the compass of a single essay anything like an adequate, or accurate idea of its various phases. And if I am unable to give a worthy presentation of a very large subject in all its varied aspects, I can only offer the apologies of an unworthy expositor.

As has been remarked above, the most characteristic phase, or form of Indian Art is a piece of sculpture, or more strictly speaking, an image, or an icon. But the origin and development of the art of the sculptor arises in India from conditions and necessities quite different from those prevailing in other countries, or other forms of culture. In order to understand the point of view and the function of the Indian sculptor, it is necessary to go into certain fundamental considerations. A sculptor is an image-maker and as such his function is severely limited and circumscribed by the injunctions of the iconographer, the priest, or the expounder of the image. An image is not an idol, or a fetish, that is to say, it does not stand for, or represent the Divinity Itself, but is an instrument of *sādhanā*, a diagrammatic help, designed to assist the worshipper or *sādhaka* to attain Divinity.* This could not be otherwise, as

* An image or a *yantra* (device) is a piece of psychological apparatus to call up one or other aspects of the Divinity. Cp. *Divyāvadāna* (xxvi. ed. Cowell and Neill, p. 363) : 'Those who venerate the earthen images of the Angels do not revere the clay, but the Immortals thereby represented.'

according to old Vedic ideas, the Infinite, the Formless, cannot possibly be rendered in terms of a finite form, or body. The great unconditioned Being, the Brahma, or *Īśa*, the all-pervading Principle, cannot be conceived as an image, conditioned by form, or space; in other words, there can be no representation, picture, or idol of the Divinity. To these uncompromising aniconic conceptions, post-Vedic speculations introduced certain concessions, or compromising ideas. If the Divinity could not be pictured, or visualized in a finite form, certain aspects of It could be symbolized and made accessible or comprehensible, for the benefit of the worshipper, the *sādhaka* or *upāsaka*. '*Sādhakānāṁ hitārthāya Brahmaṇo rūpakalpanaṁ*' i.e. for the benefit of the worshipper, the great Immanent Being condescends to assume an imaginative form. It is clearly understood that this symbol (*pratīka*) or image (*pratimā*) is not the Divinity Itself, but a suggestion, to the finite human mind, of a fragment of the Infinite Being. It is a mere aid, an instrument, a *sādhanā* for the attainment of *yoga* or union with the Divinity. And it is expressly laid down that the worshipper who considers the Divinity as a mere piece of stone or a piece of wood in which an aspect of the Divinity is suggested, is doomed to perdition. Even in the sculptors' handbooks—the *Śilpa-śāstras* of the *sthapatis*, the fundamental metaphysical conceptions and the basic psychology of images are not lost sight of. One text begins by enunciating the three aspects of the great Divinity conceived, firstly, as *Īśa*, the all-pervading Principle immanent in all the endless variety of the phenomenal world; secondly, as *niṣkala*, the formless non-immanent Brahma; and thirdly, as *śakala*, or imaginative forms, or images. Now these images or imaginative forms of gods and goddesses are not the result of caprice or individual fancy of the image-maker or sculptor, but are such forms as gifted persons, seers, prophets, or *ṛṣis* have visualized in the course of their search after the Divinity; they have set down the plastic conception in appropriate verbal pictures, called the *dhyāna-mantras*, or contemplative verses, by means of which the forms can be called up, conceived, or invoked. And the function of the image-maker or sculptor is to translate, accurately, in terms of a plastic form the idea conveyed by the iconographer. The integrity of the original conception must be jealously adhered to, as no deviation from the original form as visualized by the seer can be permitted. And in order to secure this accuracy and fidelity to the original visualization, the *dhyāna-mantras* or contemplative verses are accompanied by interpretative patterns or outlines known as the *lakṣaṇas*, on which are based the Canons of Proportions setting out the dispositions of the various limbs, or gestures of each image. There is, therefore, no room for the individual artist to introduce any innovation, or

original ideas. He is in fact an illustrator or interpreter in stone, wood, or metal, of a form visualized or imaged by a seer, prophet, or *sādhaka*. And the success or otherwise of his function as an artist will be judged by the amount of his sincerity and his capacity to render, within the limits of his prescribed canon, the spirit, the psychology, the *rasa*, the elemental essence which pervades the conception of the image. He must, therefore, identify himself completely with the point of view of the *sādhaka*, the worshipper himself. And in order that the artist may be able to absorb himself and be completely immersed in his theme, the subject-matter that he is called upon to carve, chisel or cast, he is enjoined in the *Agnipurāṇa* (ch. 43), to fast and to perform certain purificatory rituals, and on the night before undertaking a given work, to make the following prayer: 'O Thou Lord of all gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out all the work I have in my mind.' The nearest analogue in Western Art is furnished by the practice of the great French sculptor Auguste Rodin who was credited with the habit of undertaking *séances* in order to invoke and get into the spirit of his subject. It is only when the mental image has sufficiently defined itself with adequate energy, that a painter or a sculptor is qualified to begin his task of realizing his dreams in visual forms. From the worshipper's point of view the usefulness, or the success of the image depends on its quality, or power of evoking the religious ecstasy, the desired union, *yoga*, or *samādhi*, the identification of the worshipper with his *iṣṭa-devatā* or chosen deity. The usefulness of the instrument is the fitness of the means for the end, the most efficient performance of its appropriate function. In this sense, the most useful is the most beautiful. For the particular image which the worshipper requires for his particular *sādhanā*, the realization or fulfilment of his aim, may be an attractive form of the Divinity, or a repellent aspect of It. It may be *sāttvika*, a gracious form of the Deity, or *tāmasika*, a terrible conception of It. For, according to Indian ideas, 'Creation, preservation and destruction are equally the function of the Divinity. His image may be now beautiful, now terrible, but is always suffused with that vitality or living quality which transcends all limited conceptions of beauty and ugliness.' As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has put it, 'Its beauty has a quality which overwhelms and submerges all the beauty of created beings.'

From this point of view, Indian Art cannot be expected to seek attractive forms for its own sake; its beauty is the resultant of a sincere and intuitive attempt to suggest or intimate the Divinity. The quality, or beauty of Indian religious Art is the resultant, or inevitable by-product of a spiritual intercourse—not a conscious attempt to create attractive forms. Let us examine this point of

view by illustrating two different aspects of the same Divinity.

Take for instance an image of Viṣṇu (Plate 1) in a static pose, with the various limbs symmetrically disposed. In this flexion of what is known as the *samabhaṅga* pose—an attitude prescribed for the *class of images in a state of repose*, we have a presentation of the gracious aspect of the god.

In the famous panel (Plate 2) of the Death of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Ellorā Cave) we have also the picture of the same deity in its destructive mood. The god is very powerfully conceived in an extremely dramatic pose—in the act of killing the demon-king Hiraṇyakaśipu. We have here a sublime presentation of the *bhayānaka rasa*, the emotion of terror—*Le beau dans l'horrible* or 'beauty in the terrible,' in the shapes and forms of horror.

By a somewhat exaggerated attention paid to a phase of Greek and Greco-Roman sculptures, a popular misconception had grown up, to the effect that nothing but the merely physical or sensuous aspects of beauty, illustrated in the types of Venus, Apollo, Eros and their analogues, can be an appropriate subject for the art of the sculptor. The *bhayānaka* and the *vibhatsa rasa*, the spirit of terror and horror, have also claimed interpreters in Western Art. At the risk of a little digression we cannot resist the temptation of alluding to a few examples:

One of the most interesting examples is furnished by Michael Angelo's famous study of the 'Fall of the Rebel Angels' for a fresco in the Sistine Chapel. The repellent conception of the face acquires its beauty or *rasa* by an expression of the sense of horror aroused by the wrath, the vengeance of God. It has, indeed, no 'beauty' understood in a narrower sense, for it is not 'easy or pleasant to look at, ' it has no 'sense-pleasure'; all the same it has an aesthetic quality of its own, not only as a skilful presentation or realization of a feeling of horror, but also as a suggestion of a different order or category of beauty—having a 'difference in *feeling-import* from those implicit in the pleasanter types of beauty.'

Similarly, a modern sculptor has attempted to render a somewhat repellent conception of the idea of the destructive energy of Nature in the symbolized form of the Spirit of the Storm, *La Tempête* by Rodin. It will easily recall the idea underlying the conception of the Vedic god Rudra, the Roarer, the god of storms, earthquakes, and fires, to whom some of the Vedic hymns are addressed: 'Praise be to Him, the Famous, the Mighty, that slays like a dread beast. O Rudra, being praised be gracious to the singer. Let thy missiles lay low another than us' (*R. V.* II. 33. II).

For the Indian Narasiṁha (Plate 3), man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, we have a very close parallel in the Egyptian conception of Shekmet (Plate 4). Those who are obsessed with the idea that zoomorphic conceptions are impossible of

artistic representation, have a formidable task to explain away the magnificent dignity, the peculiar atmosphere that such images call up, and the manner in which they uplift us to a world far away from our little earth and make us gasp for breath. It is one thing to say that I have no need for such conceptions, and quite another to suggest that the idea of such themes has not been artistically rendered, or, in other words, to suggest that the subject-matter itself takes it out of the limits of artistic representation. Fortunately, in the revised schemes of European aesthetics, it has been recently recognized that the subject-matter of a work of Art has nothing to do with its quality or beauty as a work of Art. It has to be judged from its own intrinsic merit, implicit in the work itself and the manner of its treatment.

Turning to an image of Viṣṇu again for a moment (Plate 5), we have to ask if the underlying conception of the image has been adequately indicated in this plastic scheme. It is no criticism of the quality of this piece of sculpture to assert that it does not convey to me the same *rasa*, the same aesthetic feeling which I derive from a contemplation of the Greek god Apollo, who represents the Greek idea of a god realized in terms of a healthy human body. The Greek conception of life for ever circumscribed the Greek sculptor's conception of form, and confined his vision of gods to a perfectly developed healthy human body. The 'beautiful humanities' of the Greek Olympus—those finely handled 'flesh-forms' are not in any real sense religious conceptions, or an intimation of the Divinity; they are but grand and beautiful men. For Greek Sculpture was, after all, the finest expression of Greek life—a sensuous, open-air, well-ordered life, largely spent between the gymnasium and the temple. It is a significant fact that it is still a matter of dispute whether one of the most famous statues of the early fifth century, the Choiseul Gouffier Apollo, represents a god or an athlete. Such a typical or normal human form is in fact the logical expression of anthropomorphism in its most literal sense—the making of gods after man's image.

In India, the Divinity has been pictured in terms of a superhuman type, such as we see in the image of a seated Viṣṇu (Plate 5). It is impossible to confuse the conception with the average type of human anatomy. The subjective conceptions of Indian images could hardly be represented in terms of a physically perfect healthy human body. It could only be symbolized in an ideal type and by forms not strictly in accordance with known physiological laws, but rather by forms which transcend the limits of ordinary human anatomy.

The Indian sculptor had, therefore, to devise certain artistic conventions and a special system of anatomy for the purpose of suggesting and intimating 'something beyond the forms of created beings'. He had set himself 'to create

beyond himself,' as Nietzche puts it, to suggest and evolve the type of the superman. One of the first of these conventions is the adoption of a special scale of proportions known as the 'Ten-head' measure, the *daśatālam*, for the height of the image of a god. The whole body is divided into ten parts or sections, each of which is equivalent to the unit of the size of the head. Both Polycleitos and Virtruvius, the Greek and Roman authors of the Canons of Proportions, adopt the law of 'Eight heads'—the normal human standard—as the basis of their system of proportions, while the Indian sculptor adopts for his images—the *daśatāla*, or the 'ten-head' measure; that is to say, he devises and adopts for images proportions which are above the ordinary human standard.

In the second place, he proceeds to suppress, as we see in the images of Naṭarāja (Plate 6), all anatomical details, particularly at the joints of the body. The sculptor's texts actually enjoin that the hands and feet should be without veins and the bones of wrists and ankles should not be shown. The wrist does not show any indication of the joining of the bones underneath. It is rendered in a beautiful curve, the sweet lines of which are echoed and emphasized by the curve-lines of the *valaya*, the wristlets and bangles. In fact all the anatomical details are absolutely suppressed and eliminated. By the elimination of these features a smooth, tapering and rounded form is arrived at, which gives an abstract generalized anatomy that is far removed from the average human standard, suggesting the spirituality and abstraction of a super-terrestrial sphere. It is the suggestion of a psychic super-sensuous form, a form more subtly conceived than human form ever was, and invested with the ideal beauty of the Divinity.

In the image of Avalokiteśvara from Nepal (Plate 7) the attenuated waist, and a generalization of the anatomy carried out much further than was ever attempted in Greece, producing an extreme simplicity of form and contour, are part of a deliberate intention to suggest a type of abstract spiritual beauty far removed from the contact of worldly passions and desires. This is achieved and symbolized, as it were, by a type of body in which there is not an ounce of superfluous flesh anywhere, in which the bones underneath the flesh, and the veins have been suppressed, and the joints of the limbs are not made visible, as in the case of an ordinary mortal—thus obeying faithfully the injunctions of the texts prescribed for the image-makers, which direct the suppression of these anatomical details: 'The joints, the bones and veins must always be concealed.'

The third device adopted is the use of a series of peculiar gestures or 'finger-plays,' technically known as *mudrās*, each of some peculiar significance. Thus the *mudrās* in Plate 25 are finger-plays known as the *kaṭaka-hasta*, generally used in depicting the hand holding a lotus. The left hand in Plate 6 is

the *lola-hasta*, the hand hanging down in repose, of which another form is the *gaja-hasta*. These different *mudrās* are associated with particular images—in a particular mood, or gesture—and are used as attributes of particular gods or goddesses for the purpose of identification.

Some of these gestures, attitudes and movements seem to our Western critics as artificial and unnatural. But, devised as they were as suggestive of a superhuman or a divine personality, they have been very properly conceived, in a manner antagonistic to the poses and gestures natural to man, under the sway of human feelings and actions. They have been devised as exquisite artifices for suggesting, as it were, a refinement of external action corresponding to a refinement of feeling.

When an Indian divine image holds in its hand a trident, it does not grip the weapon clumsily as the Greek Zeus from Hungary, placed side by side in our illustration (Plates 8 & 9), but it playfully poises the *ṭanka* between its two fingers, the other fingers hanging out in a graceful angle. Some of these gestures, apart from their significance or symbolism, are wonderfully articulate with a grace and tenderness which are truly spiritual and non-human. These movements have been characteristically called by Śukrācārya as *divya-kriyā* or divine actions, and they must be distinguished in their conventions from the movements and gestures of ordinary human beings. For it is by means of these departures and variations from natural poses that the non-human form could possibly be rendered in terms of the human shape. 'The more human in expression, the less does Indian sculpture approach its own perfection.' So greatly has this imaginary type influenced the conception of the sculptor that even in cases of representation of forms other than images of gods, he unconsciously adopts this generalized and abstract form of anatomy, which bespeaks a slender elegance and a spiritual grace.

I do not know of a better example of this than the series of warrior types (Plate 10) depicted on the facades of the old Pallava temples at Seven Pagodas (Mahābalipuram). Note the broad, deep shoulders and the narrow contracted abdomen, almost recalling the wasp-waisted figures of old Cretan frescos. These athletic forms are not derived from the models at the gymnasium, or borrowed from the types of players on the football ground; they are related to and derived from the patterns of the Indian gods, and easily recall types recorded in such beautiful figures of gods as the *kāla-saṁhāra* form of Śiva in the Bṛhadīśvara temple (Plate 11). It is difficult to say whether the beauty of the conception is derived from its exquisitely balanced pose, with its four hands in fine equilibrium, its subtly modelled anatomy, or the inwardly conceived gracious

expression of the face, which is absorbed within itself, wholly unrelated to or moved by any expression of anger, hatred, or sorrow; for although by the gentle movement of the left foot the god kills as he tramples on the little demon, the symbol of time or death, he does so with a detachment and absence of emotion which wonderfully suggests a sense of power, without any shadow of a sense of vulgarity or brutality. The demon of death dies at the gentle pressure of his toe, without any effort or striving, as if in obedience to some immutable law, rather than by any conscious exercise of any physical powers. The *kāla-saṁhāra* aspect of Śiva represents a *tāmasika* or terrible phase of the great god. But almost in terms of the same anatomical phraseology, a sentiment of peaceful inward serenity, a *śānta rasa*, is expressed in the portrait of Saint Sundaramūrti, pictured in a moment of supreme exaltation. The type is figured with the same broad chest and thin waist. The finger-plays are posed in nervous sensitive gestures, under the sway of a spiritual emotion.

Yet it is not by the use of a conventional anatomy, a thin-waisted frame or exquisitely posed figures, that the Indian sculptor attains his consummation. He is as happy in expressing spiritual values through his thin-waisted figures as through those with thick waist and stout proportions. In the magnificently conceived figure, say, of a *guru*, a *ṛṣi*, an old Aryan sage, the spirituality of the expression is not a bit discounted by the use of a body characterized by an almost Falstaffian waist. The gaze of the saint is fixed inward and the massive dignity of the whole body emphasizes the absolute immobility of the soul within, in which all manner of restlessness sinks and dies in sleep (Plate 12).

It is impossible to render in more realistic terms a truer picture of an inner spiritual realization, a state of *samādhi*, a consciousness of identity with the Divinity—which can never be described in words, and which is only hinted at in the *yoga-śāstras*.

In the pot-bellied god Kuvera, the *kalasodara* (Plate 13), a somewhat similar type of anatomy is adopted to convey a beauty of form and pose of remarkable charm and dignity. In this figure all the limbs balance and harmonize in a scheme of plastic composition which has a logic entirely of its own. A subtle sense of restraint and a skilful welding of the different plastic values of the limbs keep the artist from stepping into the abyss of the grotesque, or the quagmire of the ludicrous.

The same sense of exquisitely dignified utterance pervades the conception and execution of a singularly fine image of Brahmā (Karachi Museum), the symbol of creative energy in Hindu mythology (Plate 14). The treatment of the drapery is reduced to a minimum indication, and the suppression of all irrelevant

details produces a soft, supple and rounded form, which is beautifully capped by the skilfully poised heads that by a marvellous use of the matted locks appear to be organically related to one another, without any suggestion of the grotesque. The three heads sit on the shoulders without any sense of abnormality, being artistically strung together in a happy and harmonious unity.

The same sense of logical unity has received a more accomplished execution in a later image of Brahmā (Plate 15) of the Southern Indian School, coming from one of the Cola temples of the tenth or eleventh century. It is a seated image of the god, very delicately modelled and sensitively posed. The perfect chiselling of the front face, of oval shape, with a sharp nose and heavy underlip, very skilfully echoed and emphasized by the two other heads, express a profound mood of meditation with wonderful artistry and power. The right leg hangs down in a pose that places the foot at a point which furnishes an artistic device to indicate the plumb-line of the *Brahmasūtra*, the vertical axis running through the centre of the composition, with reference to which the limbs, the other elements of the composition, are skilfully related. The extra pair of heads and the extra pair of arms help to add a subtle sense of weight and balance to the whole composition and build up a sense of static equilibrium, which very happily translates the idea of serenity and repose, the underlying motif of the iconographic conception.

For artistic presentation of abnormally conceived images there is nothing to beat the Indian sculptors' rendering of the figure of the god Gaṇeśa (Plate 16). The elephant-head seems to grow inevitably out of the rounded shoulders and offer an appropriate finial to the organization of the abnormally short and rounded arms and legs, which seem to be compensated and balanced by the long tapering proboscis that appears to move slowly to emphasize, as it were, the restful solidity of the rounded form.

The artist, very happily, exploits the sense of the incongruous, to secure a subtly gracious though obviously well-intentioned sense of humour, which does not, however, injure the sense of its dignity. The weird fancy of the Brahmin iconographer is invested with a plausibility and a realism of form, which bespeak a wonderful command over the elements of plastic language harmoniously worked into such skilful phraseology. It may be claimed that the Indian treatment of this composite form of man and animal attains a much more plastic success than the Centaurs of Greek mythology, or the winged human bulls of Assyrian monuments.

A phase of Indian Sculpture that offers to the uninitiated and superficial critic a stumbling-block, is the peculiar facial expression of its gods and images. In many of the images engaged in strenuous action, the expression of the face is

one of unshaken peace. We have already alluded to this peculiarity in the figure of the *Kāla-saṁhāra* image.

It is the plastic application of the principle expounded in the *Gītā*: 'Action without attachment.' The idea is that in all actions it is but the body which acts, while the Self, serene, unshaken and unattached, is a mere spectator of the drama; the figure is represented as a mere actor.

Some of the *Mahiṣāsuramardinī* images of Durgā illustrate the same principle. It looks as if the goddess was killing the demon out of a sense of her duty and much against her own will. The demon was destined to die, and the vanquisher is only a mere instrument of Fate— *nimitta-mātram*, as our scriptures put it.

The faces of the *sāttvika* images, where no strenuous action is attributed to the Deity, stand on a different footing. The apotheosis of an introspective vision absorbed within itself is rendered in the famous heads of the *Trimūrti* at Elephanta (Plate 17), in a manner most impressive in its majesty and very daring in the boldness of its design. The suggestion of an absolute physical repose, veiling a profound inward life, is conveyed equally in each of the three faces, though all of them are representative of carefully differentiated types of character. If we take them one by one, the profound stillness of this face, loudly told in the exaggerated closeness of the lips, haunts us and infects us with their message of peace and bids us close our own lips. If the spirit of the Divinity was ever induced to lodge in material forms, it must have made such moving stones its temporary habitation.

If one may be permitted to make a useful comparison, what a world of difference separates the idea immortalized in the last picture from that conveyed in the head of Zeus, the great god of Greek Olympus (Plate 18)! In spite of the aggressive display of curling locks and overpowering beards, the conception utterly fails to convey any sense of the Divine, and is empty and almost hollow in its physical and objective outlook.

To return to the really Olympic heights of Indian philosophic thought, the plastic interpretation of *samādhi*, the ideal of spiritual absorption, is as much a fundamental feature of Hindu as of Buddhist sculptures. The Dhyānī Buddha from Java (Plate 19) is a commentary in stone, and a plastic parallel to the words of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*: 'Like unto a lamp that flickereth not in a windless spot, is the mind to be set at rest.' The posture of a perfect bodily equipoise answers and begets a perfect restful mental pose. Only by strenuous effort and passionlessness can this peace and the realization that is its end be attained. This concrete crystallization of a spiritual mood was developed into a form so perfect

and inevitable that it remains after more than 2000 years one of the most inspiring and satisfying symbols created by man.

Hindu sculptors have also contributed to Indian Art types corresponding to the idea and the ideal embodied in the last example.

In the head of Śiva (Plate 20) we have a magnificent symbolization of the spirit of meditation. Śiva is the great Yogī, the dreamer *par excellence* of the Hindu Mythology, 'the Poet of Fathomless Silence' who loves to wake up after ages of dreaming and loves to destroy all life, only to give them a new and rejuvenated existence. He loves to decorate his matted locks with skulls, for they are the trophies of his victory over life and death. It is rare to meet within the boundaries of any schools of Sculpture such noble and significant expression of abstract philosophic thoughts.

On the other hand, the doctrine of *bhakti* or passionate love-service has given to Indian Sculpture a series of exquisite forms of semi-divine incarnations in the canonized portraits of various devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu. We have already considered the image of Sundaramūrti, but another and a better example deserves our study. It is an unidentified Śaiva devotee of the Southern Indian School (Plate 21). The supreme serenity and graciousness of the face lit up by a mysterious smile is undoubtedly the glory of the figure. The joint palms of the worshipper slightly suggests a forward movement in the upper part of the body. It symbolizes, rather than actually depicts, an eagerness to reach out to the Deity. This movement is somewhat discounted and held in check by the restraint and placidity of the face and the deadness and static quality of the repose of the trunk and the legs, which appear to rivet the figure on its lotus pedestal and stop all feelings of movement. And yet this exquisite lack of physical movement is emphasized and contrasted by a spiritual pulsation which appears to shake every part of the body from the top of the matted locks to the finger tips with a mysterious throb.

This interpretation in material form of a state midway between movement and tranquillity, a pose of ecstasy and illumination, is one of the consummate plastic inventions of the sculptors of the South.

This sense of motion in the midst of tranquillity—the quality of what Maurice Maeterlinck calls 'active silence'—is very well illustrated in the head of the well-known stone image of the Buddha (Plate 22) from Sarnath: A little attentive gaze will help one to follow how the outline of the face and those of the chin, nose, and eyes all merge and vanish in the centre between the pair of eyebrows. And even the lines on the neck, as those of the encircling effulgence round the head—'the halo of radiance'—are moving round and round, with the imaginary

point between the eyebrows as their centre. The face is the picture of a silent and motionless sea, in which dancing waves have died in sleep. On this face it is easy to notice incessant marks of meditation to rise and fade away to sink into an unknown sea of Bliss. The voice of the mystic syllable of creation, *om*, lifts itself incessantly like the roar of the sea and melts incessantly into space.

The nearest analogue to this form of expression in Western Art is perhaps furnished by some of the saints and angels on the Cathedrals of France—with the characteristic Gothic smile, a symbol of an inward spiritual realization. In many a portrait of saints or apostles on the facades of Christian Cathedrals in France, the expression of the head is conceived not in a physical objective smile, but in an indication of a subjective spiritual rapture—something very much akin, though in a lesser degree, to the expression of the faces of Hindu images of gods.

The Bodhisattva—'the Buddha to be'—as the Prince destined to attain *nirvāṇa*, with his load of jewellery and coronet, calls for a superficial comparison with the Apollo statues of Greece. The Bodhisattva is more a god already, while the conception of the Greek Deity is 'human—much too human'. It is after all the figure of an athlete, the presentation of a human form, very far from the idea of a superhuman being. The two have to be placed side by side only to indicate the great gulf between the two conceptions and the treatment. Their respective psychologies are poles apart. One is evidently the head of a man, the other obviously the head of a superman. The chasm between the Indian conception and the Greek widens when the Prince attains Buddhahood and shines in his exquisitely modelled and sensitive body clothed in the diaphanous robe of a *sannyāsin*, as the full-fledged Preacher of the Law—Buddha as *Guru* or the Teacher of the world, a benevolent distributor of the nectar of immortality to all the races of the Asiatic Continent.

It is this fully developed figure (Plate 23) which formed the prototype of Buddha images in all countries of the Far East. This picture of a great Yogī was one of the immortal gifts of the Indian sculptor to the artists of the Far East. This particular example was excavated from the debris of a ruined monastery at Sultanganj in Bengal and may be classed as one of the greatest works of the late Gupta period, testifying to the great skill of the Northern metal-founders of the time, for the figure is about 7½ feet in height, made of copper cast in sections.

If Indian sculptors have carved in stone and cast in metal their ideal of the Divine, of the saint and the preacher, summarizing the thoughts of generations and epochs in single figures and unique conceptions which have remained for all

times as superb monuments of Indian plastic thought, their genius has not failed to incarnate the great ideal of Indian womanhood. For the type of Indian womanhood—the image of their goddesses the sculptors very quickly formulated a satisfactory aesthetic form, idealizing the national conception of beauty in very characteristic conventions. Excepting in Gothic Christian Art and in Italian Painting, particularly in the Italian Primitives, in the Art of Europe the study of womanhood has invariably centred round the representation of the nude female form and is rarely connected with the cult of mother-worship which, in India, is embodied in a creed that regards the Great Mother—*Jaganmātā*, the 'Mater Greta' of Mediterranean civilization—as the source and producer of the universe. Closely connected with this mother-idea is the doctrine which regards the woman or the female principle as the *śakti*, that is to say, the power and energy of the Divinity. Thus Śiva is regarded as powerless without Śiva-śakti—Durgā, Pārvatī, Kālī. Similarly, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, the Preserver, is helpless without his female energy, Lakṣmī or Nārāyaṇī, who symbolizes earthly prosperity, or good fortune.

The sculptors are principally concerned with Woman the Mother, and Woman the Śakti or wedded wife, the spiritual consort of the Male Principle. Besides the mother and the wedded wife, Woman the Tempter is sometimes represented in Indian Sculpture, chiefly as *apsarās* or courtesans of the gods, and sometimes as *nāyikās*, types of love-heroines - the objective of human passion.

We will begin our study of the ideal of Womanhood as portrayed in Indian Sculpture with a magnificent conception of *Prajñāpāramitā* (Plate 24). She is the personification of Transcendent Wisdom. She is the Śakti of Ādi-Buddha, who occupies the same position in Tāntrika Buddhism as Śiva in Hindu mythology. She is Nature, the concentration of every intellectual and physical power of matter, represented in a state of complete abstraction and personified as Wisdom. By her union with the acting spirit—Ādi-Buddha—are produced the Bodhisattvas and all the phenomenal universe. She, therefore, corresponds to the *Jaganmātā*, the Great Mother of Hindu mythology, sometimes very naively interpreted, as in the mystic songs of Ramprasad Sen.

In the whole array of Indian Sculpture, there has hardly survived a finer type of Indian womanhood. The upper part of her body is unclothed, yet there is not a shadow of suggestion other than that of a lofty and sublime spirituality which elevates us to a higher plane of thought. In paying his homage to the beauty of the conception, one critic was led to characterize this image as the Venus of Milo of the East. The epithet is somewhat inapplicable as, beyond the superficial

similarity that the upper part of the body in both the figures is undraped, there can be traced no parallelism, either in the underlying thought or in the treatment of the two conceptions.

In Venus de Milo, the Greek masterpiece of the great apotheosis of physical beauty, there is no conception of woman conceived as the mother, or even as the wedded wife, as the counterpart or reflexion of the Male Principle. It is instead the worship of the physical passion, hardly calculated to elevate humanity. Yet the face of our Buddhist goddess, radiant in her youth, is no less captivating in the beauty and serenity of her physical type. She attracts, however, by a quality of beauty which is very remote from the Greek conception. She is the embodiment of a great spiritual energy—typified in a youthful body, incarnating not physical charm, but a spiritual power, the source of inspiration of her mate, the great Ādi-Buddha.

Umā, Pārvatī, Gaurī, or Śivakāmī, conceived as the Śakti of Śiva, stands almost precisely on the same footing. The type conceived by Southern Indian sculptors is very typical of feminine beauty, as worshipped and interpreted in Indian Art (Plate 25). In her static pose, so magnificently balanced by her beautifully posed hands, she is the very incarnation of youthful energy, and embodies a type of beauty which can only have a spiritual significance. She is seated in an attitude technically known as the *sukhāsana*, or the happy pose, and the finger-play in her right hand represents the *siṁha-karṇa-mudrā*, imitating the ear of a lion, the gesture which is the symbol of a dialogue with her husband.

Somewhat similarly posed, but differently conceived, is a little copper-gilt statuette of a Buddhist Tārā which comes from Nepal (Plate 26). Its easy grace and elegance are emphasized by an extreme simplicity of treatment. Her cloth held in place by a jewelled belt, adheres to the contour of her body, while the thin transparent wrapper on the upper part is indicated by a line and does not encumber the beauty of her torso. The oval nimbus round the crowned head adds to the dignity of her *trivaṅka* pose. But the metal sculptors of Nepal have bequeathed to us a series of elaborately ornamented images more characteristic of the peculiar style of Nepal.

The Art of Nepal stands in a somewhat unique relation to the main stem of Indian Art. Originally inspired and developed by the stone sculptures of old Magadha and the school of Gupta Sculpture, Nepal received strong reinforcement from the Buddhist Art of the Pāla period (10th to 12th centuries), and was in intimate relationship with the Art of Bengal and Gauḍ for a long time.

As we began with the remark, the Indian sculptor has not wholly neglected

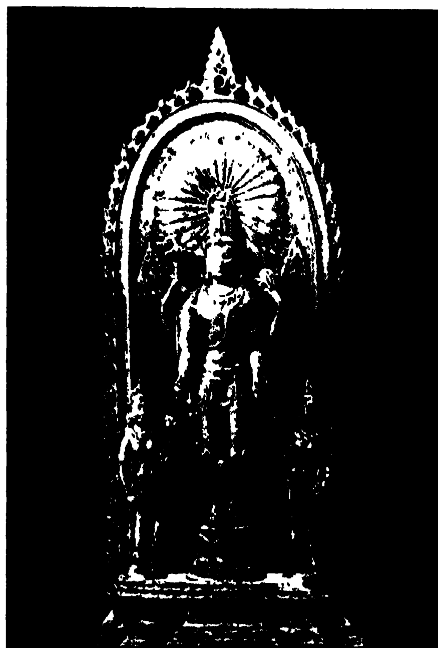


Plate 1 Viṣṇu, Sāttvika form



Plate 2 Death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, Tāmasika form of Viṣṇu, Daśāvatāra Cave, Ellorā, 7th century A. D.

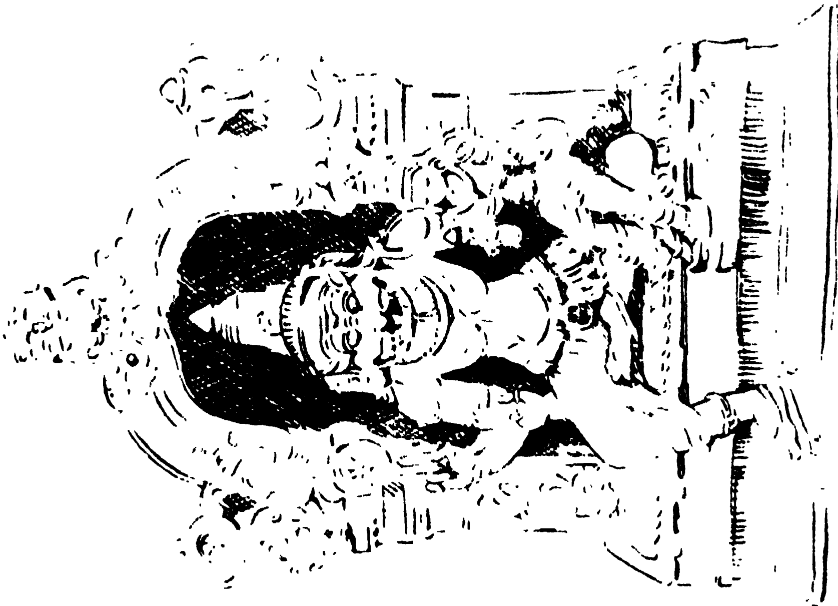


Plate 3 Narasimha, Karnataka, South India, 17th century A D.



Plate 4 Shekmet, Egyptian, Louvre Collection



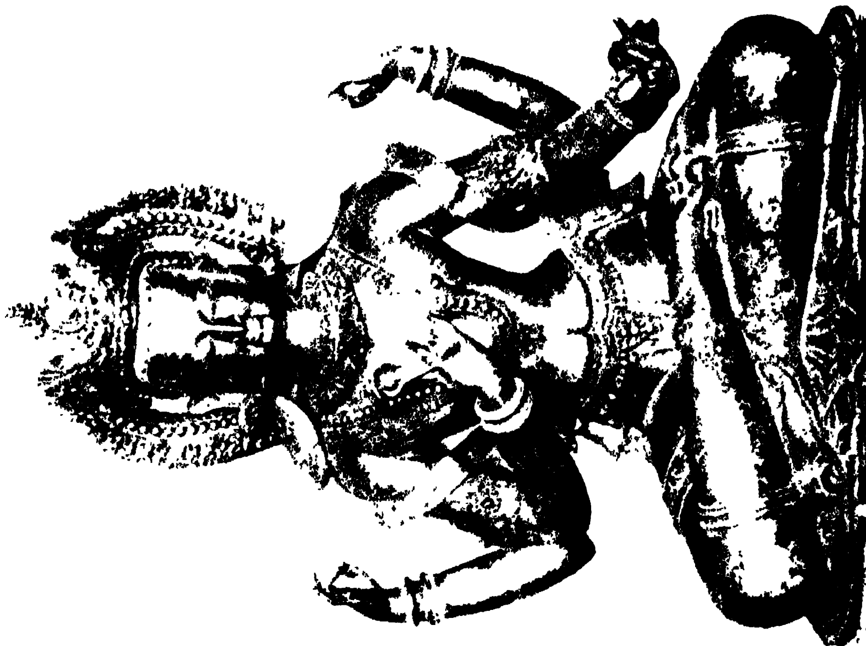




Plate 7 Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, 9th century A. D., Nepal



Plate 8 Siva poising the Tanka



Plate 9 Zeus holding the Staff



Plate 11 Kala Samhara (Siva), Tanjore c. 10th century A.D.



Plate 10 Warrior, Mahabalipuram, early 7th century A.D.

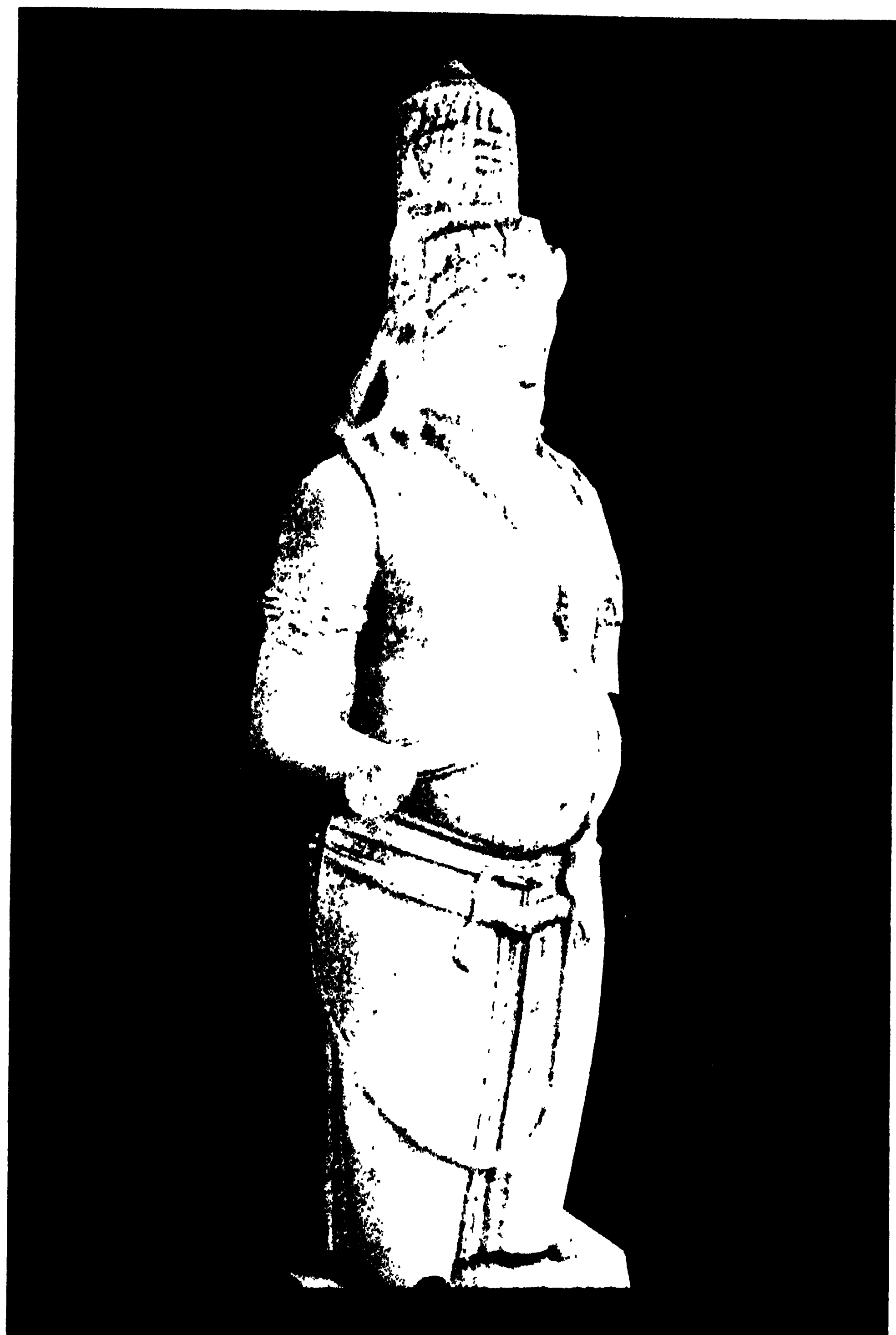


Plate 12 Agastya, Java, Saka 628



Plate 13 Kuvera, gilt copper image, Nepa



Plate 14 Brahma, Mirpurkhas, Sind, early medieval period



Plate 15 Brahmā, Cola period, South India, 10th century A.D.



Plate 16 Ganesa, South India, from a temple in Srirangam, Trichinopoly



Plate 17 Trimurti (Sadaśiva), Elephanta, first half of the 7th century A.D.

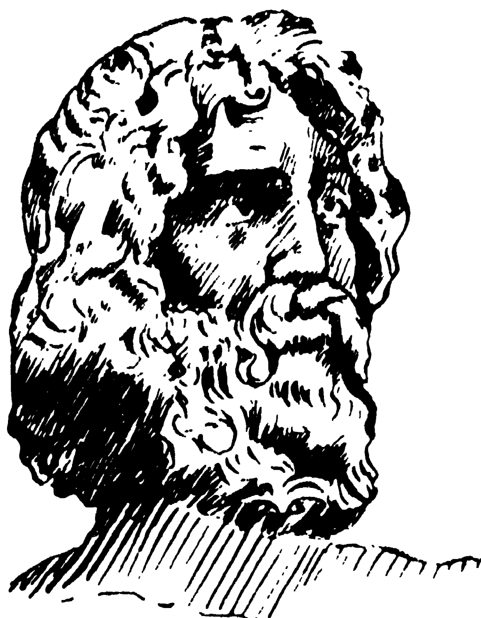


Plate 18 Head of Zeus, Dodona



Plate 19 Dhyani Buddha, Java



Plate 20 Head of Śiva, Prambanam, Java, mid 9th century A D



Plate 21 A Siva devotee, Cotton collection (Metal Image), 12th-13th centuries A. D.



Plate 22 Torso of the Buddha Image, Sarnath, c. 5th century A.D.



Plate 23 Bronze Image of Buddha, Sultanganj, Bengal, 1st half of the 7th century A. D.



Plate 24 Prajnāpāramitā, Singasari, Java, late 13th century A. D.

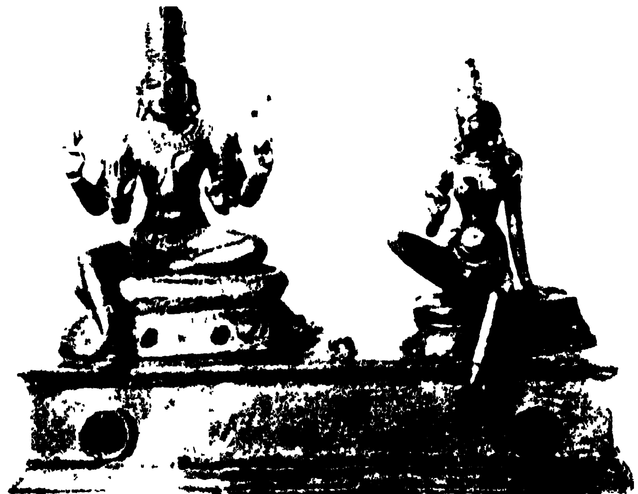


Plate 25 Umā-Mahesvara, Somaskanda group, Madras Museum Collection, 14th-15th centuries A. D.



Plate 26 Buddhist Tara, Nepal, c. late 12th century A. D.



Plate 27 Vṛkṣakā (Dryad), Sāñcī, early 1st century A. D.



Plate 28 Caryatid, Mathura 1st-2nd centuries A. D. Kuṣāṇa period

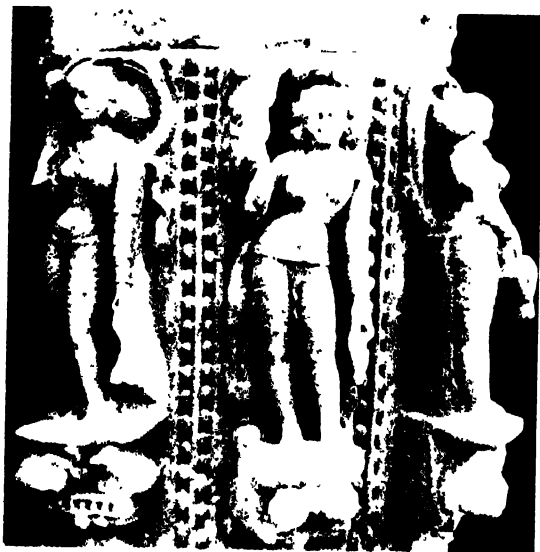


Plate 29 Nayikās, Bhubaneswar, *c.* 10th-11th centuries A. D.



Plate 30 Umā-Maheśvara, Pāla School, *c.* 11th century A. D.

the charm of women understood in a physical sense, with its inevitable sex-attraction. Indeed, Woman the Enchanter and Seducer of Man has received adequate sculptural representation, principally as decorative devices on the facades of temples pictured in the forms of alluring Yakṣiṇīs, captivating *apsarās*, and seductive *nāyikās*.

The ancestors of these female types of Yakṣiṇīs and *nāyikās* have to be sought for and derived from the early lineage of Bhārhut and Sāñcī. In the well-known example from Sāñcī (Plate 27), we have a very spirited rendering of the type sometimes loosely identified as *apsarās*, but more accurately, representing a *vṛkṣakā*, or a dryad, the presiding spirit of trees. The later *Saṁhitās* refer to some of the trees being the homes of the *gandharvas* and *apsarās*. The *Mahābhārata* refers to these tree-nymphs as *vṛkṣakās* and *vārkṣīs*, as goddesses to be worshipped by those desiring children. The story of the legendary origin of Pāṭaliputra refers to the marriage of a student with the maiden of a Pāṭali-tree. As an auspicious symbol and emblem of vegetative fertility, she is fittingly represented, as a captivating young damsel, in an alluring and rhythmic gesture—a very part and parcel of the tree, of which she appears a waving and captivating branch. And we may almost ask her, by repeating a passage in the *Mahābhārata* which enquires:

> Who art thou bending down the Kadamba tree
> A Devatā, a Yakṣī, a Dānavī or an Apsarā?

In a more static gesture and serene pose, the same type of female figure is reproduced in an early sculpture of the Mathurā school. It is a remarkable masterpiece of the Early Indian school of the Kuṣāṇa period. It is a caryatid or a pillar-figure (Plate 28), performing the function of a column in an architectural composition.

As compared with the somewhat tiresome uniformity of the series of Yakṣiṇīs recovered from the various old sites at Mathurā, our figure here offers many novel and distinctive qualities, both in the type represented and in the treatment of the figure. Carrying a basket of wicker-work on her head and some objects in her hands, she stands exquisitely poised in noble and dignified repose. She wears the suggestion of a happy smile on her face, which is the very reverse of the indecent coquetry of the smiling Yakṣiṇīs of Mathurā. The upper part of her body is bare, but is hardly tinged by any kind of erotic suggestion. She is the very picture of a naive simplicity and unstudied grace. A significant detail is the rows of bangles and anklets almost covering her arms and

legs, recalling similar ornaments on the dryads from Sāñcī to which this type is undoubtedly related. The heavy anklets on the legs seem to rivet the figure on the pedestal and emphasize the feeling of static repose—which is an inevitable plastic logic—and thus help the figure very happily to perform the function of a caryatid, in its sure sense of stillness and immobility.

Somewhat less aggressive, but more captivating in their quiet beauty and in the restrained repose of their attitudes, stand a series of three *nāyikās* on the facade of a temple at Bhubaneswar (Plate 29). Though obviously erotic in their motif, they easily recall in the serenity of their pose and the gracious restraint of their facial expression the galleries of Gothic Angels on the Cathedrals of France. Not derived from any actual models from life, they summarize the Indian ideal of the feminine form and the elements which answer to the poetic conception of female beauty, very minutely detailed and described by Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit poets.

The sex-relation of man or woman attains in the crucible of Indian philosophic thought a mystic and mysteriously religious symbolism. According to the doctrine of many Vaiṣṇava sects, as in many phases of Tāntricism, the worshipper is forbidden to render his devotion to the mere male deity in the isolation of single blessedness. The god is inseparable and even impotent without his energy, his *śakti*, his wife, his spiritual counterpart. From the worshipper's point of view, it is always Śiva *and* Pārvatī, Nārāyaṇa *and* Lakṣmī, that are happily expressed in such well-known compounds as Umā-Maheśvara, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Sītā-Rāma, and in an earlier stage of evolution, in the composite form known as the Ardhanārīśvara, in which the two are one and inseparable, for the one must co-exist with the other.

In the ordinary Hara-Gaurī or Umā-Maheśvara conception we have frequently the picture of a pair of lovers locked up in embrace. In the conception of the Ardhanārīśvara the two principles are merged (*avyakta*), but about to emerge (*vyakta*). It represents a stage in iconographic revelation, which emphasizes the fact that 'Each is both'. It is something like the picture of Adam at the moment when Eve was created from his rib.

The *vyakta* or differentiated form of the two phases of the Divinity can be very conveniently studied in the beautiful figures of Umā-Maheśvara (Plate 30) met with in bronzes of the Pāla period (11th century). Of Śiva's four arms, one embraces Pārvatī; another, with the fingers in *tripatāka* pose, lifts her face to meet his gaze; the two other hands carry the usual emblems. Pārvatī is seated on Śiva's left thigh, instead of at his side; her right arm embraces the Deity's neck, while the left hand holds a mirror. The group is supported by a lotus seat

(*padmāsana*) borne on a stem which rises from an oval pedestal. Branches from the stem support, on expanded flowers, small effigies of Gaṇeśa and Subrahmaṇya. The erotic rapture is transfused, as it were, into a spiritual ecstasy, and makes us forget all ideas of sex. It is a sex conception etherealized and elevated to a non-sexual plane. The *mithuna* or the sex-motif in Indian religious thought, as in Indian Sculpture, is a mere symbol, on which hang great spiritual truths.

Even in such secular treatment of various phases of the *mithuna* a sex-motif is resorted to, only to indicate a philosophic and religious doctrine: 'The two are one.' The male and the female essences are the obverse and reverse phases of the same principle. An embracing couple, in the elevating idealism of the Indian language, in words as in stone, is only a symbol of the great philosophic truth, unity in duality. In the Indian religious literature the sex-symbolism is frequently resorted to, in order to picture the ecstatic rapture of the reunion of the lesser being with the greater Being—the final absorption of the *jīvātman* in the Brahmātman.

To summarize the results of our study, we find Indian Sculpture is not concerned with naturalistic representations, narrative, descriptive, or picturesque anecdotes. It is almost wholly absorbed in symbolic representations of philosophical truths, religious dogmas, or subjective experiences. The vocation of the Indian sculptor is not to depict particular or transient aspects of Nature, but to represent deified principles of the essence of Nature, and to record in imaginative form the dreams of an epoch, or the ideals of a race.

Form, for its own sake, has hardly any significance for the Indian sculptor. He uses them as concrete and convenient symbols of his religious ideals. He had no need, therefore, to transcribe laboriously the physical types of actual forms of men, women or animals. He does not copy from Nature, but derives his images and types from the great storehouse of his own imagination, and shapes them into forms most appropriate to express the ideas and ideals of his religious life—dreams of gods and goddesses, denizens of spiritual worlds, *yogins* and superhuman beings, striving to migrate from the world of humanity to the higher planes of superhuman life.

As we began by suggesting, the Indian sculptor never intended his images of Divinities to stand for any conscious production of beauty or works of Art. They carved and created these forms from a necessity of their own—for the purpose of realizing certain religious or spiritual ends; and if they are works of Art, they are so without any conscious intention on the part of their producers. Indeed all real works of Art and beauty can only be the product of spontaneity rather than of any conscious efforts.

The dreams that Indian philosophers and thinkers have dreamt, the artists have realized in concrete forms. And many of these dreams were matters of personal experience to the artists. 'For none can portray the gods but those who have themselves seen them.' Anyhow the Indian sculptors were able to completely identify and absorb themselves in their themes; otherwise it would not have been possible for them to visualize them in such easily apprehended forms.

If we are to relate the values of Indian Sculpture to other forms of Art, we may say that it has the remoteness of the Egyptian school, the religious saturation of the Gothic, the surprising freedom of archaic Greek Art—before the Greek genius became obsessed with the idea of transcribing actual human forms—and lastly, it has the sincerity and the convincing expressiveness of Primitive Art, understood in the best sense of the word, namely, invested with a naive sensibility to react intuitively to subjective forms, without the sophisticated encumbrances of scientific knowledge.

As a great French sculptor has pointed out, by their novel conceptions and imaginative use of forms the Indian sculptors make a new and distinguished contribution to the Art of the World. When the demand was made on them, the Indian sculptors brought the gods nearer to the hearts of men. They have not lost their vision yet, nor their skill. And if the music of their chisel is silent for a while, they are awaiting the new generation to formulate novel forms of images to suit the needs and conditions of modern times; and when the demand is made again, the chisel of the Indian sculptor will begin to sing anew, on stone and on metal, and the music of his chisel, like the curling smoke of the worshippers' incense, will again mount up to the heavens—*and fetch down new gods.*

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JAGAT PATI JOSHI

13

HARAPPAN ART

INTRODUCTION

TO appreciate Harappan Art in its correct perspective it may not be out of place to discuss the nomenclature, provenance and chronological horizon of Harappan civilization as such.

Before the partition of India (1947), comparatively few sites of Harappan civilization (named after Harappa, the first discovered type site), more popularly known as Indus Civilization, had been discovered. However, by that time the results of excavation at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Chanhudaro were already published and the explorations carried out in the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan by Stein and Mazumdar were also available in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. The civilization was confined more or less to the limits of Indus basin and was having 'stagnating' diagnostic cultural traits.

NOMENCLATURE

After Independence, the entire position regarding the extent, culture-contents, regional variations, etc. of the Indus Civilization had changed. The Indian evidence gives a plethora of information regarding the environmental factors, regional adaptations, and variability in settlement patterns, social and religious fabric of the civilization. The entire scenario is based on material evidence which tends to give new insights in understanding the Harappan civilization. During the last eight decades, due to the constant efforts of Indian archaeologists, more than 862 pre-Harappan, Harappan and the late Harappan sites have been discovered in India and most of these newly discovered sites are on Sarasvati river system. Some archaeologists have now come out with such nomenclatures as 'Indus-Sarasvati civilization' or 'Sarasvati-Hakra civilization'. The area of distribution of Harappan settlements runs broadly from Sutkagendor in Makran (Pakistan) and Desalpur and Dholavira in the west, Manda in southern Jammu (J & K) through Daimabad in southern Maharashtra and Hulas in Saharanpur District in U. P. If Pakistani sites are also included, it covers an area of 2.5 million sq. kms. Shoturghai on Oxus and Hilli in the Gulf of Oman were Harappan outposts.

EXTENT AND CHRONOLOGY

The extent of this civilization in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was far greater than the contemporary civilization of Nile in Egypt and Euphrates and Tigris in Iraq. The excavated sites of Harappa civilization have yielded a substantial number of radiocarbon dates, as a result of which a shorter chronology for the Harappan civilization was once proposed which ranged from *c.* 2300 B. C. to 1750 B. C. However, when calibrated (MASCA), the dates for Harappan civilization range between *c.* 2600 to 2000 B. C.

To some without any beginnings the Harappan civilization is available in a full fledged form in the Indus Valley, Rajasthan and Gujarat. Ghosh has said, this itself lends to it a peculiarly romantic charm: while death from unidentified source is understandable, unnatural birth is an unnatural phenomenon. Wheeler has postulated that 'opportunity' and 'genius' might be responsible for the origin of this civilization. One thing is certain, it did not appear with a bang. Various theories have been propounded regarding the 'origin' and 'form' of the civilization, and it would be clear that its origin cannot be explained by a single factor whether 'colonization' or 'acculturation'. Pattern of culture contacts between the Indus Plain and the adjoining region on the west varied according to both time and space, with the result that we often have a spectrum of 'Intermediary situations' between the two opposite extremes, viz. 'colonization' and 'acculturation' leading to regional developments. The latest evidence from sites like Dholavira, Banawali, Kunal in India, Naushero, Balakot, Mehergarh, Leewan, Rehman Dheri, Amri, Ghazishah and Kotdiji in Pakistan show that independent growth except economic interaction growth and changing civilizational process spread from the eighth to the third millennium B. C. in which many sites were involved. This appears to be the plausible hypothesis for the origin of the Indus civilization. The process was widespread within the north-western part of the sub-continent.

BACKGROUND

In the third millennium B. C. the western part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent had fertile land watered by the Indus and Sarasvati river systems and it also received sufficient rainfall. Major Harappan sites having cities were situated on the banks of these river systems enjoying plenty of agriculture. Will Durant has rightly remarked, 'Culture suggests agriculture but the civilization suggests the city. In the city invention and industry multiply comforts, luxuries and leisure. In the city traders meet, barter foods and ideas; in that cross fertilization of minds at the roads of trade, intelligence is sharpened and

stimulated to creative arts. In the city some men are set aside from the making of material things, and produce science, philosophy, literature and art. Civilization begins in the peasant's hut but it comes to flower in the towns.'

The 'economic boom' brought by agriculture and its surplus food-produce coupled with long distant internal and external trade, exploitation of natural and agricultural produces brought prosperity leading to planned monumental architecture in brick and stone, development of many crafts and arts in various mediums in different regions of the 'Cultural Empire' of the Harappans in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

MEDIUMS IN HARAPPAN ART

The Harappan art, as gleaned from the material remains of the cities located at distant places, has some fundamental unity which shows central control over its manufacture. The development of regional styles in paintings has further added to the flowering of its 'provincial styles'. The Harappan art could be seen in (a) pottery, (b) seals and sealing of terracotta, steatite and faience, (c) bronze, (d) stone, (c) terracotta human and animal figures. The artist's imagination can be seen in different mediums depending on his familiarity with and availability of the material and his excellence in creativity. While terracotta art appears to be a folk one, simple and bold, the stone and bronze sculptures are specialized. In these sculptures there is a choice of subject matter, therefore it is, in effect, the first interpretative foundation of an art. Mostly the terracotta and some of the steatite seals have a religious bearing and symbolism which looks to be like that of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina art, but the stone and bronze sculptures have a selectivity aspect of artist both in medium, subject and careful rendering of the modelling of the sculptures.

PAINTINGS IN POTTERY

Pottery cannot be equated with fine art including architecture which is the result of the creative power and is hieratic or perhaps traditional. Art is a handmaid of religion according to an oft-quoted adage in India. Vincent Smith considered art in India, 'a by -product of religious tradition'. Ceramic art, on the other hand, represents an essential industry with a culture assemblage and is perhaps covered by Goethe's definition of 'half art'. Ceramics themselves form trait complexes rather than cultures. It is an art which has nothing to do with any religion or creed but constitutes an industry, a very reliable one indeed, of a particular culture within a particular period and area. It is classified with regard to its fabric, age and geographical distribution. The Harappan pottery is very well fired and the designs, geometric, non-geometric and landscape are

executed generally on red surface in black pigment. The artist has been greatly influenced by the contemporary or traditional symbols, but at the same time some secular themes like landscapes with trees and birds, domestic scenes and fables have been painted which give an individuality to this medium.

The Harappan paintings dealing with narratives have been mostly depicted in horizontal panels. These panels do depict a bio-diversity. In fables the suitable element of expectancy is also delineated. The depiction of narratives developed in the matured Harappan times. Up to this day no narrative as such is available in the pre-Harappan or early Harappan painted pottery. Symbolism was evident in motifs but not in the narration of stories which appears to be a Harappan innovation.

A noteworthy aspect of the painted surface is schematization. The entire surface is divided into panels which is further sub-divided into generally horizontal and vertical registers repeating naturalistic and geometric patterns over and over again; animal and human figures are rarely made. In the repetitive style a monotony and heaviness is felt. Starr has, after a detailed study of the motifs, attributed most of these to 'earlier cultures of the west' besides affirming that 'side by side with this western endangered series is a smaller group of decorated pottery headed by plant designs which appear as a distant local or Indian development'. In the lately excavated sites of pre-Harappan and early Harappan origin, particularly from Kalibangan, one sees the fish scale, the moustache or bukeranian, *pecpal* leaf, maltese cross and *svastikā* and *triśūla*, motifs in the early Harappan levels showing continuity and local origins.

In the depiction of animals only bull and buffalo figure in paintings unlike so many other animals and humans occurring in seals. 'The paintings lack resemblance in skill or style, exist between the quite accomplished sculpture and the living forms depicted on the vases.'

Not only this, at Lothal, Rao has noticed three styles of painting influence one another. At first the indigenous style noticeable on the Micacious Red Ware and Black and Red wares was distinct from the Indus style. 'Later on some of the elements of the indigenous style were incorporated in the Indus style. Simultaneously a new style designated here as the Provincial style was being evolved. In due course the new style was eclipsed but not completely wiped out by the Indus and Provincial styles. The human forms and kidney-shaped designs do not, however, find a place on the painted pottery. The indigenous art of Lothal is noted for vigour and fine brush work, naturalistic motifs, where specially plants and animals are chosen. Another feature of this style (Provincial style) is that animals such as deer, stag etc. are well depicted in their natural

environment. The introduction of narratives is another important contribution made by potters to the ceramic art of India. The preference of landscape, the realism of animal and plant life, the introduction of narratives and evidence of overcrowded motifs are the distinctive features of the new style.'

At Surkotada also we find the landscape painting consisting of cranes etc. However, at Rojdi the painted style in pots is different. The animals are stylized, peacocks are occasionally depicted. The Harappan artist had acquired great skill in portraying the surroundings around him, both natural and man-made, in the form of painting on the pottery. The painted pottery has a number of geometrical designs tastefully decorating the pots besides landscape scenes, especially at Lothal and Surkotada. The scenes have cranes, birds and peacocks besides banana and *peepal* trees. There are a few jungle scenes and scenes of everyday life from Harappa. A shard from Harappa portrays a she-goat suckling a young one. Snakes with up-raised hoods as if hissing and snakes coming out of ant-hills are depicted. There is a shard from Harappa on which is painted a man carrying a centiped and tortoise and snake, perhaps a fish market by the side of a river. This appears to be a realistic painting of everyday life. A jar having painted Brahmani bull from Naushero on it and similarly the elongated bull painted on pottery from Lewan in Bannu are fine examples of painting.

The communication of ideas, particularly of stories having an educative theme through animals and birds, appears to be a Harappan innovation. Some fables like those of a thirsty hare and a crow, the cunning fox (at Lothal) and a scene showing a man on the tree and a tiger looking back have been depicted. These are the depictions of the earliest fables which much later culminated in the stories of *Pañcatantra*. The Harappan art reflects the power of delicate depiction and communicating it to the masses (Figs. 1 & 2).

THE GLYPTIC ART (Fig. 3)

From the point of view of glyptic art, the Harappan maritime trade with the Middle East, particularly with Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf from Akkadian to Neo-Sumerian times has been of great importance.

So far as distant trade with west Asia is concerned, there are three situations postulated by the archaeologist. The first visualized direct trade through Harappan colonies, the second exchange through inter-posts like Tape Yahya and the third in favour of an agency system in which the role of local authorized agents and foreign residents played a decisive role. That the Harappans had trade links with west Asia is proved by the find of a number of Harappan objects or objects produced under Harappan influence e.g. seals,

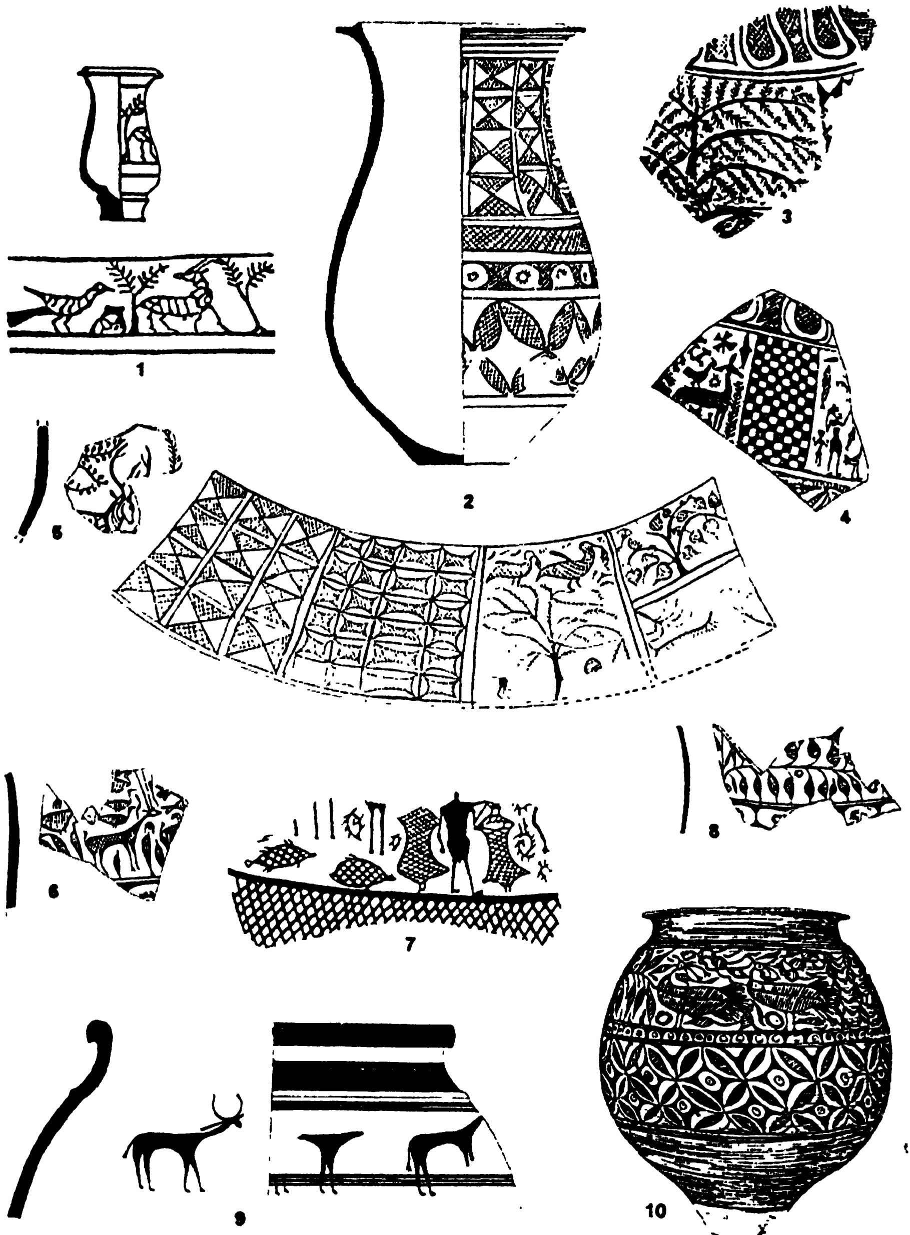


Fig. 1
Pottery : 1,2,5 from Lothal; 3,4,7 from Harappa; 6,8 from Surkotada; 9 from Rojdi; 10 from Chanhudaro (drawing after Fairservis 1971)

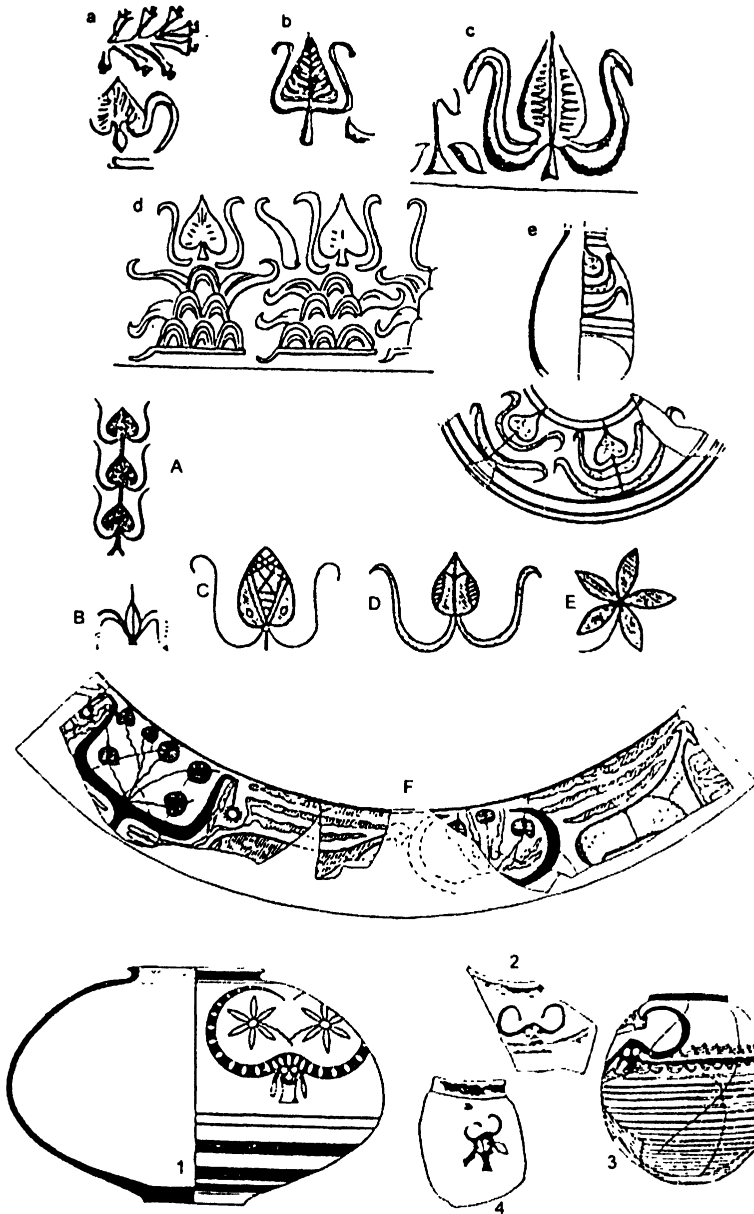


Fig. 2

Pottery : Similarities in the 'sacred tree' motif between proto-Elamite glyptics (a-c, after Legrain, 1921: 62-654; d, after Amier, 1961:497); Mundigak IV, 3 (e, after Casal, 1961: fig. 102:485); and Early Harappan Kalibangan (f, after Sankalia, 1974:346, fig. 88d, A, H-L). After Asko Parpola fig. 23.48, F. Lewan polychrome painted pot showing heads of a buffalo and *Bos indicus* with *peepal* leaf decoration. after Bridget and Raymond Allchin 1982; 1. Early Harappan pot from Kotdiji (after Sankalia, 1974); 2-3 head of water buffalo from Gumla; 4 from Burzhom (after Sankalia, 1974 and after Asko Parpola)



Fig. 3

Seals : 1 from Mohenjodaro; 2 from Harappa, a domestic scene; 2a from Proto-Elamite seal (after Asko Parpola); 3 Śiva Paśupati seal from Mohenjodaro; 4 from Harappa (drawing after Possehel); 5 Boat from Mohenjodaro; 6 Kalibangan, cylindrical seal; 7 from Mohenjodaro; 8 from Hammad, Bahrain; 9 from Mohenjodaro; 10 from Mohenjodaro; 11 from Mohenjodaro; 12 from Mohenjodaro; 13 Combat with a water buffalo (after Possehel 1990)

beads, terracotta figurines, objects of ivory dice etc. at Ur, Tell Asmer, Kish, Lagash, Umma, Nippur, Tepe Gawra, Tell Agrab and Ashwe, Ras-al Qala (Bahrāin). Of particular interest are the Harappan seals found at Hammad (Bahrāin) having the Harappan pictographic script, a bull and a peacock. In Oman at Ras-al Junyaj has also yielded a Harappan seal. From Hilli has come Harappan pottery with painted motifs like *peepal* leaf and peacock. Asko Parpola feels that some of the Harappan motifs were borrowed from Mesopotamia via the maritime route during the early dynastic times, about 2800-2500 B. C. The 'Trefoil' and 'Kidney' motifs were imported during the Akkadian times. He further discerns an enormous proto-Elamite influence. The interactions have greatly influenced the glyptic art and 'Correspondence in art motifs' like the 'contest hero' holding back two tigers on a seal from Mohenjodaro, has parallels from Mesopotamia of a seal of early Dynastic Period from Susa. At times a bull is also shown on both sides. The horned bull motif is found in proto-Elamite seals from Susa. Bull man is also available from Harappa in a prism sealing. Spearing of a buffalo by a naked man is also shown in two seals from Mohenjodaro. In one of them, behind the buffalo there is a hooded cobra. In a cylindrical seal from Kalibangan, a lady holds two men apart who are spearing each other, and in the next scene she is shown with a tiger body. This could be the earliest form of Durgā as suggested by Asko Parpola, but Daring Caspers has compared the headdress of the lady with those of the Early Dynastic kings in Mesopotamia. 'The rosette shaped star besides the head of both gods is comparable to rosette flowers of the early Harappan buffalo God at Kotdiji.' The horned god found in the Indus valley and bukeranian design on early Harappan pottery from Kalibangan and Kotdiji have parallels from Susa. In a Harappan-style cylinder seal of unknown west Asian origin now kept in Musé du Louvre we find the depiction of a hero grasping two tigers and a buffalo-horned god surmounted by a snake and a fish on either side sitting on a throne with hooped legs. 'Mountain topped with a sacred *peepal* tree in a seal from Kalibangan, a seal with mountain topped with *peepal* leaf and two goats eating the leaves is akin to those found in proto-Elamite seals from Susa sharing a 'common iconography' (Fig. 2).

A large number of seals have animals engraved on them e.g. unicorn, Brahmani bull, tiger, elephant, water-buffalo, fish, crocodile, horned deities, conjugate animal figurines and narratives showing fights and processions give an excellent idea of the glyptic art. Multi-headed figures, multi-headed animal-- projecting different figures (from Banawali), limbs of insects forming part of different animals and animals with common body and legs are available. Shukla

says that 'Such enigmatic figures which date from the Harappan times were delineated to amuse and delight the viewer, invoking in him a sense of curiosity, wonder and humour (*kautuk*). With a view to finding out how the animal would have looked in the round, B. M. Pande carried out experiments in third dimension and found representation of animals in Harappan seals in round is far superior in quality in contrast to the animal figures in other media. The Indus modeller was at his best in making the animals in these seals.

A terracotta cake from Kalibangan (Fig. 4) having an engraved figure of a horned deity on one side and a goat being carried on the other side, perhaps for sacrifice, is a good engraving bearing a ritualistic theme. An engraved boat from Mohenjodaro, is also a fine example and shows the type of boats used in those days.

SCULPTURES IN BRONZE

The bronze figures were cast in closed casting or cireperdu and involved lost wax process. The 'dancing figure' and the 'javelin thrower' are considered to be the masterpieces of bronze besides some of the animal figures.

In bronze we have the famous 'dancing figure' and a 'lady holding a bowl' from Mohenjodaro, and the bronze figure of 'a spear or javelin thrower' and 'dancer' from Chanhudaro, bronze bull from Kalibangan, buffalo from Mohenjodaro and dog, hair and birds from Lothal, and copper chariots from Harappa and Chanhudaro, also another chariot with two bullocks, besides elephant and rhinoceros from Daimabad, a ram from Mohenjodaro and a couchant bull from Lothal, are excellent artistic creations in bronze (Figs. 5 & 6).

SCULPTURES IN STONE

The Harappan sculptural art in stone could be gleaned from about a dozen stone figures found from Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Dholavira. A stone head is also reported from the Harappan levels at Mundigak. A stone head found by Stein at Dabarkot in Harappan levels is another addition in this list. The stone sculptures are few and it is surprising that these are very rare to the east of the Indus. But of these, the bearded male figure of the famous 'priest king' made on limestone from Mohenjodaro is superb. His eyes are shown in a meditative form and he wears a shawl having trefoil designs in the upper portion. The eyes had shell inlay decoration. A band with a discular ornament was tied on the forehead (Fig. 7).

Another head on limestone from Mohenjodaro has been found, similar to the above description with fillet on the forehead and braided hair at the back with wide open eyes and shaven upper lip. Another headless seated figure from



Fig. 4
Terracotta Cake & Engraving : 1 from Kalibangan (after A.S.I.); 2 from Mohenjodaro (after Possehel)

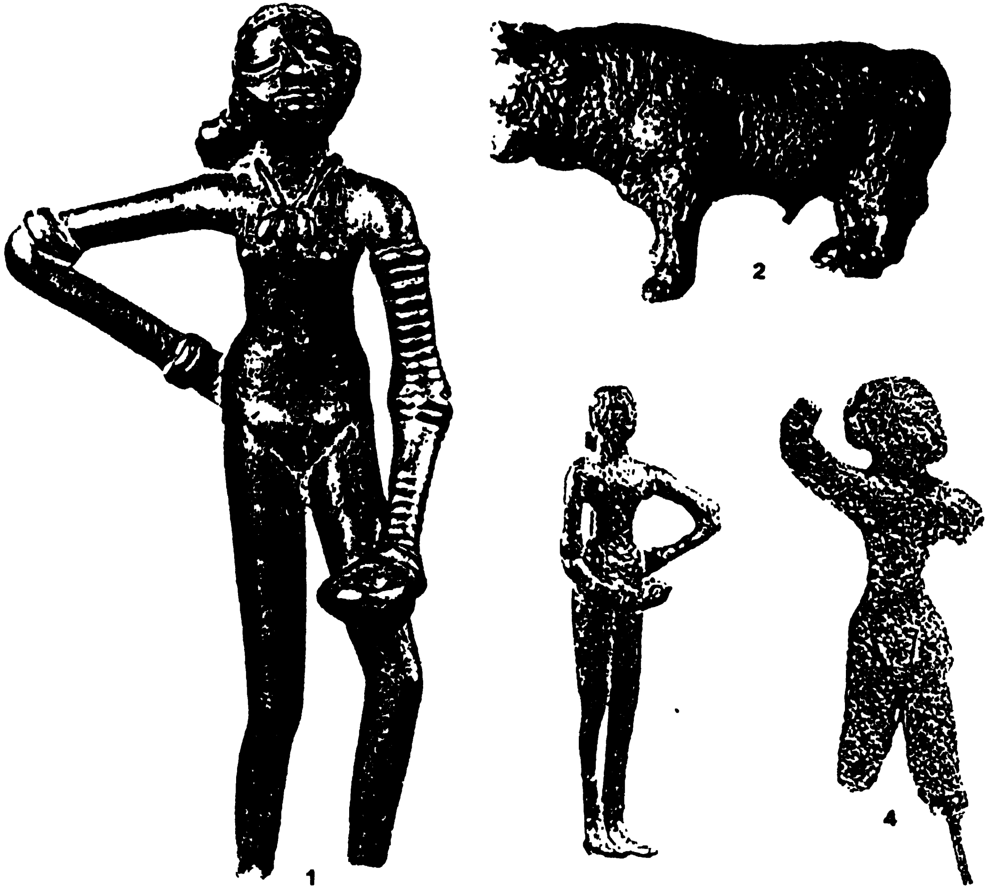


Fig. 5
Bronzes : 1 from Mohenjodaro; 2 from Kalibangan; 3 from Mohenjodaro; 4 from Chanhudaro (after A.S.I.)

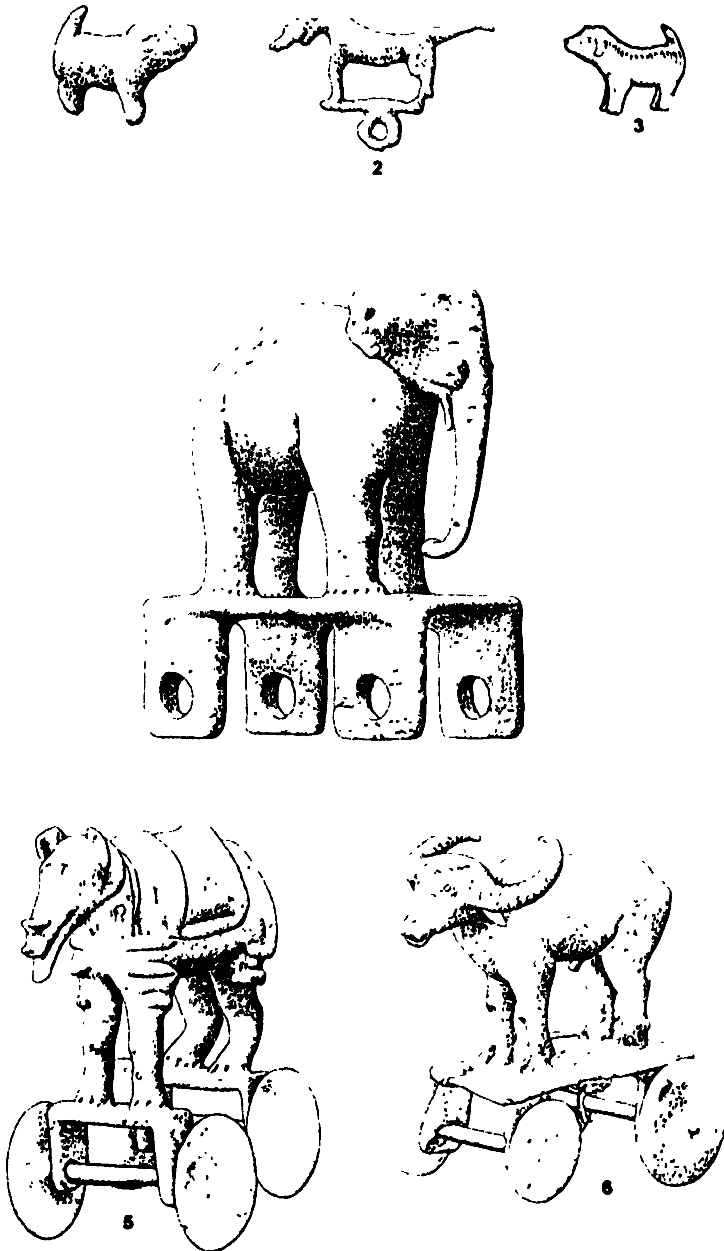


Fig. 6
Bronzes : 1 from Lothal (after S. R. Rao 1985); 2,3 from Mohenjodaro (after Yule 1985); 4, 5, 6 from Daimabad (after Yule 1985)



Fig. 7
Stone Sculpture—Human : 1, 4, 7, 8 from Mohenjodaro (drawing after Possehel 1999); 2, 3 from Harappa (after Marshall); 6 from Dholavira (eye copy after Bhuvan Vikram).

the citadel area at Mohenjodaro, could be wearing a shawl (?). Lal has surmised that 'if visualized' collectively they make up a reasonably intelligible picture of a male, seated wearing a lower garment and a shawl, having well organized hair tied with a fillet and shaven upper lip 'perhaps some one in particular'. It appears that the artist has portrayed the sculpture quite successfully, showing his skill in the expression of the idea.

The headless seated male figure in sandstone from Dholavira depicts an erect phallus. A similar feature may be noticed in the Śiva-Paśupati seal also.

The two red stone sculptures with holes to attach arms and head from Harappa are so superb that Wheeler was reticent to ascribe them to the Harappa period, but Prof. Lal has dispelled the doubts and said, 'The doubt one would feel most for the present be shelved until and unless something artistically and technologically similar is found in the post-Harappan context.'

These nude figures are products of master artists, and though few in number, show excellence in craftsmanship. The conjectural figure (after Marshall) of one of the statues with a twisted body shows the rhythmic swing in dance. From Banawali, there is a triangular black soapstone piece having an engraved depiction of a dance scene involving at least three in a stylized form of persons. The body has been made of two opposite triangles. Similarly one arm has thick bangles. Due to paucity of space the engraving is abstract (Fig. 8).

In the field of depiction of animals and reptiles, though fewer than human figures, a lizard from Dholavira, a composite figure with ram's horn, a seated bull and elephant's trunk and another from Mohenjodaro are remarkable (Fig. 9). Allchin has reported from a private collection a complete ram made of fine grained stone which resembles the material of several other pieces of the small repertoire of Mohenjodaro sculptures. The subject is a recumbent ram with its front and hind legs flexed and resting on ground and its body inclined to the right. Allchin feels that it is a genuine product of Harappan Civilization. It is one of the finest examples of Harappan sculpture.

TERRACOTTA ART

Deeply impressed by the bio-diversity and environment, the Harappan artist created objects which reflect a communication of the artist on a permanent material giving joy to himself and contemporary society. He created both for the elite and the commoners and exemplified the growth of aesthetic sensibility in the Harappan society.

Much literature is already available on terracotta art or the 'People's Art' of the Harappan civilization. Hundreds of terracotta figurines are available from various Harappan sites. Being a riverine civilization of the Indus and the



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Fig. 8
from Banawali (after A.S.I.)



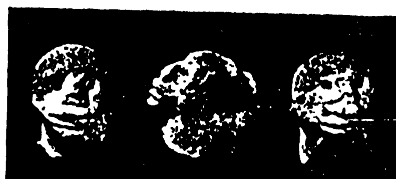
Fig. 9
Stone Sculptures—Animal: 1,2 from Mohenjodaro (after A.S.I.)



1



2







5



6



7

Fig. 10
1 from Mohenjodaro; 2 from Harappa; 3 from Kalibangan; 4 Banawali; 5,6,7 from Mohenjodaro (after A.S.I.)

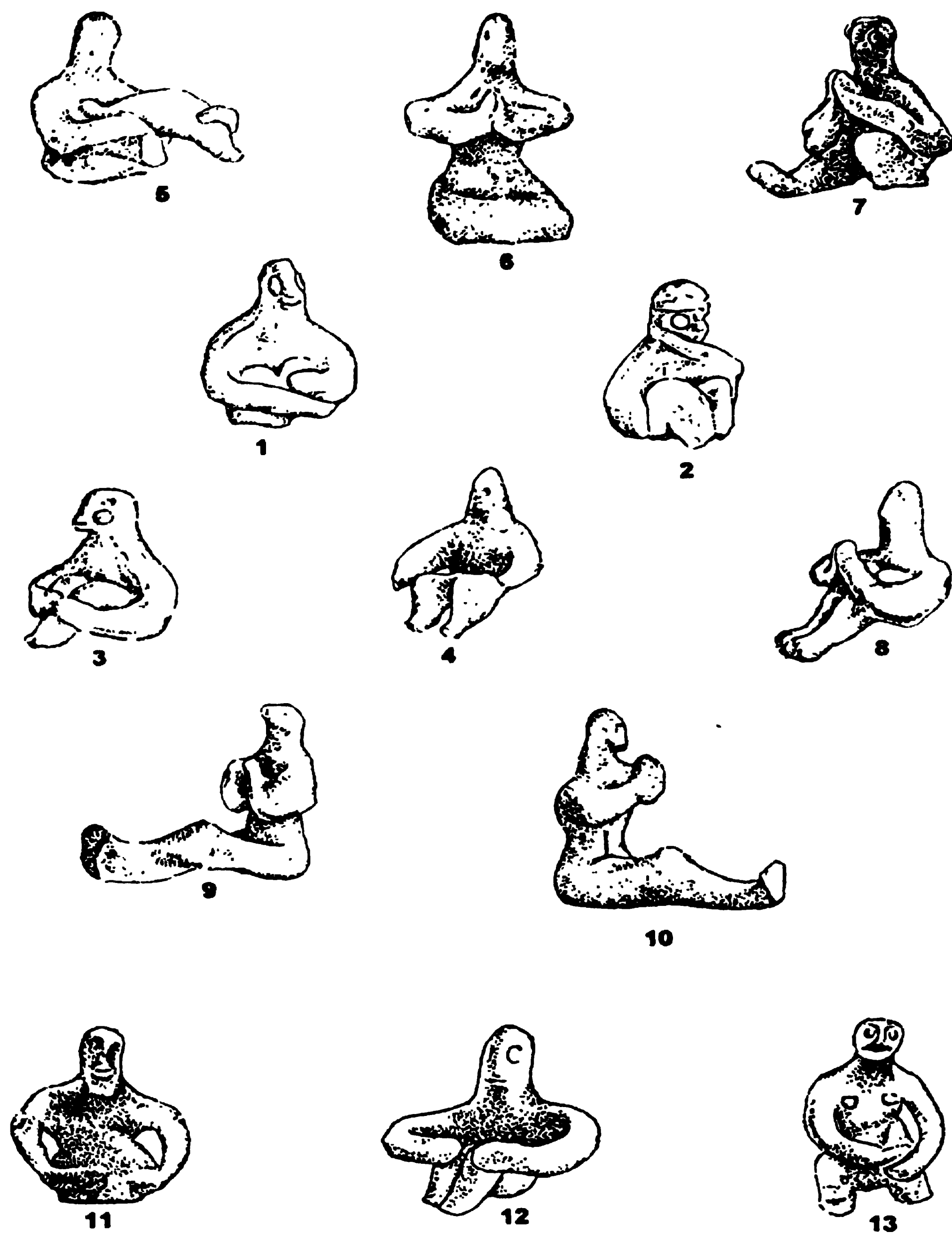


Fig. 11
1-8 from Harappa; 9-13 from Mohenjodaro (after S. R. Rao)

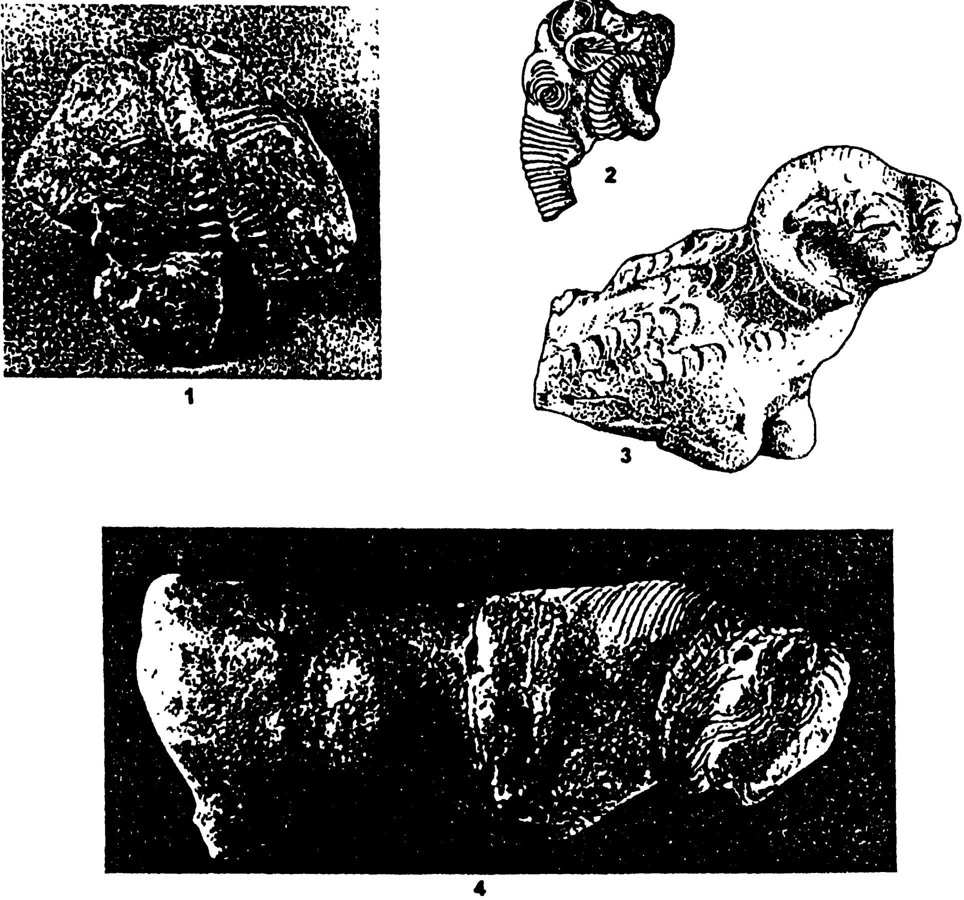


Fig. 12
1 & 2 from Naushero (after Jarraige, 1992); 3 from Mohenjodaro line drawing (after Possehel); 4 from Kalibangan (after A. S. I.)

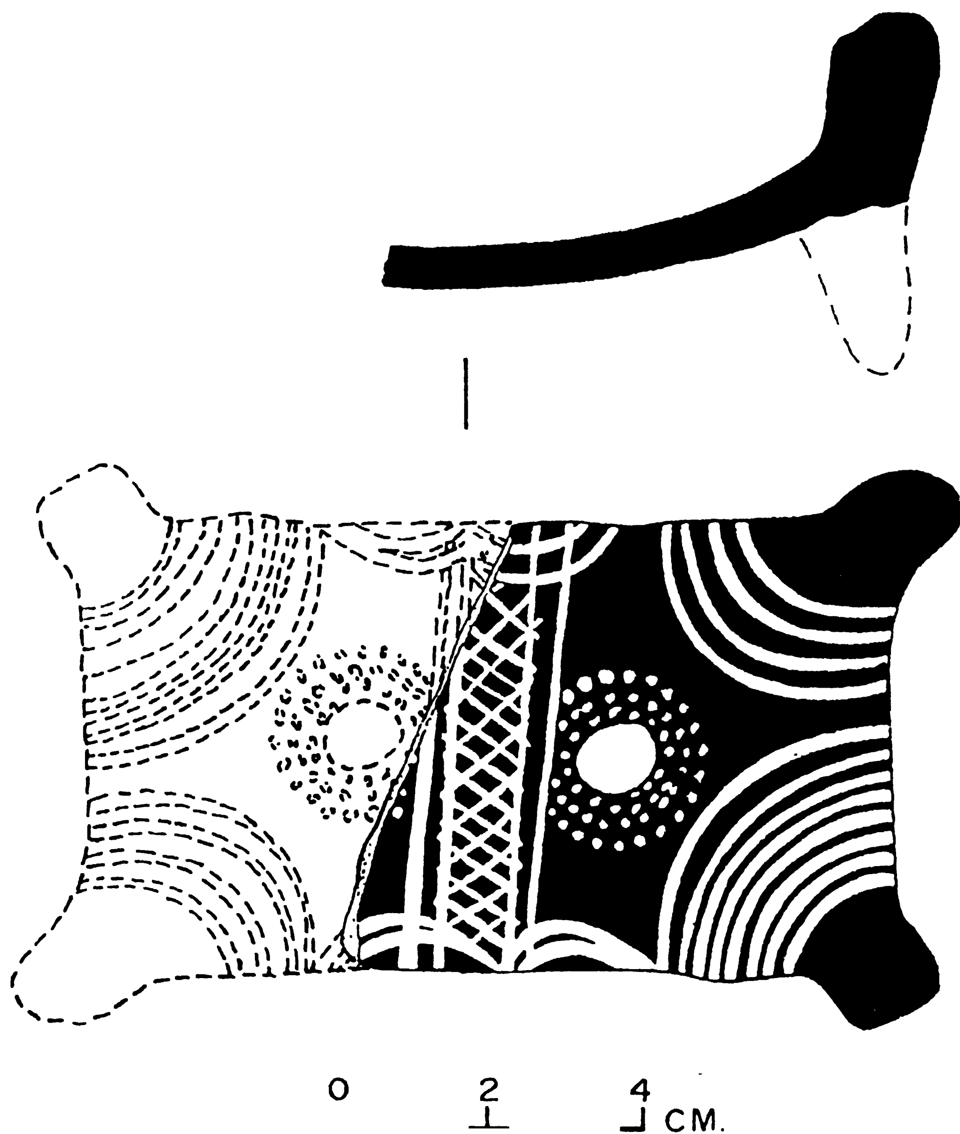


Fig. 13
Terracotta toy, cot from Kalibangan (from Early Harappan level, after Madhu Bala)

Sarasvati, the easy availability of fine clay with its plasticity attracted the people to make animal and human figurines, some for ritualistic purpose also. This art catered to the '*Kautuka*' aspect and a large number of the toys have been found which were used by children. The animal figurines outnumber the male figures and are mostly handmade. A few examples of moulded figures are available, e.g. hind part of a bull figurine from Surkotada. There are double-headed animal figurines from Kalibangan, Banawali and Naushero, and double-headed human figures from the first-mentioned site.

In the field of terracotta art, the terracotta female figures having different hair-styles and jewellery and the mother goddesses from Mohenjodaro and Harappa, a terracotta female suckling a child from Banawali and another female figure suckling a child from Harappa are very fascinating. (Fig. 10) The figure of seated women grinding grain, found at Naushero, is very impressive.

Male figures with a goat like beard from Mohenjodaro, the male head with thick lips from Kalibangan, a double headed human figurine from Kalibangan, burst of a male figure with a square cut beard akin to Sumerian sculptures from Lothal are remarkable.

The various yogic postures and one showing *Namaskār mudrā* are superb examples of Indus terracotta art (Fig. 11). Numerous animal figurines, e.g. the charging bull from Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan, hollow three headed animal figurines and an elephant from Naushero, ram from Mohenjodaro, fighting dog with a projecting collar, a begging dog and a monkey are finest examples of terracotta art showing most realistic and expressive features. Besides, a monkey in faience from Mohenjodaro is equally impressive. Perhaps these were created as decorative pieces for the drawing rooms of the elite (Fig. 12).

Creation of varieties of toys on terracotta shows the deep interest and consciousness of the artist about the entertainment and play aspects of their children. Miniature cots with a *dari* type spread over it from Early Harappan level from Kalibangan may be a plaything for the children but it does show the aesthetic taste and outlook of the people (Fig. 13).

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14

ANCIENT INDIAN TERRACOTTAS

INTRODUCTION

FROM the very early times, materials like clay, stone, and metal have been used for making sculptures not only in India but also in other countries of the world. Sculptures in burnt clay are technically called terracottas. In India, terracottas ranging from the Indus valley age to the end of the twelfth century A. D. have been found.

MODELLING

With the discovery of the ancient remains of Mohenjodaro, which laid open the Indus valley civilization, ideas about the antiquity of Indian plastic art have completely changed. Before this momentous discovery, the sculptures belonging to the Maurya age were considered more or less the earliest Indian specimens. But, with the discovery of the relics of the Indus valley civilization, the antiquity of Indian plastic art has been taken back to the 4th millennium B. C. Terracottas of this age have been found at a number of places in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan (all in Pakistan now). Among them, special mention should be made of Mohenjodaro, Jhukar, Chanhudaro and Harappa. All the terracotta specimens found in these places are marked by some common characteristics. One such specimen is a female figure whose arms and legs are lost. (Plate 1)

If we analyse this figure, some of the main characteristic features of modelling during this age are discernible. They are: firstly, the eye-balls are separately made and then stuck within the sockets; secondly, the nose is made by pinching up a portion of the clay; and thirdly, the breasts are separately made and then fixed to the body. From another specimen (Plate 2), an idea about the modelling of the arms and the legs may be had. Here the arms are modelled without any indication of the wrist and the fingers, and the legs are also modelled without indicating the toes. In another specimen (Plate 3), the ears are not represented. This is also another important characteristic of these specimens.

During the post-Indus valley period and the pre-Maurya age, the centre of culture shifted from the Indus valley to the Ganges valley, and new formative

principles of modelling came into play. The terracottas which have been ascribed to this age are found at Buxar, Bulandibāg, Bhiknapahari and Basārh in eastern India; at Bhīṭā and Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh and at Taxila and Peshawar in the north-western India (now in Pakistan). There is a great difference between these figurines and those of the Indus valley age from the standpoint of modelling. Unlike the figurines of the Indus valley age, the body is moulded. This point can be understood from the study of one specimen found at Bhiknapahari (Plate 4). Unlike the eyes of the terracottas of the Indus valley age, the eyes of this figurine are not separately made and affixed, but are moulded. Further, its nose is also moulded and not made by pinching up the clay, as is found in the specimens of the Indus valley age. A few other specimens may be considered to show the modelling of the arms, the legs, and the breasts. If we study one female figure found at Bulandibāg, we find that its arms are naturalistically modelled showing the elbow, the wrist, and the fingers, and its legs are also modelled in a naturalistic way indicating the knee, the ankle, and the toes. Its breasts are also shown having spontaneous development out of the flesh of the body itself. In other words, this specimen is completely moulded.

MAURYA TERRACOTTA

The plastic element of the post-Indus valley and pre-Maurya terracottas was more developed and more 'Indianised' in the Maurya age. The terracottas of this age have been found at a number of places, among which mention may be made of Bulandibag, Patna College Area, Kadamkuān Gorakhpur, Bhiknapahari and Basārh in eastern India, Sarnath and Bhīṭā in Uttar Pradesh and Besnagar in Central India. These figurines are modelled in a manner very similar to that employed in the case of the post-Indus valley and pre-Maurya specimens. Like the post-Indus valley and pre-Maurya figures, the whole body is moulded. In this connection, one specimen found at Basārh may be referred to.[1] Though it is a highly effaced specimen, it is discernible that its eyes, nose, mouth, arms, and legs are naturalistically treated carrying out faithfully the principle laid down in the previous age.

Side by side with the above type of figurines, there are certain other specimens which betray the stamp of foreign influence, if not in modelling, at least in the dress. One specimen (Plate 5) wears a Perso-Hellenistic helmet undoubtedly showing the foreign element which had entered into Indian art in this period.

The terracottas of the Śuṅga age have been found at Mahāsthāna and Gitagrāma in eastern India, Bhīṭā, Saṅkīsa, Mathurā and Besnagar in central India, Nagari in western India and Taxila in north-western India (now in Pakistan).



Plate 1 Mother goddess, Harappa, Pakistan



Plate 2 Mother goddess, Mohenjodaro, Pakistan

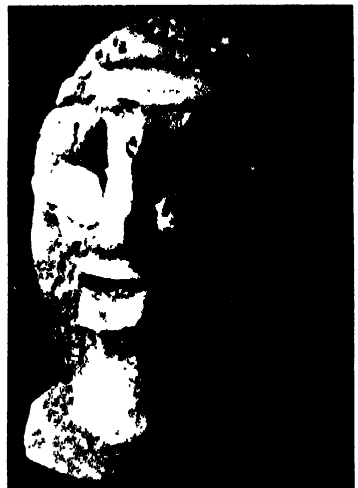


Plate 3 Male head, Harappa, Pakistan



Plate 4 A yogin, Bhiknapahari, Patna, Bihar, Pre-Maurya period (?)



Plate 5 Male Head with Perso-Hellenistic helmet, Basārh, Bihar, Maurya Period



Plate 6 Figure of Kāmdeva, Mathurā, U. P., Kuṣāṇa period



Plate 7 Head with Hellenistic style, Dharmarājikā *stūpa*, Taxila, Pakistan, 1st century A. D.



Plate 8 Buddha, Moramoradu Monastery, Taxila, Pakistan, 2nd century A. D.



Plate 9 Carved tiles from old city of Kundilnagar, Assam, Medieval period



Plate 10 Terracotta Plaque, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 11 Bodhisattva, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 12 Male figurine, Mohenjodaro, Pakistan



Plate 13 Female figurine, Bulandibag Patna Bihar, Pre-Maurya age(?)



Plate 14 Head of a Serpent Goddess Pātaliputra, Bihar, 3rd century B. C.



Plate 15 Divine Mother, Nandangarh, Bihar, Maurya/ Śunga period



Plate 16 Image of Lakṣmi, Nandangarh, Bihar, Śunga period



Plate 17 Iconographical type, Sirkap, Pakistan, 2nd/1st century B. C.(?)



Plate 18 Buddha, Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri, Kuṣāṇa period, Pakistan



Plate 19 Image of Śiva and Pārvatī from Bhīṭa, U. P., Gupta period

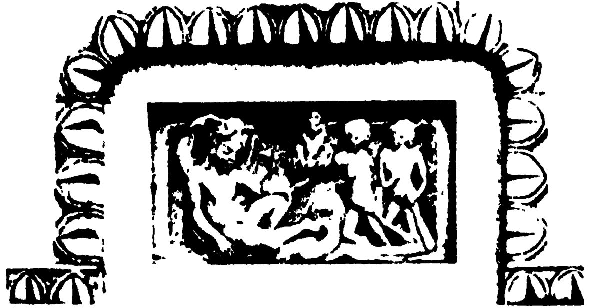


Plate 20 Viṣṇu image from Bhītārgāon, U. P., 5th century A. D.



Plate 21 Four armed Gaṇeśa, Bhītārgāon, U. P., 5th century A. D.



Plate 22 Buddha image, Mirpurkhas, 5th century A. D.



Plate 23 Couple figure, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 24 Brahmā, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 25 Śiva, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 26 Gaṇeśa. Paharpur. Bangladesh. late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 27 Seated Buddha. Paharpur. Bangladesh. late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 28 Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 29 Jambhala, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 30 Tārā, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/ early 9th century A. D.



Plate 31 Mañjuśrī, Paharpur, Bangladesh, late 8th/early 9th century A. D.



Plate 32 A woman kneading bread Harappa, Pakistan



Plate 33 Head from Bhita, U. P., Kuṣāṇa period



Plate 34 Head from Taxila, Pakistan Kuṣāṇa period



Plate 35 A Bodhisattva head wearing a beautiful floral crown, Kuṣāṇa period



Plate 36 Terracotta Plaque from Kachchīkuṭī, Sravasti, U. P., Gupta period

So far as modelling is concerned, the first point which strikes us is that these figurines are not very different from the Maurya terracottas of the indigenous type. This point can be illustrated by a few examples. One female figurine which is said to have been found at Mathurā clearly shows that it was modelled according to the Indian conception.[2]

Side by side with this kind of figurine, we come across another type of figurine which betrays the presence of foreign element. In this connection, one specimen may be taken into account. It is a human head and the head-dress found from Mathurā, which it wears, is undoubtedly of foreign origin.[3]

In the Kuṣāṇa Age, we find the beginning of a new element in the domain of Indian plastic art. All evidences go to show that there was a natural mixture of Hellenistic and Indian cultures in north-western India during this period. The most important point in the stylistic peculiarity of the terracottas of this age, found in different places, is that there are two distinct schools of terracotta art flourishing in this period, viz. the central Indian school exemplified by the specimens found at Basārh, Bhīṭā, Saṅkīsa, Mathurā, and Besnagar and the north-western Indian school exemplified by the terracottas found at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri, Taxila, and Jaulian. The specimens belonging to the central Indian school and found at Basārh, Bhīṭā, Mathurā, and Besnagar are all modelled according to the indigenous conception (Plate 6). The specimens belonging to the north-western Indian school found at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri, Taxila, and Jaulian may be divided into several groups on stylistic consideration. These are: (a) terracottas, in which there is only a Hellenistic element (Plate 7); (b) those in which there is a mixture of Hellenistic plasticity and Indian motif; and (c) those in which there is a mixture of Hellenistic plasticity, Indian motif and central Asiatic facial treatment (Plate 8).

GUPTA AGE

The terracottas belonging to the Gupta age have been found mainly at Mahāsthāna, Rāṅgāmāṭi, Kasia, Saheth-Maheth, Kosam, Bhīṭā, Bhītārgāon, Saṅkīsa, Kurukṣetra, Besnagar, Ranghmahāl, Barapal, Mirpurkhas, and Jhukar. In all these figurines, we find the unification of different ideals of modelling and the presentation of a unified whole. The Indianness of all these specimens is worth noting. The image of Buddha found at Kasia, for instance, shows the unification of different ideals of modelling.

The figurines belonging to the medieval age have been mainly found at Dah-Parbatiya and Kundilnagar in Assam, Sābhār and Raghurāmpur in East Bengal, Bāngarh and Paharpur (now Bangladesh), Mahāsthāna in North Bengal,

Nālandā in Bihar, Sarnath and Saheth-Maheth in Uttar Pradesh and Avantipur in Kashmir.

If we study the modelling of the figurines of these places, we find that there are points of similarity as well as difference among them. Working along this line, we can easily divide them into seven different schools. They are as follows: (1) the Assam school represented by the Kundilnagar specimens (Plate 9); (2) the eastern school evolved out of the Gupta sculpture and represented by some terracottas of Paharpur (Plate 10); (3) the school of hybrid compromises between the eastern school evolved out of the Gupta sculpture and the school of the indigenous eastern Indian version (Plate 11); (4) the school of the indigenous eastern Indian sculpture represented by some specimens of Paharpur and Mahāsthāna[4]; (5) the eastern Indian medieval school represented by some specimens discovered at Dah-Parbatiya, Sābhār, Raghurāmpur, Bāngarh, Paharpur and Nālandā[5]; (6) the central Indian type represented by the Saheth-Maheth specimens[6]; and (7) the North Indian type represented by the Avantipur specimens[7].

RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS

In various parts of the ancient world is found a female figurine which has been considered as representing the mother goddess. Murray has shown that the female figurines may be divided into three groups on the basis of their poses, viz. (1) the Divine Woman or Ishtar type, (2) the Divine Mother or Isis type, and (3) the Personified Yoni or Baubo type[8]. In the same way, we find a number of terracottas representing a female figurine at Mohenjodaro and other places where the vestiges of this civilization have been found out which represent the mother goddess, and they may also be classified under three categories as Murray has done.

We have also possibly found some male religious figures and they are of two different types, viz. (1) in which the fertility characteristic is most prominent (Plate 12) and (2) which has one peculiar characteristic of the late religious male figurines.[9]

So far as the religious figurines are concerned, it should be pointed out that, of the figurines belonging to the post-Indus valley but pre-Maurya age, there are some female figurines which are fully nude[10], some which are winged, bare in the upper body and clothed in the lower body, [11] some whose lower body is clothed, upper body is nude and ornamented (Plate 13), and some with child whose upper body is nude[12]. In all these types of figurines general nudity or semi-nudity is the most important characteristic. Therefore, it is apt to conclude that they represent female fertility figures which may be divided as (a) Divine

Mother or Isis type, (b) Personified Yoni or Baubo type and (c) Divine Woman or Ishtar type.

The majority of the religious figures of the Maurya age are female. A close study of the forms of these figurines would reveal that there was a widespread cult of female fertility figures. These represent the mother goddess[13] and the Yakṣiṇī type[14]. The same spirit which pervades the mother goddess and the Yakṣiṇī type is found in a remarkable *mithuna*-tablet[15] found at Basārh. There are some specimens which possibly represent a serpent goddess (Plate 14). Besides these female religious figurines, there are some male religious figurines which probably represent Sūrya[16].

The religious figures of the Maurya age are mainly of three classes, viz. the female fertility figures, the *mithuna* and the purely iconographical type. These female fertility figures are mainly the Divine Mother or Isis type (Plate 15), Personified Yoni or Baubo type[17] and the Divine Woman or Ishtar type[18]. There is also the *Mithuna* figure[19]. So far as the purely iconographical type is concerned, it represents the image of Lakṣmī (Plate 16).

Like the female religious figurines, there are some male figurines which, for their characteristics, may be considered as religious. The male religious figurines may be sub-divided into the following groups, viz. (a) the iconographical type (Plate 17), (b) the nude male type[20] and (c) the demon type[21].

So far as the religious figures of the Kuṣāṇa age are concerned, we find here also the type of the ideal mother goddess[22]. Besides this type we find some figures representing Nāginī (?) with serpent-hoods.[23] There is also another specimen which represents Vasudhārā with a vase of gold.[24] Side by side with the prevalence of these female religious figurines, we find the representation of Śiva[25]. We find another specimen representing Kuvera and Hāritī.[26] Besides these figurines, we have found some specimens which represent either Bodhisattva or Buddha (Plate 18).

The religious figurines of the Gupta age fall into three classes, viz. Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina. The Brāhmaṇical images which have been found are mainly the images of Śiva and Pārvatī (Plate 19), Śiva[27], Viṣṇu (Plate 20) and Gaṇeśa (Plate 21). So far as the Buddhist images are concerned, they are mainly those of the Dhyānī Buddha[28] as well as Gautama Buddha (Plate 22).[29]

So far as the religious figures of the medieval age are concerned, we find some couple-figures (Plate 23) as well as Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist figures. The Brāhmaṇical figures are mainly those of Brahmā (Plate 24), Viṣṇu[30], Śiva (Plate 25) and Gaṇeśa (Plate 26). Among the Buddhist figures there are the

representations of the Buddha (Plate 27), Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (Plate 28), Jambhala (Plate 29), Tārā (Plate 30) and Mañjuśrī (Plate 31).

SECULAR CHARACTERISTICS

These figurines supply valuable information about the secular life of the Indian people from age to age. From the secular figurines of the Indus valley age we can form an idea of the dress and ornaments in vogue in this age. One Harappa specimen (Plate 32) gives us some idea about the daily life led by the women of that age. Further, one Harappa specimen[31] depicts very naturalistically the inner feeling of a woman who seems to be in a state of mental agony.

Regarding the secular figurines of the post-Indus valley but pre-Maurya age, there are some exquisite pieces of art-work which vividly represent human life. One male torso[32] found at Bhirmound in Taxila is one of the finest examples of secular figurines and shows the enormous strength which the male possesses. On the other hand, the smiling male child-head and the smiling female child-head show in a very realistic manner the inherent simplicity of juvenile mind.

There are a few good specimens of the Maurya age which should be considered here. The female figurine representing a dancer[33] appears to take a great delight in dancing and seems to indicate that the Indians of this age were not averse to enjoying the materialistic side of human life. There are some other male heads[34] which show that foreign soldiers were to be found in large numbers in India during this age.

The figurines of the Śuṅga age which have no pronounced religious characteristics have been considered as secular figurines. Special attention should be paid to one head[35] which wears a mural crown. This crown shows unmistakable evidence of Perso-Hellenistic influence. There is another specimen which, on account of its freshness, speaks well of the artist.

The figurines of the Kuṣāṇa age may be divided into two groups. So far as the first group is concerned, certain figures are called secular because in these examples there is no indication by which they might be considered otherwise. As all these specimens are heads, they do not provide much evidence to form an accurate idea about the secular life in vogue during this age. However, there is one specimen (Plate 33) which shows that asceticism was in vogue during this age. So far as the second group is concerned, the figurines are mainly of three types, viz. (a) those with only Hellenistic element,[36] (b) those which are a mixture of Hellenistic plasticity and Indian motif (Plate 34), and (c) those which show only Indian feature.[37] So far as the garment of this age is concerned, these figurines do not give us sufficient evidence to arrive at any conclusion because,

with the exception of one female figurine, all these specimens represent only the head. This particular female figurine also does not help us much regarding this matter as the garment is not prominently indicated. There are some figurines (Plate 35), however, which throw some light on the head-dress in vogue during this age.

The terracotta figurines of the Gupta age generally portray the secular life. For this reason, there is ample evidence in these specimens about the dress worn by the people in general during this age. The following are the main types of dress worn by the male figurines: (1) those which do not cover the upper part of the body but covers only the lower part up to the ankles[38]; (2) those covering only the lower part up to the knees; and (3) those which cover the whole body. Besides, there is the *uttarīya* (scarf) over the upper part of the body of some of these figurines[39] (Plate 36). The headdresses worn by these figurines are of various shapes and highly interesting.

The secular figurines of the medieval age are not many in number. Here we find the ever-changing joys and sorrows of human life in a well-depicted manner. In Sābhār, there has been discovered a flying figure. In it the spirit of buoyancy is shown to some extent; but the other specimen, a human head, represents calmness and serenity. The terracotta male head found at Bāngarh[40] should be taken as one of the best specimens of terracotta art of this period. The broad forehead, the well-extended eye-brows, the mark between the eye-brows, the open eyes, the pointed nose and the peculiar suppressed smile—all give a peculiar charm to this head.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion clearly illustrates certain important points. First, it shows how these figurines have evolved. Secondly, it has been shown that these figurines afford excellent evidence regarding the religious life of the people from age to age. Thirdly, it also shows that these terracotta figurines supply valuable evidence regarding the secular life of the people concerned in different ages.

Year of writing: 1948

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[1] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, pl. XLIV. i.

[2] *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXV, Fig. 6 on p. 93.

[3] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, pl. LIX. No. 13.

[4] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, pl. XLIX. f.

[5] *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. XXXIX, No. 21, 1969.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1910-11, pl. X. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. XXX. d. 24.

[8] *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. LXIV.

[9] *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, edited by John Marshall, pl. XCV. 17.

[10] *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXV, Fig. 1.

[11] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1926-27, pl. XXXI. k.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1920-21, pl. XVI. 9.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. XLIII. b.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. XLIII. c.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. XLIII. f.

[16] *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. III, pl. XXX.2.

[17] *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXV, Fig. 6 on p. 93.

[18] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-12, pl. XXII. 18.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1930-34, pl. CXXX. 5.

[20] *Jahrbuch főr Prahistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, pp. 64-76, tafel 6, No. 44, 1928.

[21] *Ibid.*, No. 42.

[22] *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff., Fig. 45.

[23] *Ibid.*, Fig. 46.

[24] *Ibid.*, Fig. 48.

[25] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-12, pl. XXIII. 4.

[26] *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pl. XIV, Fig. 47.

[27] V. S. Agrawala, *Rajghat Terracottas*, p. 4, Fig. 6.

[28] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1928-29, pl. XLIV. f.

[29] *Ibid.*, 1904-05, Fig. 2 on p. 47, pl. XIV.

[30] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, pl. XLII. d. 5.

[31] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924-25, pl. XXVII. c.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1920-21, pl. XVI. 6.

[33] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 154.

[34] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, pl. XLIII. g.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. LIX. 13.

[36] *Ibid.*, 1912-13, pl. V. a.

[37] *Ibid.*, 1915-16, pl. III. d.

[38] *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India—Reports*, Vol. XIV, pl. XXVII, the lower photo.

[39] *Ibid.*, pl. XXVII, the right photo.

[40] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-12, pl. XXVII. 78.

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MAURYA AND ŚUṄGA SCULPTURE

I. INTRODUCTORY

Recent archaeological discoveries and historical researches have pushed the history of India back to at least three thousand years before the birth of Christ. But the first organized art activity in India in bigger scale and durable material that has come down to us belongs to the period of the Mauryas. The Chalcolithic age to which belongs the civilization of the Indus Valley[1] has bequeathed to us relics, few in number but varied in subject matter and treatment. These may safely be said to belong to the domain of high art which had a long artistic tradition and experience behind it. Indeed, the art represented by the reliefs on the seals and the figure-sculptures in the round found at Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other cognate sites is already highly developed, sophisticated and conscious, and expresses most frankly the culture-ideology of a people who were urban in upbringing, sophisticated in the luxury of living, and probably commercial and feudal in socio-economic organization. Like the civilization itself its art also had already reached the creative climax of a tradition. But the fact remains that the art of the Indus Valley is still largely an unknown factor in so far as it remains chronologically unrelated and unexplained. Nothing definite is known of what happened along the arrow line of time between the final phase of the Indus Valley civilization and the one that flourished in the Gangetic valley two thousand years later.

The earliest that the Gangetic valley is said to have offered to us in the form of an art object is a small gold tablet representing a naked woman standing on her legs in symmetrical rigidity, with exaggerated hips and sexual organs (Plate 1). Dug out of a tomb near Lauriya, the image was identified by Bloch, as the iconic representation of the earth goddess.[2] Such images, in metal and in clay, served as fetishistic symbols. The terracotta pieces recovered from the pre-Maurya level of the sites like Bhīṭā, Baxar (Plate 2), Chirand, Vaiśālī, Campā seem to belong to this category. That the primitive phase of imagination and expression centring round fetishistic beliefs represented the popular tradition of art of the Gangetic valley is fully borne out by the passages in the *Ṛg-Veda*,

Gṛhyasūtra and by early Buddhist and Jaina texts. The period also witnessed the existence of another primitive religion indulging in the worship of a holy tree or groves of trees within railings as the *caityas.* Another important object that received attention from the primitive religion was the animal standard, the *dhvajastambha*, that is, posts of pillars crowned by animals[3]. It was evidently from such early specimens of primitive animal standards made of impermanent materials like *śāla* wood and bamboo that the Mauryas seem to have derived the inspiration of erecting pillars crowned by sacred animals.

But we hardly have any extant remains of such objects of worship before the days of the Mauryas. Neither do we have any evidence of architecture that can definitely be dated as pre-Mauryan. Indeed, whatever specimens of sculpture and architecture we know of, are directly the products of the Maurya court. The description of the city of Pāṭaliputra and of the royal palace, which we read of in the accounts of the classical writers like Megasthenes, Arrian and Strabo[4] and the excavations at the site of the old city by Waddel and Spooner[5] seem to suggest that the original initiative in the general planning and execution of the building of the city came from the first Maurya king Candragupta. But the Maurya pillared hall and the stupendous building remains (Plate 3) which were laid bare may have presumably been built by Aśoka himself. As a matter of fact, the essential ideology and conception agree remarkably with the aims, ideals, motives and general ideological design of that great benevolent autocrat Aśoka. Other archaeological remains that can definitely be associated with the Maurya dynasty are a few cave dwellings dedicated by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha for the use of the monks of the Ājīvika sect, in the Barābar Nāgārjuna group of hills in Gaya (Plate 4), a monolithic rail at Sarnath, an altar at Bodhagaya, edict bearing and non-edict bearing pillars with their capitals, the front half of an elephant carved out in the round from a live rock at Dhauli in Orissa.

A few characteristics are common to all the sculptural and other lithic remains. They are all monumental in conception and design, and inordinately fine and precise in execution. Moreover, with the exception of the remains of the city-buildings of Pāṭaliputra and of the Dhauli elephant carved out of rock, all others were executed in hard gray sandstone, quarried at Chunar. The huge columns which are distributed over a wide area between Delhi in the west, Basārh in the east and Sāñcī in the south, were all carved out of this material. The objects are finely chiselled and highly polished to a glossiness that hardly has any parallel in Indian art at any other period of history. Characteristically all of them were reared up directly under the shadow of the royal throne of the

Mauryas. We are thus confronted with a historical phenomenon when a royal dynasty with imperial ambition suddenly discarded traditional materials of art like wood, clay and metal and took to the employment of stone as the material par excellence for monumental sculpture and architecture. Interestingly this new material was handled with such perfect ease and mastery as to suggest that the art of large-size stone cutting was already long in practice. Most certainly the huge resources of the state made available to the artists, rendered possible the conception, planning and execution in such large proportions. It is possible to postulate that similar bold and large-scale work was long in practice in wood in pre-Maurya days. What the Mauryan emperors did was only to initiate the artists and art-guilds into the use of stone and translate their traditional skill in terms of a new material. Such an explanation is certainly admissible, particularly when one examines the design and execution of the city of Pāṭaliputra and the royal buildings, including the other architectural elements of the Maurya-Śuṅga periods like pillars, railings, gates and *caitya* facades. But the very fact that stone henceforward became the most important material for Indian plastic art is by itself significant. Equally significant is that when stone sculpture first came into view during the Maurya period, it was already an expression of a civilized, sophisticated and fully developed art that had generations of artistic effort, experience and tradition behind it, although no evidence of stone work has come to light from the pre-Maurya level. More importantly, the Mauryan art borne by its own volume and strength has such an inherent technical and psychological character that the carpenters' or clay-modellers' art fails to explain and account for. Indeed, the pre-Mauryan artistic tradition of wood, clay, ivory and metal work in howsoever large a scale and with whatever technical skill it may have been carried out, cannot fully explain the art tradition which the Mauryan sculptures represent. The technical skill and efficiency of the Mauryan sculptor evident in the monumental art in stone, cannot explain the stately air in which the sculptures themselves breathe.

How could this happen, all of a sudden without any pre-existing tradition? What were the motivations or the socio-political ideological tradition behind this art work? What legacy did it leave for the growth and development of later Indian art?

The pages that follow seek to raise these questions to provide tentative answers.

II. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Any attempt at an explanation of the phenomenon related to Mauryan art should take into account two important factors, firstly, the state of artistic

activities of Northern India during the centuries immediately preceding that of the Mauryas, and secondly, the historical-cultural forces that were at work at the Mauryan court which was directly responsible for Mauryan art.

From the Brāhmaṇical *sūtras* and the Buddhist *Jātakas* one comes to know about the art and culture of northern India of the pre-Maurya and Maurya periods. The region seems to have had settled village life with scattered houses made of bamboo, reed, mud, wood and occasionally of brick. In terms of technology one comes across a people who knew the use of metals, silver, gold, copper and iron for domestic and other purposes. The Vedic texts and the *Jātakas* speak about eighteen different kinds of *śilpas* or arts and crafts which included carpentry, smithery, leather dressing, painting etc. With the exception of certain stories in the *Mahābhārata* there is nothing to suggest that the canvas of contemporary life was conceived on a magnificent and monumental scale[6]. Tribal and primitive was indeed the character of social psychology of Northern India during these centuries. Such tribal patterns are clearly evidenced in the ruins of the settlement complexes of the pre-Maurya time.

But a slow and steady widening of the tribal outlook was being effected in the political sphere. Already in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we hear of such sacrifices as the *Rājasūya* and the *Aindramahābhiṣeka*, symbolical performance of all-encompassing sovereignty. The same political conception of *sārvabhauma* kings was repeated in the early Buddhist and Jaina texts in the form of *Rājacakravartī*[7]. In reality till the fifth-fourth centuries B. C., the political condition of Northern India was not that of an empire of considerable spread, under a *sārvabhauma* monarch, but of separate small and independent states and kingdoms—sixteen *Mahājanapadas* each under a separate king or a tribal leader[8]. The ideal of all-encompassing power was partially achieved by *Mahāpadmānanda*, who has been referred to in the *Purāṇas* as *ekrāṭ*[9]. The last successor of this dynasty attained supreme position and was mentioned as a powerful monarch of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai. Politically, India was thus steadily growing out of its tribal structure.

Whether the evolution of such a political outlook was the outcome of natural historical process, or was conditioned by India's contact with the contemporary West Asiatic world is difficult to say. In any case, the chronological and historical background of the intimate relation of India with Iran and the Ancient Asiatic West may be traced from the sixth century B. C., when parts of Northern India went under the political domination of Iran, and the Indus region came to form the 20th satrapy of the Iranian (Achaemenian) empire under Darius. The most powerful Iranian emperor Darius describes himself in the inscription—'the

King of Kings, the great King'. This was in reality the Indian conception of *sārvabhauma* monarch, *rājacakravartī*, the *ekrat* claimed by *Mahāpadmānanda*. Presumably, the concept of the over-encompassing power of the king as claimed by the Nandas and the Mauryas seem to have been a borrowing from the Achaemenid dynasty which was the first to evolve and give reality to the idea of imperial suzerainty. Apart from India's forming an integral part of the Achaemenian power in the sixth century B. C., long before, India had an age-old, potent and effective contact with the West Asian-Iranian world. Such contacts through successive stages of history must have been responsible for introducing many elements in Indian history. This is more evident in the domain of art and general culture. Indeed, the early Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical mythology, iconography especially those connected with the cults of the Sun and the Fire, the evolution of the *Kharoṣṭi* script, an Aramaic inscription found at Taxila[10], and early Indian art from the Maurya period onward, should all be viewed against this background. Coomaraswamy gives a long list of such common elements and technical analogies, and finally argues, 'there is comparatively little in Indian decorative art that is peculiar to India and much that shares with Western Asia'. Fantastic animals, palmettes, rosettes and bell capitals are such common elements of the craftsman's repertory of the period.

With Candragupta Maurya building up an all-India empire extending up to modern Afghanistan and therefore touching almost what had once been the heart of Achaemenid power and culture, India came into closer contact with the Greco-Bactrian courts and kingdoms. The situation then took a new turn. In 330 B. C., Alexander the Great, overthrew the mighty Achaemenian empire. But in the process of consolidating his conquest, the Greek conqueror felt the overpowering influence of Achaemenian imperialism and Achaemenian art and culture. Plutarch has left us a vivid description of how Alexander worked for a fusion of the cultures of Greece and Iran. He himself married Darius' daughter and married his commander-in-chief Seleucus to an Achaemenian girl, Apama. For the same reason he is said to have elected thirty thousand Persian boys and trained them in the Macedonian manner[11]. Such a decision was promoted by the fact that fusion of cultures was considered more forceful than physical valour. The same process seems to have been fully at work in the realm of art too. Colonial Hellenistic art by this time came under the influence of Iranian art, while Iranian art itself began to feel the pressure of Hellenistic influences. The pressure became active during and after the Achaemenid period, so that when the Mauryas came in intimate contact with the colonial Greeks of Western Asia, both Achaemenid and Hellenistic art-traditions had become heavily inscribed into each other.

With the coming of the Mauryas to power and the building up of an all India empire by Candragupta extending up to modern Afghanistan, the Mauryas developed friendly relations with the Seleucid Greek house, and this relation continued from generation to generation. Besides contracting a matrimonial alliance[12] the Maurya King Candragupta repeatedly received Greek officials; Megasthenes was one such ambassador from Seleucus[13]. Candragupta's son Bindusāra had in his court a Greek envoy, Demachus of Plataca, sent by Antiochus Sotor, son of Seleucus. The Mauryan kings are said to have been great Hellenophiles. The courts of Bindusāra and Bimbisāra are also said to have been visited by a number of Greeks, of which some were even sophists[14]. We are told how the poetry of Homer was sung in the Maurya court [15]. Aśoka's friendly relations with the Greek States of Western Asia and Egypt are much too well known; the world that he claims to have contacted in pursuance of his policy of *Dhammavijaya* was pre-eminently this Hellenistic world. Both Megasthenes and Kauṭilya refer to a State Department run and maintained for the purpose of looking after foreigners, who evidently were quite numerous not only in the capital city of Pāṭaliputra, but in other provincial capitals and trade centres as well. There can hardly be any doubt that these foreigners were mostly colonial Greeks and a very large majority of them were merchants and businessmen. Indeed, in the third century B. C., a caravan high way ran from Taxila via Kandahar, Persepolis and Susa to Seleucia on the Tigris, while another old main road ran via Kandahar, Heerat, Ekbatana and Seleucia and was joined by the Taxila—Kabul—Bactria route[16]. Taxila was the seat of an important Maurya province, and from here a great high way ran direct to connect Pāṭaliputra with the Hellenistic East. There was also a coastal sea-borne trade route to Seleucia along the Persian gulf and up to the Tigris and to Egypt. It is this trade route that explains the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila. It was along this route also that foreigners, including Greek envoys, traders, travellers, artists and craftsmen must have flocked to Maurya India. This intimate contact explains finds of art-objects of a distinctive Hellenistic appearance or with definite Hellenistic motifs and designs from different places of northern India and Afghanistan.

The phil-Hellenism of the Maurya kings and their court brought the Mauryas in an indirect contact with the art and culture of the Achaemenids. The grandiose and magnificent monuments of the Achaemenid monarchs had still been standing when the Mauryas came to exercise all-India suzerainty and Mauryan art was making its appearance. Even after the extinction of Achaemenian power,

importation of Achaemenian art objects to India seems to have continued. It has been pointed out that some art objects found at Bhirmound, 'reflect the influence of Achaemenian art'. The two Yakṣa statues wearing a kind of waist cloth and coiled armlets inevitably recall Achaemenian parallels (Plates 5,6). It is presumed that Maurya India came to acquire contact with Medo Achaemenian art through Greek intermediaries.

The most important evidence of Achaemenian cultural influence on the Maurya court ideology is afforded by the account of the city and royal palace of Pāṭaliputra left by classical authors. The first notice of the wooden walls was made by McCrindle in *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes* (p. 207). We have it in Strabo that the city of Pāṭaliputra situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Erannoboas (*Hiraṇyavaha*, the modern Son) was surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with loop holes for the discharge of arrows, crowned with 560 towers and provided with 60 gates. Pāṭaliputra, according to Strabo, compared favourably with Susa and Ekbatana[17] Waddel's excavations laid bare the remains of what had once been the city wall; Spooner later brought to light remains of huge wooden buildings at Bulandibag and Kumrahar, both near Patna (Plate 3). The remains of one of these buildings, that is of the pillared hall with the lower portions of the stone pillars *in-situ*, are of particular significance. It is more or less like an Aśokan pillar, smooth, highly polished and made of gray Chunar sandstone. Though wood was traditionally the only material used in India for building construction even for sumptuous and magnificent buildings, Spooner's excavations however revealed for the first time the use of stone for building purposes in the pillared hall of Pāṭaliputra. Spooner observes that the columns 'showed a technique of stone carving in their polished surface which is not only known to have been non-Indian, but which again is identical with the Persepolitan workmanship'. It is not unlikely that the Maurya Pillared Hall owed its inspiration and general design to the Hall of Hundred Columns erected by Darius[18]. 'The adoption of the Persepolitan style of building at Pāṭaliputra was not the normal result of the contact of the Achaemenian and Indian sculptors, but was due to conscious adoption of the plan of the Achaemenian Hall of Public Audience by the Maurya emperor (Aśoka) as a part of the paraphernalia of his imperialism.' Indeed Maurya imperialism, as revealed in the inscriptions of Aśoka, indicates the extent to which Aśoka was indebted to his great Achaemenian predecessor Darius, not only for the idea of making his royal edicts known throughout his empire but also for the form of the inscriptions themselves. It is known that the duplicate copies of the royal order of Darius were written on leather or brick. This was also the arrangement made by Aśoka

for the circulation of his edicts. Besides, the very idea of recording royal edicts or orders on permanent materials as rocks and stone pillars seems to have been inspired by Achaemenian practice. In respect of the form of the Aśokan inscription, Senart finds strong resemblance with that of the inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings. The edicts of Aśoka begin with the usual formula '*Devanam piya Piyadasi evamaha*' which according to Senart 'is an absolutely isolated form in Indian epigraphy'. This has however been rather opposed by Barua who finds the origin of the Aśokan formula in the Indian literary convention, tracing them back to even such Upaniṣadic phrases as *hovāca yājñavalkya, evamāhurmanīṣīṇaḥ*[19]. Be it or not, the fact remains that the whole character of Aśokan epigraphs including their form has an undeniable family likeness with Achaemenian inscriptions. Indeed, Aśoka's peculiar way of exhorting people to follow the laws of *Dhamma* also seems to have been adopted from Achaemenian practice initiated by Darius in his Behistan and *Naksh-I-Rustam* inscriptions.

Some important facts emerge. First, whatever extant remains there are as definitely belonging to the Maurya period, they are products of the Maurya court. Secondly, this court and its presiding lords were all ardent Hellenophiles and were largely under the influence of Achaemenian art and culture at the same time. It is to this second factor that we can ascribe the fixation of Indian art in permanent material like stone. At the same time it has to be recognized that there existed in India a pre-Mauryan art mainly practised in wood, clay and ivory. Evidently this art in impermanent materials could hardly contribute anything to stone carving that characterizes the art of the Maurya period. Indeed, stone art introduced for the first time in India during the Maurya period, seems to belong to somewhat different aesthetic vision and outlook. More importantly, the tools and implements, apart from the technical means which were necessary for cutting out the huge slabs and boulders of stone from the live rock of the Chunar hills and then for shaping and forming the pillars and their capitals were new advents in the technological history. Equally true is the fact that such heavy and sophisticated tools and implements, obviously of iron, did not make their appearance felt in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley or the Gaṅgā basin before the fourth century B. C. In such a situation it is difficult to dismiss outright that behind the purely technical and technological aspect of the making of the Maurya pillars and their capitals there was no active, direct and conscious 'Perso-Hellenistic' inspiration and impact. Thirdly as a benevolent autocrat Aśoka had proceeded to regulate the social and religious life of the people according to his conception of *Dhamma*. He was averse to popular

demonstration of religion, festive gatherings, auspicious rites and rituals performed by the ordinary people, particularly by the women-folk. It is clear further that his *Dhamma* was nothing but an abstract code of ethical principles of universal recognition. His methods for the propagation of his *Dhamma* had almost the force of law behind them.

If art is the product of the society, linking up formal and stylistic considerations with contemporary social and religious ideas and motivations, Mauryan art has to be viewed and understood against this historical, cultural and sociological background. This would help us to understand the character and ideology of Mauryan art.

III. MAURYAN COLUMNS

The highly polished, tall and well proportioned columns of gray Chunar sandstone with slightly tapering monolithic shafts standing free in space, complete and independent themselves are admittedly the best representatives of the court art of the Mauryas. The columns on the basis of their character may be divided into three categories: first, the pillars that bear the edicts of Aśoka include those of Delhi-Mirat, Allahabad, Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rampurva (with lion capital), Delhi-Topra, Saṅkīsa, Sāñcī and Sarnath; second, the non-edict bearing columns known up till now include those of Rampurva (with bull capital), Basārh-Bakhira (with single lion capital) and Kosam (capital not recovered); and third, the columns bearing dedicatory inscriptions include at least two well known specimens, those of Rummindei and Nigalisagar.

A clear idea of the general appearance and constituent parts of the Mauryan column is afforded by the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar (Plate 7) which remains in a perfect state of preservation. The completely smooth, plain and circular shaft is a monolithic piece of Chunar sandstone, tapering upwards without any base. On the top of it is the capital, monolithic like the shaft having the appearance of a gently arched bell, formed of lotus petals, joined with the shaft by a copper bolt of cylindrical shape bulging in the middle. The abacus, square and plain in the earlier specimens and circular and decorated in the later ones, is the pedestal of the crowning animal. The crowning animal on the shaft, seated or standing, always in the round constitutes a single piece with the abacus. The crowning elements on the shaft contribute to its positive character that gives the Mauryan pillars the independent effect of complete monumental works.

It has been suggested on an eighth century Sinhalese parallel, that these crowning animals should be considered as guardians of the four cardinal

points[20]. It is doubtful if this interpretation can with equal force be given to the Aśokan animal capitals. These are not even exclusively Buddhist symbols.

The internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves help us to arrive at a rough chronological sequence of the columns. The Rummindei pillar was raised in the 20th year of the great monarch's reign while the Rampurva with the lion capital was in the 26th year, followed a year later by the Lauriya Nandangarh column, dated in the 27th year. The Sarnath pillar bears edicts that do not find place in other columns and hence seems to have been of a later date.

The information provided by the pieces of evidence is too fragmentary to trace a chronological history of the pillars. But examining the pillars from the stylistic point of view, a definite starting point may be furnished by the one at Basārh-Bakhira (Plate 8) which is probably pre-Aśokan. Compared with the other columns of known Aśokan date the shaft of Basārh-Bakhira is shorter in proportion and its workmanship is crude and rough. The heavy square abacus which is by itself a sure indication of an earlier date has no integral relation with the bell capital below. The crowning lion of this pillar—a free and independent figure, has not yet evolved a form and appearance so as to make itself an integrated whole, together with the shaft, capital and abacus. The next milestone is furnished by the elephant crowned Saṅkīsa column. The decoration of the abacus and the clumsy and heavy workmanship of the animal are both primitive and are presumably translated from wooden designs; the border decoration is particularly reminiscent of woodwork. But already the abacus has changed from square to round and has been given a form that keeps rhythmic balance between the animal above and the capital below. The lion crowned Rampurva pillar (Plate 9) and the similarly crowned Lauriya Nandangarh columns show a steady advance towards harmonization. In both instances the abacus which is artistically integrated and harmonized with the capital is decorated with a row of pecking geese. The last stage of the evolution is marked by the Sarnath (Plate 10) and Sāñcī pillars, both crowned by four semi lions joined back to back and carrying the Buddhist symbol of the wheel. The Salempur column crowned by four semi bulls joined back to back also belongs to this stage of evolution. It is important to note that all the Mauryan columns, no matter where they are set up, are chiselled out of gray Chunar sandstone and have a lustrous polish due to the application of silicious varnish on the stone. There is no doubt that the impetus and inspiration of such pillars came from outside. The very sudden use of stone and that too for a monumental art of large designs and the quick process of evolution from the *lat* made of wood to civilized and sophisticated form, point unmistakably to this direction. Decorative devices like

rope-bead-reel design, twisted rope used in the intermediate mouldings between the shaft and the capital, the acanthus and palmette designs to decorate the abacus, lotiform bell capital, the extremely lustrous finish of the stone are some of the many devices borrowed from the art of the ancient Near East.

Beginning from disjointed parts of unequal proportions and a broken linear rhythm at Basārh-Bakhira, the Mauryan columns steadily marched towards integration of the component parts into one whole until it reached its perfection at Sarnath, where the parts are clear, distinct, well defined and evenly balanced. The crowning elements on the shaft contribute the most positive character of complete monumental work. Indeed, from the primitive *sthuna* standard to such monumental works it must have been a long journey. Royal will and state resources, individual taste and ideology of a benevolent autocrat and perhaps also foreign inspiration potently at work at the Maurya court achieved the end of this long arduous journey. The Mauryan columns occupy a proud position in Indian art-history by reason of their free and significant artistic form in space, the rhythmic and balanced proportions of their constituent elements, the unitary and integrated effect of the shaft, capital and the crowning ornaments. Indeed, the total aesthetic effect of the Maurya columns has never been surpassed in later Indian art.

Although the Mauryan columns prove unmistakable indications of connections with the art of Iran, the differences that separate them from the Achaemenian ones must not be lost sight of.

Achaemenian columns stand on elaborate supporting bases taking the shape of an inverted lotus or of plain circular mouldings, while Mauryan columns have no base at all. On the other hand the bell which is used in Persian column as base, serves as capital in the Mauryan ones. The Achaemenian shaft is generally fluted, Mauryan columns are all plain. A funeral mound at Lauriya Nandangarh yielded to the excavator's spade from the pre-Mauryan—Mauryan level, a plain and circular piece of a column carved out of *śāla* wood, a *sthuna* as it is termed in ancient Indian text. It is not unlikely that the Mauryan shaft was derived from *sthuna* or *dhvaja stambha* made of wood. Besides Achaemenian columns are built of separate pieces of segments of stone, presenting the essential character of the work of a manson, but the Mauryan shaft is one piece, partaking of the work of a carpenter. The Achaemenian capitals crowned with a cluster of stylized palm leaf or two semi bulls or unicorns or lions seated back to back or of an upright cup and the whole crowned with projecting double volutes have nothing whatsoever in common with the Mauryan capitals. The crowning abacus with the round and independent animal motif, the essential

Mauryan device, is absent in Achaemenian examples. But the important difference lies perhaps in its function. While Achaemenian columns are intended as part of a larger architectural conception, the Mauryan column is produced as an independent monument. Equally important is the fact that in their lustrous varnish, in their adoption and adaptation of the bell shaped capital, in their higher plane of conception and visualization, the Mauryan columns seem to reveal the debt they owe to Perso-Hellenistic art. The twisted rope design, the bead-reel-cable motif, the acanthus leaf and palmette designs may have however been derived from the older and common West-Asiatic art heritage.

IV. MAURYAN ANIMAL FIGURINES

The life size animal sculptures that crown the Mauryan columns along with the elephant at Dhauli at Orissa narrate a complete history of the art of the Mauryas. A rough chronological sequence, as in the case of the columns, may be established at the outset. The Basārh-Bakhira lion, which is taken to be of pre-Aśokan date is the earliest extant example (Plate 8). The next stage is reached at Dhauli (Plate 12), datable to the twelfth-thirteenth years of Aśoka's reign. To this phase of sculptural art may also be ascribed the elephant of Saṅkīsa (Plate 11). The Rampurva bull (Plate 13) and the lion (Plate 9) mark the next stage, and these are closely followed by the lion crowning the column at Lauriya Nandangarh. Chronologically the bull and the lions are contemporary, but stylistically, these two objects belong to two different art experiences. The final stage seems to have been reached in the quadripartite lion form, representing four lions seated back to back on an abacus with carvings of four animals and wheels, facing four directions (Plates 10, 14).

In view of the aesthetic vision and imagination and the conventional style and fixed expression evident in the animal figures, it is difficult to trace the developmental history of sculptural art of the Maurya period. Proceeding chronologically, taking the Basārh-Bakhira lion as the earliest example, one finds how even at the initial stage the sculptor visualized and reproduced the full volume of the body with muscles, veins, locks, mane and the gaping mouth, as if following a tradition. Yet the lion is hardly moved by any energy and vigour. It exists only by its weight.

But compared to this, the Dhauli elephant which is somewhat contemporary to the Basārh-Bakhira lion, demonstrates a different art idiom and expression. Cut out of live rock that bears the well known Kaliṅga edict, the elephant walks majestically out of a deep ravine. It indeed symbolizes His Imperial Majesty King Aśoka presenting himself with quiet dignity before the people of Kaliṅga.

Indeed such plastic presentation of bulky volume, such feeling for living flesh rendered with remarkable realism has no parallel in Mauryan sculpture. Artistically, it is far superior to its Sankasya cousin, which plastically speaking is on a lower level of artistic experience. The floral and vegetal decoration on the abacus appears to be a translation in terms of stone, of wooden originals.

The single lions crowning the columns at Rampurva and Lauriya Nandangarh (Plates 9 and 7) chronologically mark as the next milestones. The former, earlier by a year, bears an Aśokan edict of the 26th regnal year, and the latter, that is the Lauriya Nandangarh lion is said to be of the 27th year of Aśoka. But stylistically the two lions do not form a pair. While the Rampurva lion shows a decided advance in the precise cutting of the stone, in general finish, in the feeling for form and in linear rhythm, the Lauriya Nandangarh example, artistically speaking, is more tense, tight and stylized, particularly in the treatment of the veins, muscles and flesh. But both the animals, in form and treatment, tend to be conventional.

The Rampurva bull (Plate 13) dated a year earlier than the lion from the same place, stylistically belongs to a different artistic plane. The artist responsible for this piece of sculpture had a remarkable sense of form, as well as of plastic volume and of the quality of the flesh. Here is indeed a close observation of nature and full understanding of the character of the object. The animal stands in quiet and restrained dignity; the artist has rendered this idea with remarkable clarity and perfect ease. Here too the modelling is vigorous, but not conventional; plastic and linear sense fully matured, but not schematized. A dynamic naturalism gives it potency and strength, which seems to be a legacy of the humped bull of the pre/proto-historic Indus Valley.

It is important to notice that among the crowning animals lions have formed a well marked stylistic group. If the Basārh-Bakhira specimen marks the beginning of the tradition, its fruition is illustrated by the extremely lustrous joined heraldic lions at Sarnath. Of all Mauryan sculptures it is the most well known and most highly spoken of. Compositionally the accumulation of form of the four lions seated back to back on an abacus which is decorated with carvings of four smaller animals—a bull, a horse, an elephant, a lion including four wheels facing four directions is schematic. But from consideration of technique, it is clever and efficient. Examining the sculpture from the stylistic point of view we see how the heraldic lions on the top with their mask like faces, swelling veins and tense muscular treatment appear lifeless and conventional. The extravagance of form saps the life out of the object that it represents. The entire composition from the beginning to the end is highly

conventional. Indeed, the exhibition of this kind of sculpted object in such fixed tradition clearly prove it that this was undoubtedly the handiwork of one who had generations of artistic effort and experience behind him. But compared to the crowning lions, the animal reliefs on the abacus are portrayed in a distinctly lively and realistic manner, bearing obvious resemblance to an art tradition current in Bactria during the Hellenistic occupation. Technically, the vigorously strident lion, the galloping horse, the humped Indian bull (Plate 14) and the elephant on the abacus are far in advance to that of the pecking geese that decorate the abacus of the Rampurva lion. The Sāñcī counterpart of Sarnath belongs to the same style and is equally conventional and stylized. The manes of the lions are rendered with increasing schematization indicating a date which is later than that of Sarnath.

It is somewhat curious that the lions in Mauryan art are done in a manner which seem already to have been fixed by convention. Their formal pose and appearance, the rendering of their volume, their plastic conception and their stiff and heraldic character seem to be almost pre-determined. It raises the presumption that this style and convention, which has no earlier history in India, came from outside where they had already been fixed and well-established. Historically the formulation of these aesthetic and plastic conceptions embody the same conglomerate of foreign ideas that one finds in the entire fabric of Maurya civilization. One may recognize in it a style related to the Perso-Hellenistic art form. To know the source of inspiration behind this, one should recall the phil-Hellenism of the Maurya court on the one hand and the Perso-Hellenistic art tradition on the other.

A look at the animal sculptures of the Maurya period would indicate how the art of the time was characterized by two different aesthetic visions and imaginations. The dynamism or the flowing current of life that one perceives in the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurva bull, has nothing to connect itself with the stagnant compactness of the treatment of Aśokan lions. This difference in outlook and tradition is clearly brought to the fore when the Rampurva bull is compared with the relief of the same animal in the Sarnath column. From the point of view of style, the two bulls belong to two different worlds altogether. The peculiarity of Indian plastic quality is evidenced in the figures of elephants carved or engraved on the facade of Lomaśaṛṣi cave (Plate 4) and on the rock of Kalsi, a site in the lower hills near Dehra Dun. Indeed such plastic vision, underlying the conception of an organism full of sap, swelling with gentle energy from within belongs to Indian art from its beginning in the Harappan civilization.

V. ALLEGED MAURYAN SCULPTURES

Besides the animal sculptures, a considerable number of independent figure-sculptures in the round and a few fragments of reliefs have been ascribed to the Maurya period, mainly on the ground of their being carved out of gray sandstone from Chunar, and of their having the Mauryan polish.

The two Yakṣas (Plates 5 and 6), almost identical in form, appearance, dress and ornament come first in the list of such alleged Mauryan sculptures. It deserves consideration that both these statues have a line of Brāhmī inscription identifying them as Yakṣas. The inscription has palaeographically been dated around the beginning of the Christian era. There is nothing peculiarly Maurya about this couple; rather, the heaviness, the almost archaic solidity and weighty volume struggling hard between fully rounded and modelled volume have family likeness with the huge, heavy and primitive Bodhisattvas of the Mathurā school. The stylistic character of the figure shows how the Indian artists working on stone still clung to the tradition of wood carving. The treatment of the garment as a volume separate from the body, treated in parallel ridges is a peculiar characteristic of the archaic Yakṣa figures of Mathurā.

Similar treatment of the garment characterizes the standing life-size female figure from Didarganj (Plate 15), holding a *cāmara* in her right hand. In figurative and stylistic character, the Didarganj female is characteristically different from the colossal statue of the Yakṣa or nature spirit. The front view of the figure is fully in the round and hence is bound by no law of frontality. But one witnesses a superb craftsmanship in the treatment of the abdomen and of the back, particularly in the region along the spine. The tall well-built queenly figure, in conscious and sophisticated appearance with the necklace hanging between the full round breasts, the shapely legs gradually tapering down to the thin ankles decorated with exotic ornament, may easily be taken as the product of urban bourgeois society. The sensitiveness of the flesh as shown in the modelling of the lower body, the abdomen, the chin and the region round the eyes, is striking. Plastically fully round, the figure is meant to be seen from all sides. Its heavy but loose mass of hair, its full soft bosom and the firmness of the flesh, its attenuated waist and the broad hips recall the lively Yakṣī figures of the Mathurā reliefs. Stylistically, the Didarganj figurine appears to respond to a distant echo of the feminine figures of Hellenistic art tradition. But here is a piece of art which, though not a product of the Maurya court, is nevertheless of Mauryan affiliation, both in spirit, in language of form and in technical perfection. Stylistically, the figure may be dated in the second century B. C., though the date is irrelevant.

The two colossal standing torsos of polished Chunar sandstone, representing naked Jaina images (Plate 16), both recovered from Lohanipur near Patna, are characterized by Maurya polish. They have been found together at the same level along with a silver punch marked coin, thus associating these sculptures with the Maurya period. If one is to go by style and appearance, the Lohānipur torsos seem to belong to a time which may not be far from the date assigned to the Yakṣas of Patna and Parkham; but the sensitiveness of the flesh as shown in what remains of the modelling of the male body seems to indicate an improved visualization. Yet there can be no doubt that in all these statues we have a clear expression of weighty and imposing earthiness that traditional Indian imagination connects with its Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. Considering the stiff and archaic appearance, rough and crude workmanship, the types of ornaments and draperies, it seems that these weighty and imposing figures can in no way be dated to earlier than the art of Bhārhut.

A few heads carved out of Chunar sandstone and similarly polished, all from Sarnath, are usually assigned to the Maurya period. Coomaraswamy, on the basis of their 'extraordinary actuality' and 'marked individuality', considered them as portrait figures, presumably of donors.[21] Their headdresses consisting of a fillet with a laurel wreath or a mural crown are certainly reminiscent of Hellenistic motifs. Similar fragments of stone-heads with identical hairdresses hail from Bhīṭā and Mathurā. They, along with the Sarnath examples, constitute a 'well marked stylistic group'. It is permissible to assume that these head carvings, some having foreign facial types, together with some terracotta heads and figures (Plates 17, 18, 19, 20) from Mathurā, Sarnath, Basārh, Bulandibag, Kumrahar, were products of the Hellenistic provincial art tradition, which migrated to the heartland of the Mauryas. Since Hellenistic contacts were effective even after the fall of the Mauryas, the migration, adoption and adaptation of Hellenistic facial and physiognomical types remained in currency in the post-Maurya period as well. A few mutilated pieces of sculpture carved out of Chunar sandstone were recovered from a site near Kosam (Plates 21, 22, 23). They are very much Maurya in feeling and character, but are not of Maurya date. One such piece of sculpture represents a spread out palm-leaf carved in bold relief, having a striking formal and technical affinity with those of the stylized Aśokan lotus capital. The second, a broken portion of a capital consisting of an upturned lotus, evidently recalls Perso-Hellenistic motif. The third represents a running series of feline animals in playful poses and attitudes. However, the most important find is that of a headless and footless figure of a standing horse. Stylistically, all these objects are affiliated to the general norm of

Maurya art, but they do not have the same polish. Interestingly, these objects were found at a level which is definitely post-Mauryan, indicating thus the continuation of Mauryan motifs for sometime even after the end of the Maurya period.

A considerable number of terracotta art objects have been recovered from the Mauryan level of several widely separated sites extending from Pāṭaliputra to Taxila. Partly modelled and partly moulded these terracottas consist of female figures, mother goddesses, a few busts of males and females, elephants with or without riders and objects made for secular uses. The distinguishing features of the female figurines is the prominence given to wearing heavy ornaments in the earlobes, round the neck, wrists and girdles (Plate 24). The hair on the head is usually dressed in plaits, covering the head, like a tight fitting cap. The schematically treated folds and plaits of the long, tight but flouncing skirt richly adorned with applique designs worn by some female figures add a touch of urban sophistication. Except for the small round breasts and naturalistically delineated features of the face, the body is usually simplified and treated in an abstract manner. In certain cases such abstraction is found even in the treatment of the face, particularly in the incised eyes, the brows, a short flat nose and a tightly closed narrow mouth.

The unique terracottas of the Mauryan period, forming a group by themselves are somewhat unlike the terracottas of the post-Mauryan phase. Differences are important to note. First, quite a few number of these terracottas have an outstanding and a certain portrait like individualized facial type and expression, besides wearing outlandish dresses. Secondly, the kind of soft plastic treatment of the bust and characteristic treatment of the waist line and the end of the skirts is nowhere to be seen in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period. These characteristics seem to leave no room for doubt that Mauryan terracottas were also inspired by contemporary Graeco-Bactrian types and fashions. Such terracotta art objects must have been in popular demand in the then cosmopolitan city of Pāṭaliputra and its outskirts. Along with these there were the mother goddess images also. But it is important to note that these are not examples of the so-called ageless types, although the legs and arms in such figures are stumpy and the torso is fully modelled with prominent breasts and wide hips. In one instance a female figure, heavily burdened all over with dresses and ornaments, expresses an aroma of rich dignity of her own; this richness and dignity has been sought to be interpreted in terms of the cult of fertility.

It is difficult to say anything about the nationality of the artists of the Maurya period. There is no evidence on this point. But even if the artists were Indian, it

is permissible to assume that they were fully tutored in the mastery of carving of stone and were fully conversant with the solution of the problem of the third dimension. The technique was new in Indian art, but was practised by the contemporary Perso-Hellenistic masters.

VI. MAURYAN CAVES

Of the architectural remains usually ascribed to the Maurya period very few are significant and exist today in their original form and plan except the excavated *caitya* halls bearing inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha in the Barābar group of caves. In types and forms these caves seem to have been the lineal descendants of similar rock hewn caves of the tribal people, although some of these cells have received the high polish which is so typical of Maurya stone art. The earliest of these caves particularly the one dedicated to the monks of the Ājīvika sect, bearing an inscription dated in the twelfth year of Aśoka's reign (Sudāmā), shows a tradition of thatch construction and mud-built house. Indeed, the barrel vaulted roof and a doorway with sloping jambs, including the circular cell having overhanging eave is but a transference in stone of wood or thatch construction. Moreover, the live-rock-walls are marked by perpendicular grooves, which are indications of the adoption of upright wooden or bamboo planking. Three more caves in the area, each bearing an inscription of the Maurya king Daśaratha follow the same tradition. Chronologically the latest and architecturally the best of the series is the Lomaśaṛṣi cave. Architecturally it is very much like the Sudāmā, though left incomplete. The most interesting element is its sculptured facade, which is entirely like a wooden structure in the language of stone.

The history of these rock-cut caves represents about half a century of building activity, but unlike Maurya sculptures this architectural work shows no process of evolution. However, in so far as cutting of the stone is concerned, every little detail is sharply and precisely chiselled.

A word of explanation, however, is needed for the inclusion of the rock-cut *caitya* and the monolithic shaft in a study devoted to Maurya sculptures. The explanation is a very simple one; though functionally the columns and the rock-cut caves are architecture, technically these are sculptures. The sculptors' work in these structures was to bring out forms from the depth of stone, following a pre-vision and design. Carved out of large single boulders of stone by slicing and chiselling off the unwanted portions, the rock-cut caves, like the Dhauli elephant are formed from the womb of live rocks by digging into them, slicing off large pieces and chiselling the retained portions into the required shapes and forms. The Maurya pillar-shafts also follow a similar tradition. The process in

both cases is one of subtraction which is essentially the sculptor's work. In the realm of architecture, howsoever skilful were the rock-cut *caityas*, the monolithic shafts and the fabulous city of Pāṭaliputra with its splendid pavilions and towers, the new architectural concept did not seem to have captured the imagination of the Indian builders. As a matter of fact, like sculptures, the architectural tradition sponsored by Aśoka was so alien on Indian soil that it could not pass through as a heritage for later Indian art and architecture. The excavated *caitya* halls in the Nāgārjuna-Barābar hills, particularly the circular chamber and antechamber, made of thatch and mud with side entrance, as seen at Sudāmā, seem to have been repeated in later days, at Junnar and Guntupalli. But generally speaking Mauryan art was almost like the rule of the *Dhamma* which Aśoka wanted to impose on his subjects, by suppressing popular religion. The main line of art, just as the main line of Aśoka's policy, lacked deeper roots in the collective social taste and preference. Even the terracotta art expressed a stylistic vision and imagination which had no cultural or emotional link with the people's art.

VII. CHARACTER OF MAURYA ART

With all its urban, conscious and civilized quality of visualization and full comprehension of the third dimension, Maurya court art was therefore destined to have been only an episode in the history of Indian art. Kramrisch rightly states the position when she says that 'in the organism of Indian art, Mauryan sculpture has only marginal importance'.[22] It was indeed a hot house plant reared up by the will, care and patronage of a court heavily under the influence of contemporary international culture and ideology of the Asiatic West and Mediterranean East. In course of time, the glass walls fell to pieces and the plant withered. Mauryan court art failed to make any notable permanent contribution to the growth of Indian art except that it directly helped in the fixation of the latter in permanent material. The second important contribution was that Indian art during this time was raised from the position of handicraft and primitive art to the status and dignity of high art. But it is permissible to assume that the advanced power of visualization and a comprehension of the problem of the third dimension were not unknown to Indian artists. Such an assumption seems to find strong support from the spirit, appearance, treatment and execution of the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurva bull. But it is clear at the same time that the court art of the Mauryas did not seem to have taken cognizance of the folk tradition of art of ethnic significance.

One of the important functions of Mauryan court art, like the art of the Achaemenian court, was to impress and overawe the populace with the power

and majesty of its rulers. To this function can be traced the most imposing stateliness of the columns and the compactness of the solid animal figures. The Aśokan policy in the realm of religion raised Buddhism to the status of an international religion right from the position of a tribal and regional cult. So in the realm of art as well. The main line of Aśoka's policy of *Dhammavijaya* lacked deeper roots in the collective life of the society. Evidently these were destined to have isolated and short lives coeval and coexistent with and within the four limits of the powerful Maurya court.

VIII. AŚOKAN IDEOLOGY AND ŚUṄGA BACKGROUND

(Formal Qualities of Śuṅga Art—Bhārhut—Bodhagaya)

The understanding of the aesthetic ideology of Mauryan art and its significance may perhaps be further helped by bringing it into comparison with the art of the Śuṅga period, which chronologically was the closest in succession.

A few facts and factors regarding the background of Śuṅga art are worth taking into consideration. Aśoka's policy of *Dhamma*, based on the universal ethical concept, which he sought to inculcate amongst his people by mandate and ordinances was largely foreign to the people in general. The prohibitions of sacrificial slaughter, festive gatherings, the processions or *yātrās*, the *samājas*, the *utsavas* and the auspicious rites and rituals performed by the people and the women folk for beneficial causes were directed against the age-old popular religion which was current in India agelessly through centuries.

In the name of *Dhamma*, Aśoka's intention was to execute two things: one, to suppress the time honoured religious rites and rituals, and the other to impose the new code of moral instructions adopted by him for the cause of *Dhamma*. In Rock Edict Nine he clearly expresses himself against folk religious rites and practices and the age-old *vratas* of evident ethnic and primitive significance. There is no doubt that the imperialism of the Maurya monarch, especially of Aśoka, was the expression of an individualistic taste and ideology. Indeed, the Maurya administration was a highly centralized one with its emphasis on authoritarian social and religious ideology. In such a situation, the humanism and benevolence of Aśoka were hardly any guarantee against the evils caused by the oppressive interference of the wicked official agents. There is evidence to show that people in general had hardly any faith or love for this dynasty and their social, cultural and religious ideology. It seems that much of the veiled hatred and contempt with which later writers viewed Aśoka-Maurya was due to his being an exponent of a personal cultural ideology that was so foreign to the people in general. Added to it was Aśoka's utter disrespect for the age-old rites

and rituals which people seem to have kept alive so long. In politics it took the shape of popular revolts, and finally in a military coup. The Śuṅga *coup d' état* was an expression of the smouldering resentment among the cross sections of the population culminating in the overthrow of the dynasty by one Puṣyamitra who murdered the last Maurya emperor and became the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

Although the first Śuṅga ruler who happened to be a *brāhmaṇa*, persecuted Buddhism, the Buddhist religion and its art enjoyed one of its greatest creativity during this time. While the Mauryan religious art was highly symbolical in the shape and form of monumental pillars of piety with crowning animals expressing Aśoka's imperial will and might, Buddhism and Buddhist art during the Śuṅga period rooted itself strongly in the tribal and peasant culture. It was clearly a negation of the Maurya attitude. The reliefs of the time using a popular vehicle, portrayed an illuminating commentary on contemporary Indian life as conceived by the larger section of the people. From this scheme the *samājas*, *utsavas*, festive gatherings, religious demonstrations, existing in timeless continuum were not excluded. Indeed, the bas reliefs on the railings of Bhārhut, Bodhagaya and Sāñcī that, chronologically speaking, followed closely on the art of the Maurya court, though from the point of view of subject matter was predominantly Buddhist, demonstrated all sorts of totemestic, animistic rites and religious festivals, processions, in which chariots, elephants, horses, luminous celestial sights found their proper places. One cannot help thinking that such demonstrations were actually practised for the edification of the people, which is very usual in all popular anthropomorphic religions. Representations of scenes like the luminous celestial groves like *citralatā*, *nandana* (as narrated in Buddhaghoṣa), the jovial ravishing music and dance of the gods and heavenly dancers, flight of five *ṛṣis* during the *Śakya* plough festival (*Lalitavistara*), the acceptance of the reincarnation doctrine or the *Jātaka* stories, including various miracles of the Buddha's life, *divyāni rūpāṇi* as recorded in Aśokan edicts, and all with inscribed labels prove that the stories and the events became closely intermingled with the social and cultural ideology of the changed religion. In presenting such themes of popular interest the Śuṅga artists went for an age-old medium, known as *caraṇa citras*—a traditional audio-visual vehicle which has been continuously present even today in rural society, as *paṭa citras*. The method of arrangement of the scenes connected with religious and cultural education and festivities followed the narrative technique of folk pictorial tradition, depicting the scenes in square and rectangular panels, in medallions, on the upright pillars and posts of the gates and railings with appropriate labels.

(Plate 25) One may go still further and argue that the top horizontal panels of the gates with their sides rolled up at the two ends are nothing but adaptation in stone of *paṭa citra* spread out for their exhibition with their sides rolled up. It is thus clear that religious and cultural ideology as evidenced in the sculptures of the Śuṅga-Kānva period was unlike that of Aśoka; indeed, it was more popular in character and more collective in its aim and origin. It is true at the same time that the art which initially was folk and tribal in character came to attain recognition in the hands of widening religious brotherhood patronized by the landed and commercial middle classes and nobility. The facts for such an assumption are abundantly clear in the inscriptions. The religion of Śākyamuni at this stage also passed a long way from the abstract ethical concept of piety to a religion forming an alliance with the popular cults of the soil. Buddhism thus was no longer a movement sponsored by the king and royalty. It was brought to the door of the people.

In consequence, religion witnessed a great fusion of the cultures of different grades of people, right from the royalty and nobility down to the aboriginal folks. Such fusion and integration made themselves evident in the acceptance of gods and goddesses like Sūrya, Lakṣmī (Plate 26), Indra on the one hand and the Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, the *vṛkṣa devatā*, the *nāga* spirits (Plate 27), the *apsarās*, *kinnarīs* and the worship of funeral places and mounds on the other. As a matter of fact, the absorption of reincarnation into Buddhism and the acceptance of the popular cults of the soil and of nature led to a great change in the character of Buddhism during this period. Indeed, the *Jātakas* and the Buddhist mythology which relate moral tales connected with animal and human life, reflect the popular aspects of Buddhism. Such stories are replete with traces of tribal and regional cults. In fact, Buddhism at this phase had reached a stage in its career when it not only had outgrown the age of Aśoka, but had completely transformed its career from its highly intellectual and rational scheme of doctrine into a universal and common religion of the people (Plate 28). The vast majority of the people living in mid-India which included peasants, artisans, rich landed gentry, commercial classes, guilds of urban merchants, became adherents of the changed Buddhist religion. Patronage flowed freely from the rich devotees for building up big monasteries all over, particularly along the caravan routes and near or around the big city-centres. Inscriptions recorded on the *stūpa* of Bhārhut and Sāñcī *stūpa* 1 reveal how different parts of these monuments, the gateways, railings, etc., were erected with the donations given by the rich nobility and the feudatory kings and their queens. The Buddhist art of the time seem to have felt the impress of this new factor.

Not only did the period witness the emergence of all sorts of indigenous mediums of art like the *lekhya*, *lepa*, *caraṇa citra*, wood carving, but a new aesthetic ideology also seems to have sprung up in the process of cultural interactions between the indigenous art traits and the repository which was drawn upon from the newly emerging urban culture. Important examples of this process are provided in the relief carvings around the *stūpas* of Bhārhut, Bodhagaya and early Sāñcī. The greatest contribution of the artists of the Śuṅga period was the adoption of traditional art in wood and clay and the flat two dimensional folk paintings of the *caraṇa citra* in the civilized version of stone. Henceforth, stone became the material par excellence for monumental art, which was Buddhist in religious affiliation. But in spite of being Buddhist, Śuṅga art, both from the points of view of theme and formal language, was clearly and frankly, a negation of all that Mauryan art and religion had stood for. A look into the formal qualities of Maurya and post-Maurya art would show that the significant difference between the two lies in their respective languages and forms. Some explanation is necessary to show how it is so.

While Maurya art is basically symbolical, revealing the entire fabric of Maurya civilization, the Śuṅga art is narrative, primarily an art of reliefs. The sculptures of this period consist in large part of the decoration of the stone railings and gateways that surround the *stūpas* of Bhārhut, Bodhagaya and early Sāñcī. Portrayed in square, rectangle, round and half-round panels, the Bhārhut repository of art consisting of reliefs, provides an illuminating commentary on contemporary Indian life as conceived and planned in early Buddhism. From this scheme the *samājas* and festive gatherings, stories connected with the *avidurenidana durenidana*, cycles of life of the Buddha (Plates 29, 30) were not excluded. The reliefs are low and flat and are presented more as silhouettes, sharply detached from their backgrounds. There is no attempt at modelling, but the appearance of a flattened surface is there, always and invariably. In fact everything is translated from the dimension of depth to that of surface. The figures are big or small according to their meaning in the story depicted, not in accordance with the optical impression. Objects are shown to the onlooker not by inference or suggestion; but are made visible in entirety by tilting into the relief the other surfaces on the top, presented almost like flat table tops, served with objects in full visibility (Plate 31). Oversecting and foreshortening are frankly resorted to, whenever or wherever necessary, but nowhere is there any attempt to achieve any illusion of depth. There is no doubt that the approach is that of simple *paṭa* painters; compositionally straight and linear without any indication of perspective. A situation like this in the field of art seems to be

difficult to accept, particularly in view of the mastery of stone carving techniques achieved in the Maurya period when the artists were fully conversant in carving images out of stone three dimensionally. One would expect this solution to enter into the heritage of those artists and craftsmen who immediately followed the Mauryas. But this did not happen. On the other hand one notices how the artists in the Śuṅga period had ignored altogether the Maurya practice and experience in this regard. Instead, the Śuṅga artists are found to have started to learn their craft of stone carving in their way and according to their own tradition, using their age-old knowledge of working with wood, clay and scroll painting.

The second important change in the post-Mauryan period is in the treatment of the human figure. It is well known that the Buddha issued definite injunction against representing himself in human form. This is the reason why the early Buddhist art presented the Buddha in aniconic forms as *stūpa*, *vajrāsana*, the footprint, the wheel and the sacred tree (Plate 32). The attitude was essentially religious, not artistic. But as time wore on, a gradual change is noticed in the approaches. Life was given more importance than religion. The Śuṅga artists seem to take an engrossing interest in all that pertains to the life of this world. The human form is endowed with a new meaning. From now on, human figures which were conspicuous by their absence in the hitherto known examples of the Mauryan art, began to play an important role. Initially they were treated merely as one of the many components of nature, completely at one with *flora and fauna*. Indeed, the men and women of Bhārhut, early Sāñcī and Bodhagaya have almost primitive and tribal simplicity, and have no special emphasis or accent and hence are in no way different from animals and plants that surround them (Plate 33). They do not express any emotion, nor are they idealized in any way. Interestingly these are characteristics also of the *Jātaka* stories themselves. A cross section of the entire corpus of the *Jātaka* stories reveals a solemn repose and detachment of character, but is expressive of a simple and unsophisticated life of the then north and mid-India.

One of the frequent motifs of the Buddhist art of the time is the *śālabhañjikā*, a Yakṣī flowering *śāla* tree (Plate 34). In such portrayals the emphasis on the attributes of fertility in the swelling breasts and heavy hips was more intuitive, rather than the result of the sculptors' following any prescribed recipe. It is important to observe that though the figures exist in volume, they are conceived fundamentally as reliefs against the uprights to which they are attached. At this stage of Indian sculpture, the dynamic vitalization of the body is shown by absorbing the life-fluid of nature.

As time passed on, Indian art showed a gradual awareness of the flowing linear rhythm of nature that binds all isolated objects in one continuous stream of

life. A perfect example of such a motif is furnished by the representation of the huge lotus stalk on any coping stone of Bhārhut, flowing in rhythmical waves from form to form, permeating each isolated object or event, the animal and rich vegetation with the same flowing linear rhythm (Plates 33, 35). An example of this type comes from Sāñcī *stūpa* No. 2, representing a griffin on a half medallion of a railing. This is evident also in the majority of the panelled reliefs and in the bolder and frameless large-size human figures on the upright posts of Bhārhut. The figures may be loosely dispersed on the reliefs, singly and in an isolated manner, but each one, even in its isolation, has to feel the touch of this rhythm and be swayed by it. Wherever luxuriant vegetation finds a place, a radiating and continuous linear movement dominates the composition and all the figures, irrespective of action and status, become equal and integral parts of the whole. A panel of the so-called Prasenjit pillar and the figure of the Yakṣī Sudarśanā of Bhārhut may be cited as examples. In the Prasenjit pillar one finds how a slowly gliding curve passes over the bodies of the seated figures that constitute the music party (Plates 30, 36). It sways each individual figure and bends it to the tune of the curve and flows uninterruptedly along the swaying hands of the dancers. The entire composition is held by this slow but ceaselessly flowing linear rhythm that imparts life to the scene portrayed. Another scene equally vibrant with life is the *cudamaha* festival. The Yakṣiṇī figures with their jewelled draperies swaying vertically in linearized pattern, treated in relation to the surface, nevertheless convey this swaying movement.

But against these sliding curves of rhythmical linear language, the Śuṅga art has another equally potent trend which disregards this flowing art-form. This trend is best illustrated in several panels of the so-called Ajātaśatru pillar representing scenes like the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, the Buddha's preaching of *Abhidharma* in heaven, the Buddha's descent from the *Tushita* heaven by a ladder (Plate 37). This trend is also marked in several frameless figures standing on upright posts, such as the Yakṣas (Plate 38), *Nāgarāja* and others. No linear rhythm enlivens these figures; instead, the features are isolated, compact, conglomerated and flattened, giving them an appearance of static and mechanical rigidity regulated by vertical and horizontal lines. Such monumental human figures, unlike those of the reliefs, are round modelled shapes in rigid parallelism and frontality as we see in the figure of Sirima *Devatā* (Plate 39). But so far as Bhārhut and Bodhagaya are concerned these isolated, compact and static rush of forms were progressively being subordinated to the rhythmic flow of lines and swaying balance. The Sudarśanā Yakṣiṇī, the Culokoka *devatā* are perfect examples of this trend of art (Plates 34, 40).

It is possible to postulate two different trends of art of the Śuṅga period oscillating between the reliefs of the Ajātaśatru pillar and the figures like those of Virudhaka Yakṣa and Sirima *Devatā* (Plate 39) on the one hand and the reliefs of the Prasenjit pillar and the figure like that of Sudarśanā Yakṣiṇī on the other. In one, the artistic vision inclines towards the slow and ceaseless flow of linear rhythm while in the other the emphasis is on static robustness and stolidity. In such reliefs the composition is regulated by vertical and horizontal lines. There is another trend in Bhārhut and early Sāñcī, a trend characterized by densely packed, and an endless onrush of forms, arranged one upon another and brought to the level of rhythmically organized composition. The result of this treatment is the creation of spaceless, timeless ambience, where different chronological associations are stored together. Such a device was taken up by the artists as a method of continuous narration, employed for religious propagation. In order to make the fables represented easily comprehensible to the general public, the artists of Bhārhut and early Sāñcī have adopted a method in which the main stages of a given story happening at different times are portrayed in one unit with the hero of the story repeatedly shown. Sometimes successive stages of a story are divided into smaller units and the sequence is followed from panel to panel (Plate 30).

The general tone of the art of Bhārhut is very modest, sober and restrained; the participants in the stories seem to be untouched by dramatic movements. The stories are told with scrupulous exhaustiveness; no single detail is left out; labels are added for identifying the scenes. In Bodhagaya and also in Sāñcī stories are told more summarily, but suggestively. Descriptive labels disappear, as evidently, the narratives by this time had already become well-known.

The Śuṅga-Kānva artists appear to delight in the handling of the human figures; the joy of a new discovery seems to urge them on to depict the human body in every conceivable position and attitude. In Bhārhut the attempt is still full of effort, the individual parts of the body are not always linked integrally. In Bodhagaya, the parts reach an integration and the body becomes a living entity (Plate 41). Indeed, technically as well as from the point of view of visualization and perception, Bodhagaya is a step forward from Bhārhut. Reliefs are less crowded with all non-essential things left out. They are now shown in fuller roundness; their heaviness of form still persists, but it had already shed its static weight. From mere definition of the body Bodhagaya sets the stage to suggest that the body is warm blood and soft flesh as well. This sensuous elegance and sophistication is evident in certain bolder relief-figures of Bhārhut also. In carving the narrative scenes, the Śuṅga artists at this stage at Bodhagaya and Bhārhut, use a cutting technique of slight angle, giving more scope and space for

modelling. The medley of forms of the Ajātaśatru pillar of Bhārhut has given place to order, brevity and clearness and the figures have all been brought out vividly and exhaustively. The conflict between the surface and the three dimensional extension has dissolved to a considerable extent. The heaviness of form of earlier times persists, but by now the figures have shed the static weight and masked stolidity.

IX. SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF ŚUṄGA ART

Although the Śuṅga artists at the initial stage originated from a folk and tribal base, with the passage of time this art came to attain recognition in the hands of a widening religious brotherhood patronized mostly by the landed and commercial upper and middle classes, the nobility and the rich mercantile classes of the Madhyadeśa. A number of women donors were responsible for erecting gateways and pillars, of which some were queens and others were church dignitaries. The facts for such an assumption are abundantly clear from the inscriptions of Bhārhut. Buddhism by this time had outgrown the age of the Master and his apostles. This is clearly known from the list of the donors who came from places like Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbi, Bhogavardhana, Nasik, Parel, Mathurā, Vidarbha. All these clearly suggest that *saṁghārāmas* of the period were fast becoming centres of religious and cultural activities of the upper and middle classes. By this time the traditional craftsmen and artists—the *Thapati* (architect), *Tacchaka* (carver), *Vadhaki* (carpenter), the *pasana kothaka* (stone carvers) responsible for the work of the Buddhist establishments formed their own guilds and consequently enjoyed a better social position and hence became more contributive. They, in course of their work, came in closer contact with the foreign artists who, since the time of the Mauryas flocked to India in waves to cater to the growing demand of the newly emerging Buddhist art. The artists at this stage played a decisive part in the evolution of art work. In presentation of the theme, in terms of art language, one experiences a sort of sophistication and delicate tastefulness that are unmistakable traits of art of the upper class people. Indeed, the consciously languorous attitude that one perceives in the Śuṅga terracotta figurines or sensuous alluring *bhaṅgimās* that characterize the female forms called the Yakṣiṇīs, the celestial nymphs, suggest very strongly the elegant social psychology of upper class patrons and donors. Along with these are presented a number of figures with folded palm, kneeling or standing figures on the reliefs. It is easy to imagine the portraits of patrons and donors represented with all their naive personal vanity in these figures. As in early Buddhism and in the formal qualities of early Buddhist art of Bhārhut, Bodhagaya and early Sāñcī, so in the social components of this art as

well, one can easily see a fusion of different grades of people, right from the royalty and the nobility down to the aboriginal folk. But since the Buddhist establishments and art were largely patronized by the rich people, the general subject matter and their formal qualities reflect the current popular tastes, preferences and traditions.

Śuṅga art is, indeed, the first organized and integrated art activity of the Indian people as a whole and stands directly counterpoised to the court-art of the Mauryas. It reflects for the first time the results of the ethnic, social and religious fusion and integration that had been evolved through centuries on the Indian soil. Since the artists nearer home worked side by side with the artists from the north-west, there were happy admixtures of Indian-foreign art trends. The artists of the period used certain West-Asiatic motifs and Persepolitan columns and capitals which were included in the repository of art. But all such forms and motifs have been completely fused and integrated into local idioms and forms. Considered from this point of view Śuṅga art happens to be the first chapter of national and indigenous Indian art and expresses the contemporary Indian mind in all its grades and shades. Iconographically too, this fusion and integration make themselves evident in the representations of the higher gods like Sūrya, Indra, Lakṣmī along with a plethora of tribal deities as the Yakṣa, Yakṣiṇī, *nāga*, *vṛkṣa-devatās*, *apsarās*, etc. It is interesting to observe that these forms and motifs are followed from age to age through the entire realm of early Indian art.

There is indeed no doubt that the Śuṅga art is not an isolated phase in the history of Indian art. It had at its back a large repository of ancient practices which came to be fixed in stone under the patronage of the Buddhist *saṁgha* and the wealthy and prosperous classes of the time. It represents the continuity of a tradition which reflects the ethnic fusion that had been going on for centuries, and which had been born of the seed sown on the Indian soil. With the passage of time a process of evolution is noticed. This is evident from the very first stage of Bhārhut to the last of Bodhagaya. As a matter of fact, it was at this stage that the basis of essential qualities of Indian plastic art was laid down.

Unlike Maurya court art, the art of the time of the Śuṅgas is born with deep and intimate ethnic roots. Maurya naturalism views the visible world in a state of momentary nervous tension and renders it in stagnant compactness; Śuṅga naturalism on the other hand links it in an inherent connectedness with a pre-existing situation. This view of the visible world gives to Śuṅga art its lively and fluid character, that is ever present in Indian plastic art. A simple awareness of life enlivens and illumines such art.

Śuṅga art is richer in social content and in the social components of its appeal and patronage. Its direction is more collective than individual and its motive is narrative and representational than suggestive and symbolical. While Maurya art is conscious, courtly and sophisticated, Śuṅga art is popular, ethnically conditioned, reflecting a national character. Maurya art reflects the exhaustion of a tradition born outside of its own people; Śuṅga art reflects the lively unfolding of a tradition born of the flesh and blood of the people to whom it belongs.

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X. POSTSCRIPT

AMITA RAY

Well nigh five decades have passed since when Professor Niharranjan Ray wrote 'Maurya and Śuṅga Art' (1945), but nothing in the meantime has happened in the field of Indian history and archaeology or in the writing of the art history of the period that would change Professor Ray's approach to the subject which the book deals with or his views on the nature and character of the art of the Mauryas. Whatever new archaeological finds have meanwhile been discovered, have rather gone to confirm his proposition.

It may not be out of place to write a few lines regarding Professor Ray's basic trends and approaches which characterize his intellectual pursuit in the interpretation of facts and situations of Indian life, history and tradition as manifested in Maurya art.

Since archaeology remains the basic source of supply of new objects of Buddhist art and offers besides, the chronological and historically contextual background of all earlier finds, studies and researches in India on Buddhist art and architecture basically remains archaeologically and historically descriptive and annotative. Most worthwhile studies and researches in India on Buddhist art and architecture have been, with but few exceptions, predominantly archaeological in trend and approach. Simultaneously but for a very different reason, such studies and researches have also been, by and large iconographical. Indeed, iconographical description and identification in the context of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist cults remained the mainstay and strength of by far the greatest number of scholars in the field. The reason is

* Compiled by Amita Ray from Nihar Ranjan Ray's book *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, 1945



Plate 1 Gold plaque from Lauriya Nandangarh. Champaran. Bihar. 600-320 B. C.



Plate 2 Wide eyed female with a round face. Buxar. Shahabad. Bihar. 600-320 B. C.



Plate 3 Excavation of palisade at Pāṭaliputra, Patna, Bihar, 272-233 B. C

Plate 4 Barābar Hills, Door facade of the Lomaśaṛṣi cave, Gaya, Maurya Period



Plate 5 Standing Yakṣa, Patna, 200 B. C.



Plate 6 Standing Yakṣa, Parkham, Mathurā, Maurya period

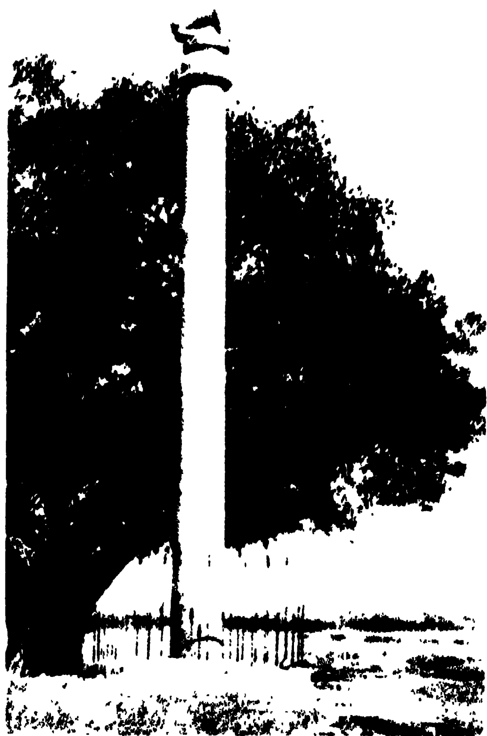


Plate 7 Lauriya-Nandangarh. Lion-crowned column. The column bears an edict of the 27th year of Asoka's reign. Champaran, Bihar



Plate 8 Basārh-Bakhira Lion crowned column, Muzaffarpur, Bihar, supposed to be of pre-Aśokan date. *In situ*

Plate 9 Single lion recouchant crowning the capital of Aśokan column at Rampurva. It bears an Aśokan edict of the 26th regnal year.

Plate 10 Lion quadripartite crowning the capital of Aśokan column, Sarnath, built during the time of Aśoka

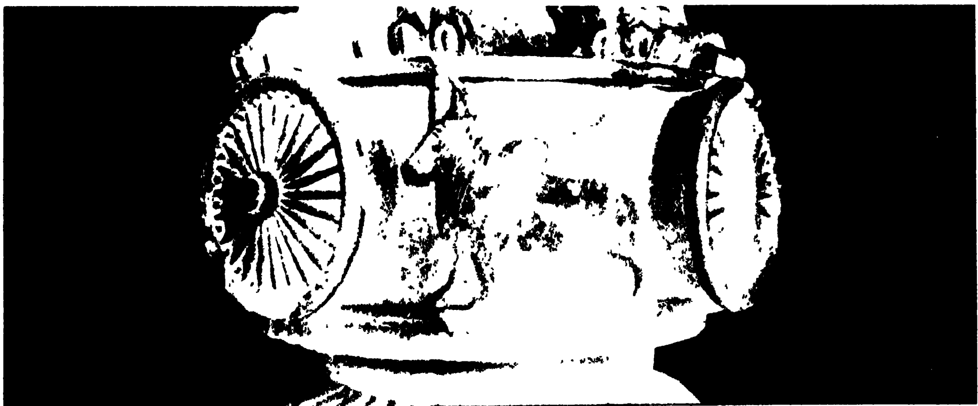


Plate 14 Close up of a striding bull carved in high relief on the abacus of the Sarnath capital



Plate 11 Saṅkīsa standing elephant crowning what was once an Aśokan column, Farrukhabad, Uttarpradesh



Plate 13 Rampurva, standing bull crowning the capital, Nepalese Tarai, built during the 25th regnal year of Aśoka



Plate 12 Forepart of an elephant at Dhauli, Bhubaneswar, Orissa, bearing the well-known Kaliṅga edict of Aśoka. *In situ*



Plate 15 Standing life-size Yakṣī holding *cāmaras*, Didarganj, Patna, Bihar, 2nd century B. C

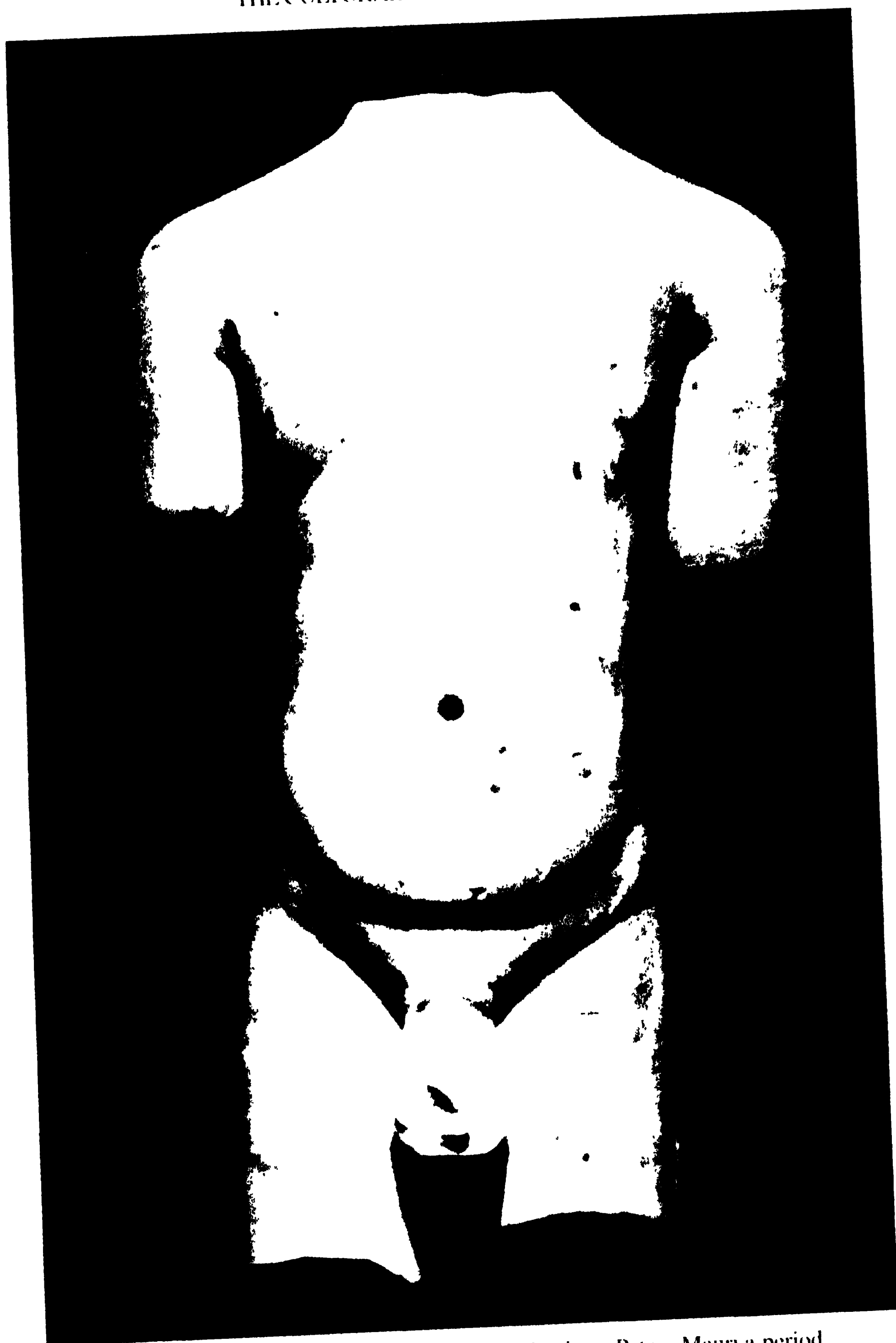


Plate 16 Torso of a Jaina Tirthankara, Lohanipur, Patna, Maurya period



Plate 17 Terracotta figurine Bulandibag, Patna, Bihar, c. 320-200 B. C.



Plate 18 A standing young lady recovered from Maurya level after excavation, Bulandibag Patna, Bihar



Plate 19 The bust of a female figurine, Bulandibag, Maurya level



Plate 20 Laughing boy, Terracotta, Patna, Bihar, Maurya cultural period



Plate 21 Bell shaped capital with abacus on top, Kosam, Uttarpradesh, Maurya period

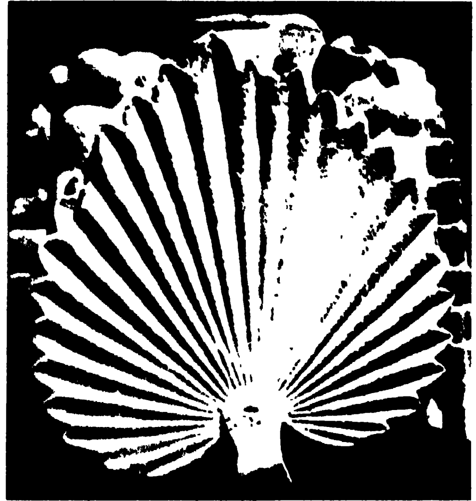


Plate 22 Carved out of Chunar sandstone formed in the shape of a palm fan, Mainhai, Kosam, Uttarpradesh, Maurya period

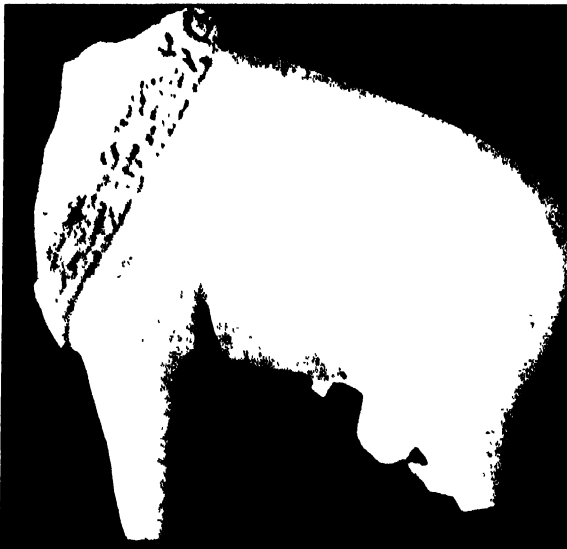


Plate 23 Piece showing portion of an animal, Mainhai, Kosam, Uttarpradesh, Maurya period



Plate 24 Heavily jewelled terracotta figurine wearing a tight frock-like garment, Bulandibag, Bihar, Maurya period



Plate 25 Pillars showing panels of different shapes square, rectangular and round. Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh. 2nd-1st centuries B. C.



Plate 26 Relief medallion depicting Gajalakṣmī, Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh, 2nd-1st centuries B. C.



Plate 29 Relief on a medallion, presenting the story of Jetavana *mahavihāra*, Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh, 2nd-1st centuries B. C.



Plate 27 Relief on a square panel, illustrating Nāgarāja worshipping *Bodhi* tree, Bhārhut Satna, Madhya Pradesh



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Plate 31 Medallion on rail, illustrating the well known nativity scene, Bharhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh

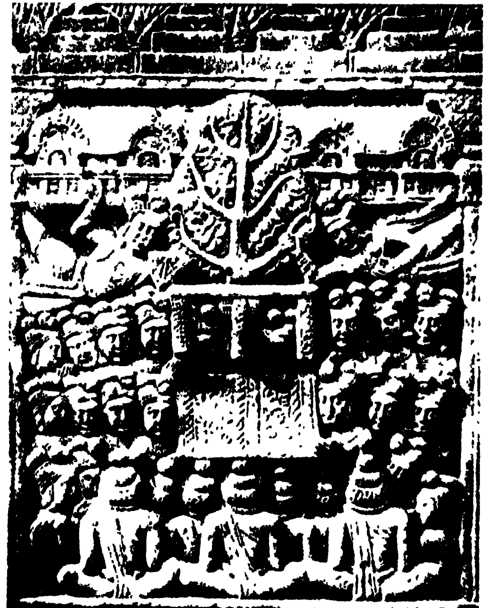


Plate 32 Relief illustrating the well known Buddhist myth of the worship of the *Bodhi* tree and the *vajrāsana*, Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh

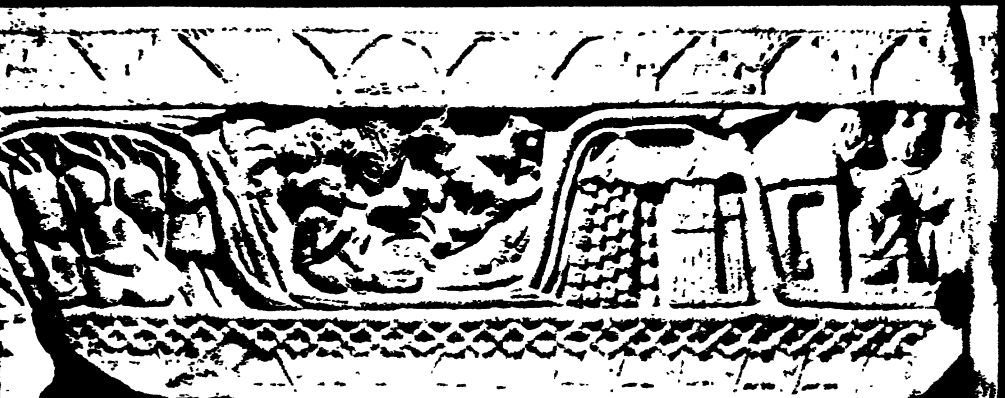


Plate 33 A lotus stalk binding isolated events of what appears to be a *jātaka* story. Bhārhut. Satna. Madhya Pradesh



Plate 35 Scroll flowing in rhythmical waves from one event to another of a *jātaka* story. Bhārhut. Satna. Madhya Pradesh

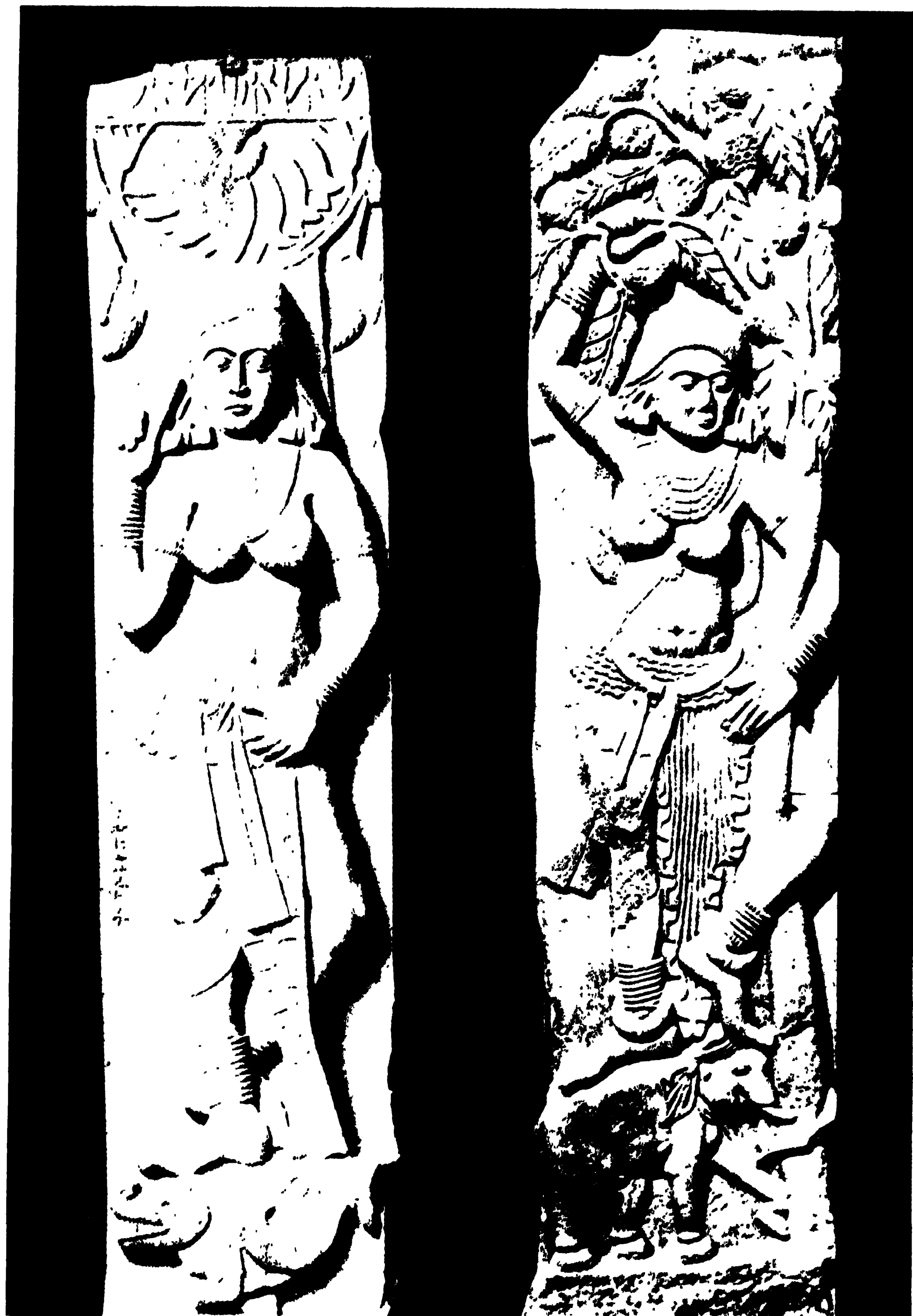


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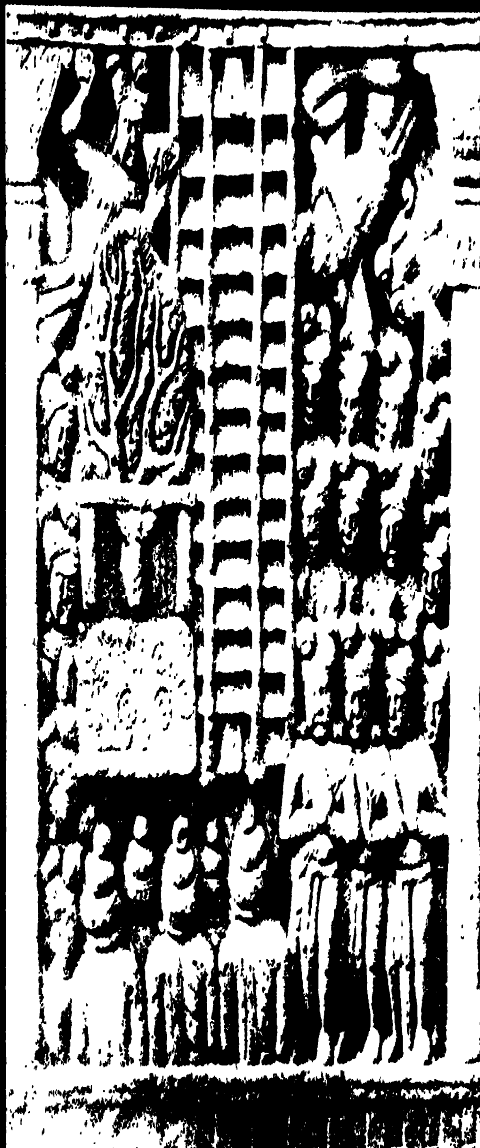


Plate 37 Scene depicting Buddha's descent from *Tushita* heaven by a ladder. Bhārhut, Satna, Madhya Pradesh



Plate 41 Relief on a rail pillar showing a couple worshipping the *dharmacakra* surmounting a pillar. Bodhagaya, Bihar, 1st century B. C.

obvious. In all early and medieval civilized societies religion was the basic motivation in life. All artistic articulations in such societies which, insofar as art was concerned, were therefore primarily religious in thematic content. Indeed, Buddhist art, like those of Brāhmaṇical and Christian, was frankly religious in inspiration, motivation and content. The very fact that scholars chose to call this art Buddhist is a recognition of this fact. New objects of Buddhist narrative and iconic art are still coming to light and attempts are constantly being made to describe and identify them in terms of textual references which too, are being brought to light from already known texts or from those made known for the first time.

Besides the mainly archaeological-iconographical trend and approach referred to above, there is another which slowly emerged. Stella Kramrisch was perhaps the first scholar to employ aesthetic consideration to explain the evolution of Indian Buddhist art of sculpture and painting. This trend solidly buttressed by archaeology and consideration of ideological variations in the evolution of Buddhism itself gained ground and added a new dimension to the study of the subject. Niharranjan Ray's study and research, which is a pointer in this direction extends the possibilities of this trend and approach.

In 1945 Ray published his 'Maurya and Śuṅga Art' in which he went a step further by linking up formal and stylistic considerations with contemporary social and religious ideas and motivations and by attempting to show the relation between the two. In other words, he introduced a broadly sociological approach to the study of art and art history, integrating it with considerations of historical, socio-political, aesthetic, ideological and iconographic approaches.This is indeed a pioneering study, which successfully shows how the period of art under review became enriched by the synthesis of cultures and art forms, contributed by the contemporary social and cultural ideology, India came into contact with. Such contacts and intercourses affected the organic evolution of Indian art, indeed of Indian history and culture, since these were what laid the socio-cultural base of Indian life and art. Professor Ray argues how Indian art during the Mauryan period ushered in a new era of monumental art in stone which was reared up directly under the shadow of the royal throne of the Mauryas. In this enterprise the Mauryan artists completely disregarded the age-old archaic art, fashioned in wood, clay, ivory and perhaps also in metal. He brought into our view a period when a royal dynasty fired by imperial ideology and vision took to the employment of stone as the material for monumental sculpture and to carving in live rock—not as a beginner but already conversant with a civilized sophisticated and fully developed language of art.

Indeed, past artistic experience in no way explains the art tradition which the Mauryan sculptures represent. Ray logically tried to find its answer in the socio-political-ideological situation at the Maurya court, which was strongly Hellenophile—stylistically Perso-Hellenistic. He observed how importation of art motifs of Perso-Hellenistic character played an important part in the then Magadhan court and continued to exist even after the extinction of the Maurya power. In support of this he cited examples of a few pieces of sculpture carved out of Chunar sandstone, recovered from a site near Kosam from the post-Maurya level; these objects both from the point of view of material, technique and formal language are very much Maurya in feeling and character. Of these some have striking formal and technical affinities with those of the typical stylized decorative devices of Perso-Hellenistic character. Ray considers that the whole group of such motifs was neither introduced by Aśoka's Persian craftsmen *en block*, nor did the motifs or devices discontinue completely after the Mauryas. These seem to have had recurring occurences in the post-Mauryan art as well. Such devices continued to stay as long as the milieu nourishing this art was present. But there is no denying of the fact that the total spirit of the Mauryan court centring on the court and the symbolic presentation of his *dhamma* were extinguished completely after the end of the Mauryan rule. Henceforth there was no longer a royal art in India, at least not earlier than the Islamic occupation.

Regarding the nationality of the artists-craftsmen working in the Mauryan atelier, Ray had a clear cut view. Though he did not plead in favour of the so-called 'refugee craftsmen theory', he was fully aware of the technical know-how or skill that the Mauryan artists had learnt from the Perso-Hellenistic masters. To Ray it was not merely a borrowing of the technical skill but an adoption and adaptation of the new skill which by way of absorption became a part of the body-fabric of art of the period. This explains according to Ray, why the Mauryan artists using the same technique of stone carving created two different art-idioms. In one the Mauryan artists-craftsmen after being tutored by the foreign masters in the style and tradition of contemporary western art changed the age-old traditional *dhvajastambhas* into royal columns of stone, absorbing elements of Ionic and Persepolitan architectural character. The heraldic lions used as crowning animals on the columns, either single or back to back, embody the same conglomerate of foreign ideas. In the other, evidenced at Dhauli, one finds how successfully the artists exhibit a unique mastery of the third dimension and full consciousness of a living body of bulky volume of an elephant, stepping out in dignified gesture from the deep ravine of the rock.

Fully modelled in the round, the figure exhibits a linear rhythm and flowing plasticity which is totally absent in the crowning animals. Ray rightly observes how aesthetically the elephant serves to connote the virtual emergence of the form from the matrix of the rock. This element based on the traditional idea of *prāṇa* has a far greater import for the future development of Indian art. The perpetuation of such motif is evidenced in the colossal statues of the Yakṣa of Parkham and Patna, one with an inscription reading 'made by Bhadapugarin . . . . Gamitaka, the pupil of Kunika'.

Examining Maurya sculptures from the stylistic point of view, we are confronted with a historical situation. One observes how in spite of mastery of highly developed technical skill and artists' complete assurance in rendering sculpted figures in stone, the Maurya art lacked deeper roots in the collective art-historical life of the society and was destined to have an isolated and short life coeval and coexistent within the limits of the powerful Maurya court. What remained however as a residual form was the age-old archaic art-tradition, surviving in the shape of completely flat gigantic figures of Yakṣas with gentle energies from within. Such images belong to an art that was at once archaic and Indian from its beginning in the Indus civilization. The Lohānipur Jaina image (Plate 16) belongs to this line of evolution. Furthermore, occurrences of certain motifs and devices, at times decorative and even symbolic, like palmettes, winged figures, Persepolitan capital could be traced in the early post-Mauryan art. Typical of this is a relief sculpture of early Sāñcī, representing a turbanned personage with shield and dagger confronted by a rampant lion, a favourite subject of the Achaemenid art of Persepolis. No doubt the heartland of India in the second-first centuries B. C. had regular contact with the Achaemenid-Hellenistic cultural world and hence the motif was like this. True, the honey suckle motif was borrowed from Western Asia during the Mauryan period, but once taken in, it was absorbed by the Indian artists in their own way and was made to resemble a water-lily like *padma* appearing at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and even in Andhra art. Ray was very much aware of the social mobility India was confronted with from the Indus Valley period onward and the consequent imbibing of various elements through different social and cultural interactions. The process of giving and taking is an interesting phenomenon in Indian history and art. The process of absorption has been thus a simultaneous activity.

But what deserves our attention is that in spite of the highly technical skill employed in shaping monumental sculpture, the technology of art attained by the Mauryan artists did not make any effect on the later Indian art. As a matter of fact stone carving technique at Bhārhut, early Sāñcī and Bodhagaya clearly

demonstrates how the artists at this stage imitated wood carving in stone. Not only did the technique of carving make Śuṅga art different from that of the Mauryas, but Ray chose to draw our attention in this context to the distinctive nature of early narrative art, particularly of the Śuṅga period. The basic *jana* and *deśī* levels constitute the repository of art at this phase, articulating collective will and psyche, ideas and ideologies, tastes and preferences of the people subscribing to their respective socio-religious creeds. Its direction is more collective than individual and its motive is more narrative, representational than suggestive. The differences lie therefore in two separate culture complexes, although from the point of view of time the gap between these two stages was not more than one hundred years. Unlike the Mauryan official artists who preserved their knowledge and skill within their respective groups, Ray observes how the Śuṅga artists conceived art as the accumulated skill of ages. This period of art according to him, was by no means static, rather a period of growth and development by means of multiple linkages of communication between the *jana* or folk elements and the *mārga* or 'great' tradition, some of which came even from the outer world. These interactions, he goes on saying, created the conditions for developing an art idiom in relief, and in round, whereby sculptures struggled to unfold a tradition born of the flesh and blood of the people to whom it belonged. It is interesting to observe how this tradition of art flowed on from age to age through the entire realm of early Indian art which created the conditions for developing an art idiom culminating as classical art of India during the Gupta period.

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**Courtesy*: Amita Ray

16

KUṢĀṆA SCULPTURE

BACKGROUND

THE Kuṣāṇa period in Indian history is one of its most important phases, and several remarkable achievements go to its credit. At the same time, this is shrouded with numerous controversies with regard to the genealogy of the dynasty, the year of accession of its kings, extent of the empire and the faith which the rulers followed. All these issues have made the history of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty a very complicated affair, and scholars are engaged to find out solutions to the problems for more than a century. Excavations have been conducted, new evidence has also come forth either in the form of coins, sculptures or inscriptions and valuable light has been shed on the subject; still the darkness continues to prevail.[1]

The complication seems to be a distinguishing fèature of the Kuṣāṇa rule as its foundation was dependent not on one but on several diverse factors. Benjamin Rowland, while writing a Foreword, has rightly assessed this unity in diversity. The Ārā inscription of Kaṇiṣka II records the legend as *Mahārājaśa Rājatirājasa Devaputrasa Kaisarasa*, i.e. of the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of God, Caesar. This highlights the 'universal character of the Kuṣāṇa imperium in the assumption of titles of Indian, Iranian, Chinese and Roman royalty'. The single line embraces, too, the whole syncretic character of Kuṣāṇa civilization.[2] The Kuṣāṇas annexed different countries to form an Empire, their army included Chinese, Iranian and Indian soldiers, they ruled over the territory comprising multiple stocks of people, and under them emerged a mixed school of sculptural art which has various nomenclatures but generally known as the Gandhāra school, using mainly the greyish or bluish schist stone. Mathurā was another great centre which flourished under the Kuṣāṇas. The study of history and texture of dynasty of Kuṣāṇa is necessary to appreciate the art conventions of the age.

The word Kuṣāṇa suggests that the family belonged to the ruling race and it is based on *kuṣa* (rule) and *āna* (stem) meaning stem or branch of rulers.[3] The early Chinese sources inform that the region Ta-hsia was devoid of great rulers before the Ta-yüeh-chih conquered it. 'Tā' means great and its prefixation with

yiieh-chih people denotes that they were considered great or extraordinary, right from the beginning.[4] 'Tā' (great) adjective continued with the Kuṣāṇa rulers in different ways as per requirement of the region and the language used in it. On the Indian side it is expressed by the words, *devaputra*, *sarvaloga Īśvara*, *māheśvara* etc. as found in coins and inscriptions.[5] This should, however, be noted that the early Indian literary texts and scriptures like the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* etc. do not mention the term 'Kuṣāṇa'; instead, the dynasty has been called as Tokhari, Tuśkara, Tushara, Tukhara, Tushāra, Turushka etc. Interestingly enough, the place where the statues of the rulers were installed near the village Māṭ in the Mathurā district is locally known as Ṭokarī or Iṭokari Ṭīlā i.e. the mount of Tukhāras and this means foreigners from the north.[6] Another term which is commonly used for a foreigner in the Indian texts is *yavana*.

There are three stages of the rise of the Yüeh-chih (Kuṣāṇas) between the early 2nd century B. C. and the end of the 1st century A. D.[7]

(a) *Nomadic (early 2nd century B. C.)*

(b) *Settled life*

(c) *Empire*—Emergence of one group out of five under victorious Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) from *c.* 35 B. C.

Miaos or Haraos seem to be the first ruler using the epithet of Kuṣāṇa as suggested by coins.[8] But nothing more is known about his relationship with the other rulers. We, therefore, have to accept that Kujula was the first ruler of significance and he expanded his territory up to Kaofu or Kabul and P'uta and Chi-pin, i.e. Bactra in Western Bactria and Kashmir. He died at the ripe age of 80 and was succeeded by his son Wema or Wema Kadphises who ruled up to the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent and extended the empire farther. The most notable ruler was, however, Kaṇiṣka who is known through various sources like numismatic epigraphs, sculptures and literature. His inscription of the year one, recovered from Rabatak of Afghanistan in 1993 and published by some scholars (finally by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee),[9] furnishes valuable information about his reign. The empire included some portions of Bihar, U. P., Deccan, and Central India, besides the western and north-western region which was already annexed by his father Wema Kadphises. The other important point is that he was ruling with his father Wema Kadphises as it was not possible to achieve so many victories and perform so many deeds just in the first year of his reign. The suggestion was already offered much before the discovery of the present document but confusion prevailed with regard to Kujula Kada and Kaṇiṣka.[10] The exact date of accession of Kaṇiṣka remains

disputable but we are inclined to follow the general trend of accepting A. D. 78 and the findings of the Sonkh excavation conducted by Hartel near Mathurā.[11] The other important rulers were Vasiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva besides the possibility of Kaṇiṣka II or III.

The Kuṣāṇa rulers are known for their valour and might, firm control over the subjects, strict and stiff administration giving vent to the process of assimilation of several traits relating to religion, language, script, art, architecture, deities, costumes, etc. One of the most laudable contributions of the Kuṣāṇa rulers is the emergence of two great schools of art—one in the vast area of Gandhāra and its vicinity, and the other in the region of Mathurā. The museums and art galleries of the world display the Kuṣāṇa artistic remains whether produced in the Mathurā or in the Gandhāra style.

MATHURĀ SCHOOL

The Mathurā school of art did exist at least from the Mauryan period and it continued in the Śuṅga period as well on a small scale. But with the growing patronage and demand in the Kuṣāṇa age Mathurā emerged as a great centre of art with a good number of ateliers functioning day and night to cope with the piling orders from different quarters. The distinct features and notable contributions of the school can be summarized as under:[12]

1. Use of spotted red sandstone quarried from Sīkrī, Rūpbas, Karolī, etc.
2. Transformation of symbols into human figures of Jina and Buddha, thus indicating a long jump from the preceding Bhārhut and Sāñcī trends.
3. Emergence and multiplication of a plethora of Brāhmaṇical, Jaina, Buddhist and folk sects such as Nāgas, Nāgī, Yakṣīs, Kubera, Hārītī, etc.
4. Acolytes or attendants.
5. Lion seat (*siṁhāsana*) below the deities.
6. Royal portraits installed at the Devakula at Māṭ, north of Mathurā.
7. Feminine beauty introduced in charming and inviting gestures. This was perhaps necessary to illustrate the episode of Māravijaya in which the army of Cupid tries to lure the fasting Buddha. This was not meaningful in the earlier convention where the Buddha or Bodhisattva was shown through symbols only.
8. A large number of auspicious and decorative motifs sometimes also called *aṣṭamaṅgala cihnas* frequently appear. These include *svastika* (mystic cross), *maṅgalakalaśa* (auspicious full vase), *phalapātra* (basket of fruits), *apsarās* or *dikkumārikās* (maidens or nymphs), *gandharvas* (flying celestials), *śrīvatsa* (resembling Greek caduceus), *dharmacakra* (wheel of law), *śaṅkhanidhi* (conch oozing wealth), *padmanidhi* (lotus oozing wealth), *garuḍa*

(divine eagle), *kalpalatā* (wish-fulfilling creeper), *kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-fulfilling tree), *bodhivṛkṣa* (tree of enlightenment), *triratna* (three jewels), *bhadrāsana* (auspicious seat), *mīnamithuna* (twin fish), *mālāpātra* (basket of garlands), elephant, lion, bull, deer, snake, goose, peacock, fabulous or composite figures and different types of lotuses. These are not simply ornamental devices, but most of these convey a deep metaphysical meaning.

9. Eclecticism has been the basic characteristic of the Mathurā school as the artists worked for all religions and several motifs and figures like Indra, Kubera, Yakṣa, Nāgas etc. were acceptable to all.

10. Assimilation of alien art traits was the common practice as there was a good deal of interaction with foreigners and particularly with the artists working in the contemporary Gandhāra style.

11. A number of sculptures are inscribed and some dated ones furnish valuable data to study the society of the Kuṣāṇa age and help in framing a convincing chronology of sculptural development.

12. Luckily, some names of stone workers and artists have been read in the sculptures such as Kuṇika, Gomitaka and Nāka of Maurya-Śuṅga period, Śivamitra recorded as *śailarūpakāra*, of Śaka-Kṣatrapa era and Rāma, Dharma, Saṅghadeva, Joṭisa, Dāsa, Śivarakṣita, Siṅgha, Nāyasa, Dehayu, Viṣṇu and Jayakula. Dinna was a famous artist of the Gupta period and he produced some wonderful Buddha images.[13]

BRĀHMAṆICAL AND FOLK

Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Sūrya, Kārttikeya, Divine Mothers, Yakṣa, Kubera and Nāga were the common deities worshipped in the Kuṣāṇa period. Viṣṇu was shown with two arms, four arms and arms holding different attributes such as *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (disc) and *gadā* (mace) but not lotus which was a later addition. One sculpture [No. 14.392-95 (Plate1)] represents him in *caturvyūha* form (different figures issuing from his shoulders). These may be identified as the Vṛṣṇi heroes with central figure of Vāsudeva. The bust with a cup and snake canopy emerging from the right shoulder is certainly Balarāma. The back of this round image shows a blossomed tree. In the Kuṣāṇa period the deity wears a crown but no *vaijayantīmālā* (garland of victory) which is a late feature. Instead, a necklace made of leaves, flowers and fruits is worn, hence it is known as *vanamālā*. One stele represents Vasudeva carrying Kṛṣṇa across the Yamunā (No. 17. 1344). Belonging to late 1st century A.D. this is the earliest representation of Kṛṣṇalīlā.[14] The depiction of the flooded Yamunā with fish, tortoise and Nāga (Śeṣa) is remarkable. Varāha in the pose of earth-lifting

and the sun and moon in the two upraised hands is an interesting and rare piece of art (No. 65.15).[15]

Śiva is represented in *liṅga* as well as human form. The early Kuṣāṇa period Śivaliṅgas are realistic illustrations of the male organ with base (Brahmābhāga), shaft (Viṣṇu) and the nut part separated from the shaft through projection (Rudra). Sometimes, both *liṅga* and human aspects are seen combined and the sculpture is known as *mukhaliṅga* with one, two, four or five *liṅgas*. Śiva is represented with matted hair, third eye and penis often in erect position (*ūrdhvaliṅga*). He is either naked (*digambara*) or scantly clad with tiger's skin (*vyāghrāmbara*). Holding a trident (*triśūla*) he is also seen along with his mount bull (*nandī*) in sculptures as well as the coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers like Wema Kadphises who used the epithet of Maheśvara. An important feature of the Śaiva icons of the Kuṣāṇa period is the composite figure of Śiva with his spouse Pārvatī known as *Arddhanārīśvara*. The right side is masculine with matted hair and the left side is feminine with garment, proper haired, one breast and anklet (No. 15.800 and 15.874). This form became more favourite in the later centuries. A stele representing *Arddhanārīśvara* standing with Viṣṇu, Gajalakṣmī and Kubera (No. 34.2520) suggests the eclectic nature of the Mathurā school.

Skanda or Kārttikeya (elder son of Śiva) is shown as a young man wearing a crown and holding a long spear. The Mathurā Museum houses an important and intact statue of this deity (No. 42.2949) bearing a three line Brāhmī inscription, dated in the year 11 corresponding to A. D. 89. Fortunately, it is mentioned as the image of Kārttikeya (*Kārttikeyasya pratimā*). The names of four brothers who installed the statue are quite lyrical being Viśvadeva, Viśvasoma, Viśvabhava and Viśvavastu and they were the sons of Viśvavila.[16] One slab (No. 40.2883) shows Skanda with spear in protection pose standing near Agni or Viśākha as seen on coins. Gaṇeśa appears as a nude dwarf with elephant head (No. 15.758) wearing a sacred thread of serpent (*vyāla yajñopavīta*).

Durgā is seen in different forms as four-armed (33.2317) holding a spear or trident and strangulating the buffalo demon Mahiṣa, hence the icon is known as Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Rarely, the lion is seen as her mount in this period. A six-armed deity with different attributes was also shaped (42.2947). Divine Mothers (*mātṛkās*) bearing animal or bird face and each carrying a child were generally represented in a group (33.2331). The mother goddess in the form of Ṣaṣṭhī (associated with child care) is seen flanked on either side by a male

spear-holder with the right hand in protection and these should be identified as Skanda and Viśākha (F. 3). A female deity has been represented in cosmic form (F.2) out of which five other figures emerge, and as such it may be identified as Ṣaṣṭhī. Its back is tastefully decorated with a tree consisting of stylistic leaves and fruits. Lakṣmī is usually seen with a stalked lotus in *abhaya* pose (80.2) and Gajalakṣmī, a deity anointed by two elephants continued from the earlier period (34.2520 in a group). Other female deities were Rati, Vasudhārā, and Ekānaṁśā (sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma).

Sūrya (sun) images [12.269 (Plate 2)] bear much impact of the Scythian tradition as noticed by the stitched garment which was popular in the northern part of the country (*udīcyaveṣa*). Wearing shoes like the Kuṣāṇa royal figures, the deity sits squatting and holding a dagger and a lotus.[17] He is drawn in a chariot of horses (two in early phase, four later and seven in the post-Gupta period). The horses sometimes look like lions.

The Nāga worship was deep-rooted in the Mathurā region and we have a good number of Nāga sculptures belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. An independent Nāga temple existed at Sonkh and its beautiful sculptural remains were unearthed by H. Hartel of Berlin during the course of archaeological excavations between 1968 and 1974. A lintel of the doorway (SOIV. 36) is a wonderful creation of the Mathurā school. It illustrates a delegation to the court of the Nāga king. Another outstanding specimen is a bracket figure [SOIV-27 (Plate 3)] assuming the form of a young girl gracefully standing on a kneeling dwarf and holding the branch of a tree (*śālabhañjikā*). Her association with the Nāga cult or Nāga dynasty is suggested by the serpent hood in her anklet. Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, supposed to be the incarnation of the cosmic serpent (Śeṣanāga), commanded high esteem and we have several sculptures to represent him. Surmounted by the snake, he usually wears a fluted crown and holds a cup in the left hand and *abhaya* pose in the right (14.406). Plough and lion staff (*siṁhalāṅgala*) also became standard iconic emblems of the deity. The Nāga statues were installed near tanks probably with the aim of its protection from the evil spirits or evil- intentioned persons. One such image was recovered from Chhargaon (C. 13). It was set up in the reign of Huviṣka by some Senahasti.

Other Brāhmaṇical deities shaped in the Mathurā school of art in the Kuṣāṇa period are Indra with thunderbolt (E. 24), Agni with aureole of flames and pot of butter (*ghī*) (40.2880) and Kubera with a cup of lemon fruit (46.3232). Although the position of the Yakṣas was downgraded and they were generally treated as subordinates to the Buddha and Jinas, yet we do find some

good statues of these semi-divine beings. They are pot-bellied, dwarfish and possess grotesque figures. Yakṣas have sometimes been shown as drinking wine, served by foreign ladies. Load-bearing Yakṣas with hands raised up like atlantes were also a common feature. Sometimes, they hold a big bowl on their head. One such Yakṣa statue was set up by Ayala, the son of Indrasaman in the monastery of goldsmiths (12.26). A pillar-shaped Yakṣī in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University recovered from Faizabad but belonging to the Mathurā school of art of the early Kuṣāṇa period (No. 170), is an excellent piece. She carries a decorated load over her head, probably a toilet basket.[18]

JAINA ICONS

The Mathurā school presents a good picture of the development of Jaina icons from *c.* 1st century B. C. to the medieval period. The anthropomorphic form of Jina was preceded by the tradition of *āyāgapaṭṭa* tablets of worship. These are carved with a number of decorative or auspicious motifs on the entire field and a motif in the centre like *svastika* (mystic cross), *cakra* (wheel) or *stūpa*. Some of these bear inscriptions and give the name of the Jina in whose honour these slabs were set up, and also of the donor. In some of these *āyāgapaṭṭas* a tiny figure of Tīrthaṅkara appears (Plate 4), and this is to be accepted as the beginning of Jaina iconography at Mathurā. These sculptures are now deposited in the Mathurā Museum (Q. 2[19] and 48.3426), Lucknow Museum [J. 248, J.250 and J.255] and National Museum (*Siṁhanādika*).[20]

The second stage of development of Jaina icons begins with independent statues of Tīrthaṅkaras in seated or standing pose. Although sky-clad, the seated ones are in meditation (*dhyānastha*) and their nudity is not seen, while the standing figures (*kāyotsarga* or *daṇḍa*) are nude. The mark of the śrīvatsa symbol remains the hallmark of Jina figures of the Mathurā school. The cognizances to identify the twenty-four Jinas had not developed by this time, but Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha (1st Jina) was shown with hair falling on shoulder and Pārśvanātha or Supārśvanātha had a snake canopy over his head. Considered as the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha was presented as flanked by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. The remaining Jinas could not be identified unless the name was given in the epigraph. There emerged yet another popular form of Jaina iconography known as *sarvatobhadra* or *sarvatomaṅgala* or *caumukhī* in which four Jinas were carved on a square pillar each figure facing a different direction.[21] Such statues were installed at a place where the devotees could circumambulate them. This tradition later developed into the installation of *mānastambha*.



Plate 1 Composite form of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, from Museum Well, Mathurā Museum, No 14.392-95



Plate 2 Surya, Clad in Northern Attire, from Kankālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā Museum, No. 12.269



Plate 3 *Śālabhañjikā* (bracket figure), from Sonkh, Mathurā Museum, No. SOIV.27

Plate 4 Āyāgapaṭṭa with a figure of Jina and Inscription from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, now with National Museum, New Delhi



Plate 5 Buddha/Bodhisattva, from Katra, Mathurā Museum, No. A.1



Plate 6 Buddha in protection pose and big halo, from Govindnagar, Mathurā Museum, No. 71.105

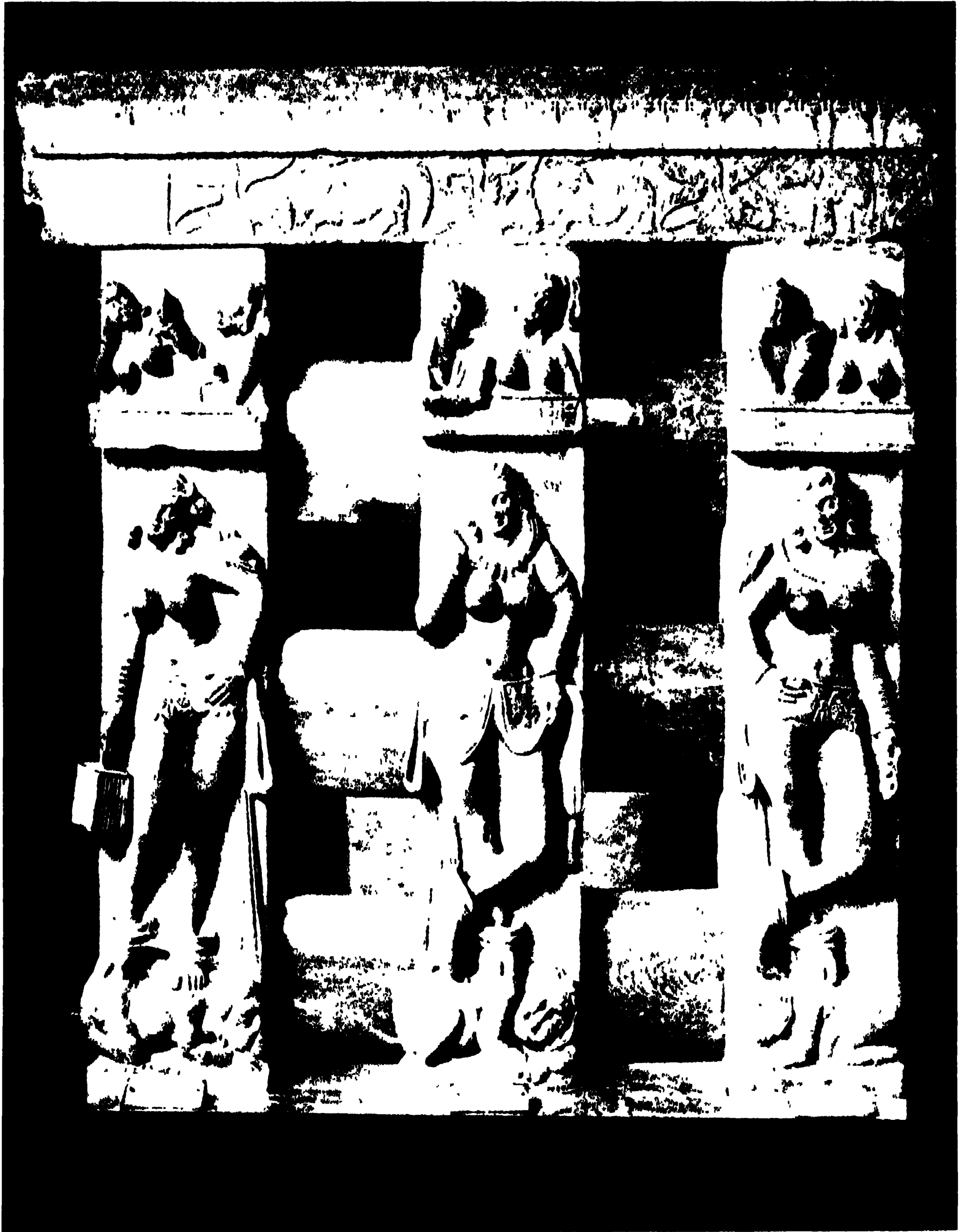


Plate 7 Railing with ladies in different postures, from Bhuteshwar, Mathurā, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 8 Maitreya in Gandhāra style, in private collection at Agra



Plate 9 Statue of Hāriti or Kumrā/Kambojika in Gandhāra style, from Saptarṣi Ṭīlā, Mathurā Museum, No. F. 42

The Yakṣas, *śāsanadevatās* etc. had not emerged but we do have the representation of some divine and other figures beside the Jina icons. One stele from Kaṅkālī mound represents the scene of dance of Nīlāñjanā Apsarā in the court of Ṛṣabha who renounced the world soon after. Another slab (J. 626) shows the transfer of embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to that of Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā by the goat- headed deity, Naigameṣa at the command of Indra.[22] The performance of this great event was rejoiced through music and dance.[23] An *āyāgapaṭṭa* State Museum, Lucknow (J. 1) depicts a lady under umbrella as a mark of respect and her name or epithet is recorded as Āryavatī, probably the mother of Mahāvīra. It was set up by a female devotee Amohinī in the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāṣa.[24] An important point raised by the inscription is the name of a person given as Hārītīputra and this should suggest that the alien deity Hārītī had become popular even before the 1st century A. D. although its representation in art at Mathurā is rather late.

Some sculptures depict the Jaina saints hiding their nudity with a small piece of cloth (*ardhaphālaka*). Sometimes, these are seen flying in air. On the pedestal of a Jina image the Śaka ladies are seen wearing Indian *saris* and hold stalked lotus for the worship of the Jina. This sculpture records the erection of *devanirmita stūpa* i.e. the building being so old that its historicity was forgotten (—hence termed as built by gods). The earliest image of Sarasvatī found place in the Jaina pantheon at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa era 54 = A. D. 132. The female deity (head missing) sits in the squatting position holding a book in the left hand and the right hand raised up probably in protection (*abhaya*) pose. A long scarf falls from her left shoulder and she is flanked by a devotee on each side. One holds a pitcher and the other has his hands clasped in adoration. The long epigraph in Brāhmī is of great significance because it furnishes the date year 54, name of the deity as Sarasvatī and the composition of the Jaina society as *koṭṭiya gaṇa, sthānīya kula, vairāśākhā*. The place in which the image was set up is called *śrī -gṛha saṁbhoga*[25] [State Museum, Lucknow (J. 24)].

BUDDHIST IMAGES

Mathurā has been a great centre for the production of Buddhist icons from the late 1st century B. C. to the end of the 6th century A. D. Whether the first Buddha image emerged at Mathurā or in the Gandhāra region has been a debatable issue. In brief, a number of the basic ingredients of the Buddha image like *padmāsana, dhyānamudrā, nāsāgradṛṣṭi, siṁhāsana, camaragrāhiṇī*, celestials showering flowers, *ūrṇā, uṣṇīṣa* etc. have no significance in Greek

and Iranian art.[26] But these fit well with the Indian concept of *yogin* and *cakravartin* and the Buddha figure is an outcome of this idea. Mathurā being associated with Buddhism almost from the life time of the Buddha and also as a centre of art at least from the Mauryan period and as a seat of religion and culture provided a commensurate background of the origin of the Buddha image and the region of Gandhāra hardly fulfils these requirements.

The Yakṣas served as prototypes for the evolution of the early Buddha/ Bodhisattva images and consequently the Yakṣa impact is clearly discernible as under:

The sculptures, though corpulent, are conspicuous for their volume and heaviness. These are carved in round and the appearance is frontal. The left hand resting on waist holds the hem of the garment. The right hand is raised up in the gesture of imparting protection (*abhaya*). Some space is left between the two legs and filled by the folds of drapery and decorated girdle of a plain waistband is fastened round the waist. Two fillets hang down from the knot of the girdle and show many pleats between the two legs. The upper garment is worn diagonally across the chest and covers the left shoulder. This resemblance between the Yakṣa and the Buddha images can be gathered from the reference in the Buddhist text, *Nidānakathā* in which Sujātā mistook the Bodhisattva as a Yakṣa or jungle deity. The Buddha has been addressed as Yakṣa in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The Yakṣa influence is seen both in the standing and seated figures.

The earliest standing figures are:[27]

a) Bodhisattva in the State Museum, Lucknow (B.12b) which should be assigned to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period.

b) Slab showing the conversation between the Buddha and Śuddhodana in the Lucknow Museum (J. 531). This was wrongly identified as Mahāvīra.

The seated figures follow the tradition of *āyāgapaṭṭa* and also the Yakṣa impact. The representative figures are:[28]

a) Buddha on an architrave (Mathurā Museum No. M. 3) which also contains his symbolic representation like *bodhighara, cakra* and *stūpa*. Besides, a small figure of the Buddha seated in the cave (*Indraśālā*) is seen with Indra and his companion Pañcaśikha. Thus, this should be accepted as a pre-Kaṇiṣka Buddha figure as it belongs to the phase of tradition when the symbols were dominant but the human figure also started emerging.

b) The slab in the Mathurā Museum (H.12) carved with the Buddha as ascetic flanked by four *lokapālas* who hold alms bowls in their hands. The

Buddha sits on a six-tiered high pedestal with his right hand in *abhaya* and the left hand placed on the left thigh. The pedestal below shows two lions seated back to back. The corpulent figures of the Buddha resemble the Jina in the *āyāgapaṭṭa* and the shape of the altar-type pedestal is almost the same as seen on the *siṁhanādikā* tablet.

These and a few others are somewhat crude and rudimentary icons which were in the background when the famous Katra Buddha/Bodhisattva [A.1 (Plate 5)] appeared as model to be followed from Kaṇiṣka's reign for about half a century. Its salient features are: high relief and uncarved back, sharp and clear details, only rim of halo with scalloped border, *bodhi* tree foliage on top, upper corners occupied by two celestials hovering in air with wreath, acolyte with fly-whisk on each side, shaven head with a top knot shaped like a snail shell (*kaparda*) hence known as *kapardin*, right arm raised in *abhaya* and the left resting on knee sometimes clenched and suggesting the commanding attitude of a *cakravartin*, an *ūrṇā* (circular mark) between the eyebrows, wide open almond shaped eyes, small earlobes, slightly smiling expression, only the left shoulder covered by garment (*ekāṁśika saṅghāṭī*), upturned soles in crosslegged posture carved with auspicious motifs as wheel, *triratna* etc., seat shaped like altar and two lions sitting in profile while the central one *enface*. Probably, to avoid confrontation with the Hīnayānīs, the image although it represents the Buddha, has been captioned as Bodhisattva.[29]

The standing Buddha/Bodhisattva images of the same period (Kaṇiṣka's reign) bear almost the same characteristics in the upper half of the body but the remaining half shows the left hand held akimbo resting on waist, the waist-band fastening the lower garment (*dhotī*) terminating into a double knot, sometimes a bunch of flowers or hairdo with turban between the two feet indicating the superiority of the Buddhahood over kingship. The notable sculptures of this group are at Mathurā Museum 39.2798, 71.105 (Plate 6); Allahabad Museum 69; Guimet Museum, Paris 17489; Sarnath Museum B.1, and State Museum, Lucknow B.73.

As a result of the interaction with the Gandhāra school new traits such as drapery covering both shoulders (*ubhayāṁśika saṅghāṭī*), nimbus with additional carving along with scalloped border, thick pleats in garment and Vajrapāṇi (attendant holding a thunderbolt and sometimes wearing a stitched loin cloth) appear. This influence was experienced in the reign of Huviṣka in the beginning of the second century A. D. and it continued to grow with the passage of time. The garment became thicker and shutter type halo became elaborate, there were curls in hair, meditating Buddha on the pedestal, *kuśa* grass on the pedestal and lions became frontal.

While analysing Buddha images from Mathurā we are sometimes confronted with the problem of anomaly between date and style. Some sculptures are dated early but betray a late treatment. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw came forward to propound the theory of missing hundred. J. M. Rosenfield thought that after the death of Vāsudeva, reckoning commenced in the Kuṣāṇa era as the counting stops after 98. The views of these two scholars have been challenged by B. N. Mukherjee and G. S. Gai.[30]

The sculptures falling in this range of controversy are Mathurā Museum 18.1557 recording year 22, three sculptures from Kauśāmbī recording year 83 in the Allahabad Museum and Kauśāmbī Museum of Allahabad University, Indian Museum, Calcutta A. 25028, National Museum, New Delhi 58.12 of year 36 etc. A careful scrutiny of style, date and palaeography warrants us to think that the digit of hundred is missing and for Kauśāmbī sculptures, migration of artists from Mathurā to Kauśāmbī can be considered.

The Mathurā School of Sculptural Art is known for some other important renderings like royal portraits and excellent architectural components revealed from different sites of Mathurā, Sonkh and Sanghol between Chandigarh and Ludhiana.

The royal portraits were unearthed from the Ṭokarī or Iṭokari mound where a complex recorded as Devakula stood and presented some life or heroic size of images of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. The word Ṭukhāra means a foreigner and this epithet justifies the Kuṣāṇa power. It is a well-known fact that the Kuṣāṇa kings generally used the title of *Devaputra* to suggest their divine status. The most important of these is the statue of Kaṇiṣka with a Brāhmī epigraph in front recording *mahārājā rājātirājā devaputro kaṇiṣko.*[31]

The architectural glory is witnessed through thousands of remains of *stūpas*, monasteries, shrines and allied edifices. The railing of the *stūpa*, however, remained the most charming part capturing different stances of women (Plate 7).

GANDHĀRA ART

Region: The region of Gandhāra has been defined again and again by the scholars but a fully satisfactory solution is yet awaited. In a colloquium held in February, 1991 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta after considering various facts, it was suggested that the region of Gandhāra from the cultural and artistic view point has two components. One is the heartland or the core area, and the other is the greater Gandhāra. The heartland is the somewhat triangular piece of rocky region surrounded by the hills between the present day Afghanistan and northern Pakistan, and it roughly measures 100 kilometres from east to west and about

70 kilometres from north to south. Bifurcated into two distinct parts by the Indus, the land was known in the ancient times as Apara Gandhāra (western side) with Puṣkalāvatī (modern Charsadda) at the confluence of the Indus and Kabul rivers as capital, and Pūrva Gandhāra (eastern side) with Takṣaśilā as the headquarters. The greater Gandhāra, however, commanded a vast land as it influenced the art productions in the periphery of several hundred kilometres.

The derivation of name is not certain. We know that the *gandharvas* were well versed in performing arts i.e. music and dance. The ladies were beautiful, looking like nymphs (*apsaras*). On the other hand, the word Kandhāra may be derived from *Skandhāvāra*, i.e., military regiment centre as the land was known for fighters and warriors who were employed by the ambitious rulers and invaders. When Candragupta Maurya annexed it from Seleucus, it was transformed into a military regiment, i.e., Skandhāvāra. Among the Greeks it was well known as Arachosia and a locality near Kandhar is even now known as Daṇḍa which means army.[32]

Art Style: Gandhāra became the melting pot of several cultural currents as a result of which a mixed school of sculptural style emerged which is known as Gandhāra school of sculpture. The geographical and historical factors are of course important to assess the nature and features of this school. It had its origin in the pre-Kuṣāṇa era but as a well established and dominating school, it functioned under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇas.

An art historian often endeavours to study and suggest the chronology of a style of art. In several cases the efforts have met the desired success and it has been possible to project a reasonable time-frame for some important art schools. The case is rather different for the Gandhāra sculpture. Its complex nature is suggested by various names given to it like Gandhāra, Indo-Greek, Indo-Hellenistic, Graeco-Buddhist, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Roman, etc. One can infer that not one but several ateliers were functioning in different places simultaneously, and these represented some distinct features of their own.

The problem becomes more critical when we are confronted with the paucity of inscribed material and that too mostly undated. Even in case of date, the era for reckoning is not certain. So far only eight dated sculptures of the Gandhāra school have been recovered but the dates given do not lead to a definite conclusion that these represent different eras.

The workshops of the Gandhāra school were spread over a large zone and the regional characteristics were bound to creep in. Only one binding factor is prominent and that is the Buddhist theme. Almost 90% of the sculptures illustrate the Buddha, the Buddhist pantheon, the Buddhist devotees, etc. The

remaining 10% represent Brāhmaṇical and alien subjects. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are seen on the coin of Agathocles from Ai-khanum in the 2nd century B. C.[33] It was the meeting place of Hellenism and Orientalism. Śiva, Skanda, Mātṛkās and later Gaṇeśa were installed at different places. Coins recovered from the region also illustrate some deities. It appears that the Gandhāra products were at the service of Buddhist monks for the dissemination of Buddhism. The narration of life scenes and allied events was a favourite subject matter and prolification of the postures gained momentum. Under the impact of the worldly indifferent Buddhist monks, the Gandhāra art, although handled mostly by foreign artists, remained unsensual.

At the beginning of the school, Jātaka and symbols dominated, but with the passage of time, the figures excelled. It appears that due to canonical prohibition the artists of Gandhāra were depending on the aniconic theme, and when the restrictions were relaxed the anthropomorphic figure of Buddha was introduced. Soon it attracted the society and his forms were carved in multiple ways, such as the Maitreya in Gandhāra style (Plate 8). The origin of the Buddha image is a matter of big controversy and the champions of Gandhāra and Mathurā schools have expressed their divergent views on the subject, both having strong arguments in their favour. Some statues of Gandhāra art were installed at Mathurā also and a female figure interpreted as Hārītī or Kumiā or Kambojika recovered from Saptarṣi ṭīlā in the city is an excellent citation (Plate 9).

The interaction between the two schools of art, i.e., Mathurā and Gandhāra is also a fascinating subject. Like Māṭ near Mathurā, the other *devakula* was at Surkhkotal in Afghanistan where life or heroic size portraits of Kuṣāṇa kings were installed.[34] The study of these portraits is a very interesting subject in itself. These are to be compared with the portraits on the coins. There are several trends which travelled from Mathurā to Gandhāra and vice versa.[35] The interaction was not only in trade and art but is also seen at the religious, ritual and mystic levels. There was a time when the Mathurā school was dominated by the Gandhāra impact but after some time, probably towards the end of the reign of Vāsudeva, the situation changed and the earlier convention revived. This intermixing of artistic traits bespeaks of the fusion of two cultural currents, and subsequently a feeling of repulsion began and this resulted in the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa Empire.

The products of Gandhāra art which are mostly in the bluish schist stone, some in stucco and a few in metal and terracotta are scattered and accommodated in a good number of museums and art galleries all over the globe. The ivories from Begram, ancient Kapiśā are world famous. These

betray the early central Indian and Mathurā sculptural rendering.[36] We are well aware of the ivory guild of Vidiśā through the southern gate of the Sāñcī Mahācetīya. Due to uncongenial climatic conditions the Vidiśā products became extinct in the place of their origin, but found a good market in Gandhāra and stood well. It is difficult to give an exact figure of specimens of this prolific art style which was at its zenith in the second or third century A. D. The anatomical details are rendered rather faithfully and showing ribs and skeletons of the fasting Buddha are forceful representations.[37] Despite being somewhat mundane in characteristic and representing somewhat decadent phase of late Greek and Roman features, the Gandhāra art did serve as a forceful vehicle of Buddhist thought which spread to several neighbouring countries. It also influenced the contemporary and later schools of art. The credit of shaping the largest statues of the Buddha also goes to Gandhāra, and at Bamiyan two gigantic images one measuring 175' and the other 120' were known throughout the world. After their demolition, the lovers of Buddhist art and admirers of Buddhism are considering their recreation and installation somewhere else.

The Gandhāra region and its art products including the monuments suffered terrible blows at the hands of invaders repeatedly. The fierce attack in the garb of Islam was most shocking. It is astonishing to find the people of a country resolved to blast their own heritage. This attack on the world civilization was more serious and of far reaching consequences than the destruction of the World Trade Centre towers of New York.

Unfortunately, much of the material is reported to be lost or deliberately destroyed in Afghanistan. Whatever remains, has to be taken care of and documented well for the benefit of the next generation. With the advanced techniques of documentation, preservation and restoration, this target may be achieved without much difficulty. The largest number of Gandhāran remains outside the Gandhāra region are in India with wonderful specimens in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Chandigarh Museum. We are naturally concerned for good care of these art treasures supported by perfect record.

Year of writing: 2002

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

**Courtesy:* Author

17

GUPTA SCULPTURE

THE sculpture of the Gupta period represents one of the high points of Indian art. This art, patronized by rulers, monks, and laity, developed in a fertile historical context. It was a time in which there was a united kingdom that included almost all of northern India, a culture that was both rooted in indigenous tradition and enriched by foreign heritage and a religiosity that recognized the unity of all spiritual experience.[1]

Our knowledge has expanded since Vincent A. Smith attempted a survey of Gupta sculptures in 1914.[2] With the aid of works dated by inscriptions found in the same place as the sculptures, it is now possible to trace the diversity of Gupta sculpture, as well as to follow the origin of a particular style of Gupta art and its transformation at various centres of art. Though inscriptions of the Gupta era exist from the fifth century on, there is none in the fourth century. The generally accepted dating of two works hitherto ascribed to the Gupta era is contradicted by their artistic treatment. These are the Buddha from Bodhagaya[3] (Plate 1) with the inscription of Mahārāja Trikamāla of the year 64, and a relief of Śiva and Pārvatī from Kauśāmbī[4] (Plate 3) of the year 139. While in the latter case the date is unanimously accepted as referring to the Gupta period, different opinions prevail concerning the Buddha figure from Bodhagaya. Its inscriptions refer either to the Śaka period[5] or to the Gupta period,[6] which corresponds to the year A. D. 142 or A. D. 384.

The datings advanced up to now are not tenable on stylistic grounds. The doubts cast from this point of view are strengthened by the evidence of the inscriptions. The Buddha of Bodhagaya is carved from yellowish sandstone. The entire figure appears to have been originally overlaid with an eggshell-thin layer of plaster and painted. There are traces of the distinctive ochre colour of the robe and the dark red of the lips. The Buddha of Bodhagaya belongs to the Mathurā tradition. It represents the highest realization of this school, examples of which are numerous from the second century A. D. It is not necessary here to elaborate on obvious features. The taut quality of the *vajraparyaṅka* posture, the robe—tight and flat on the body and gathered only over the left shoulder

and the left arm in stylized creases—the short neck, and the weighty corporeality, are generally well known. Despite these common traits, the differences are great. This is striking in the treatment of the torso and, above all, in that of the face. In works of the second century, the fleshy portions, despite their massiveness, appear soft and even flabby. The stomach muscles are defined in such careful detail that the body seems capable of breathing. In the Buddha of Bodhagaya the modelling is more summary, contours are sweeping and hardened. This is also true of the chest. In earlier Kuṣāṇa sculptures, there is an elaboration of the musculature, and the breasts project, gently swelling from the chest. In the image from Bodhagaya, they merge with its plane in one vaulted sweep. The 'naturalism' of the first and second centuries has vanished. Volumetric and linear abstractions now confine the massive corporeality that the Kuṣāṇa period had preserved from more remote antiquity.

The face is without counterpart in works of the second century. Its features and expression, as they are rendered here, are unknown in the earlier monuments. The generous, full lips are sharply set off from the slant of the short, broad chin, as well as from the summarily rounded, heavy, hard cheeks. Second-century Mathurā is ignorant of the ascetically closed lips that never smile. Though the mouth may smile in an archaic manner, Mathurā generally favours features that are nearer to nature. The treatment of the eyes and forehead is the most original feature of the Bodhagaya image. Its grandeur lies in the elongated, boat-shaped slits of the eyes and in the wide planes of the lowered upper eyelids. These are extended at the corners, while the lower lid is barely indicated. The eyebrows are cut in steep sideward curves that extend into the broad, high plane of the forehead to give the whole face unity. The earlier period does not know such bold abstractions. They first appear in the fourth century and are further developed in the fifth century. The faces of the images of the Mathurā school of the second century A. D. are too well known to need describing here, and the differences are clear. The year 64 of the inscription, therefore, cannot refer to the Śaka period. On the other hand, the connections with the school of Mathurā in its earlier period are apparent. This means that the Gupta era as it is now understood cannot be considered relevant for dating this masterpiece. The year 64 seems to refer to another era.[7]

The second sculpture whose inscriptional date, the year 139, has hitherto been unanimously ascribed to the Gupta period, certainly cannot be placed in the year 458-59 if this chronology is followed. The facial type, the treatment of the clothing, and the way in which the right hand of both figures is raised to the shoulder while the left is held at the hip, are certainly features of the Kuṣāṇa

period. Pārvatī's body, however, also calls to mind the style of the Śuṅga period, while that of Śiva presumes a knowledge of the Kuṣāṇa period, but the separate shapes are schematically joined. These archaic features allow one to conclude that this sculpture is a work of provincial art, rustically following in an old practice, only lightly brushed by contemporary movements, yet spontaneously imbued with a rhythm of its own. Its peculiarities include the hairstyles, particularly that of Pārvatī, who appears to wear a bamboo frame with tassels on her head, but also Śiva's crown of matted hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) with its pendant strands, as well as an awkwardness in the construction of the bodies, coupled with rhythmical assurance in the overall composition—the curving diagonals of the draperies and the vertical accents provided by the hands. There is no relationship to works of the mid-fifth century. These stylistic observations accord with the character of the inscription. The letters are considered to be of the early Gupta period, though in many cases they exhibit earlier forms as well. The posthumous inscription of Samudragupta on a pillar in Allahabad, which was brought there from Kauśāmbī and belongs to the mid-fourth century, supports this dating of the Kauśāmbī stele.[8]

Both works mentioned must fall in the early part of the Gupta period or even earlier. Their dates must relate to a chronology that corresponds to the inception of another era. The Cedi or Kālacuri[9] period fulfills that condition. It begins in the year A. D. 248. The year A. D. 312 would be the date of the Buddha of Bodhagaya, and A. D. 387 would be the year of the Śiva-Pārvatī stele from Kauśāmbī. Thus, the Buddha of Bodhagaya would have been carved immediately before the Gupta period, while the Śiva-Pārvatī stele would be the earliest dated work assignable to the Gupta period. However, it remains a work of provincial archaism, outside the mainstream of Gupta art. The Buddha of Bodhagaya, on the contrary, shows the Mathurā tradition alive and creative at the beginning of the fourth century. Although it falls eight years before the Gupta period, the Buddha from Bodhagaya may be seen as the point of departure for Gupta art as it evolved out of the Mathurā school.

Apart from these fourth-century works, it is the art of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries that constitutes the subject of this investigation. The following list gives a summary of the dated works of the Gupta period, or such works as were found near dated inscriptions. The latter are marked with an asterisk.

Buddha	Bodhagaya	312-13
Śiva-Pārvatī stele	Kauśāmbī (Kosam)	387-88
Vaiṣṇavite rock-cut reliefs, Dvārapāla, etc.	Udayagiri (Bhopal)[10]	401-2
Relief pillar	Bilsad[11]	415-16*
Pillar and architrave reliefs	Gadhwa[12]	417-18*
Jaina rock-cut relief	Udayagiri (Bhopal)[13]	425-26
Buddha (cf. coins)	Tanor (Rajshahi)[14]	432-33*
Buddha	Mankuwar[15]	448-49
Buddha	Mathurā[16]	454-55
Jaina pillar reliefs	Kahaum[17]	460-61
Buddha	Sarnath[18]	473-74
Buddha	Sarnath[19]	476-77
Diverse inscriptions	Khoh[20]	476-515*
Dhvaja-Stambha	Eran (Airikina)[21]	484-85
Buddha	Deoriga[22]	Undated inscriptions in characters of the fifth century
Parinirvāṇa rock-cut reliefs	Kasia (Kucinagara)[23]	
Stele and Buddhas	Sarnath[24]	
Śiva Temple	Bhumara[25]	508-9*
Pillar reliefs	Eran[26]	510-11
Colossal Boar (Varāha Avatāra)	Eran[27]	510-11
Śiva stele	Mandasor[28]	533-34
Buddha	Mathurā[29]	549-50
Buddha pedestal	Bodhagaya[30]	588-89[31]

MATHURĀ

The currents in the sculpture of the Gupta period are manifold. Mathurā, which was in the forefront during the Kuṣāṇa period, exported artisans and works; Mathurā sculptures found their way as far as Sarnath, and are also known from Sāñcī, Kasia, and Bodhagaya. The peculiarities of the Mathurā style extend to Sind and are apparent in the fifth-century terracottas of Mirpurkhas.

From Mathurā itself come several Buddha figures[32] of the beginning and middle of the fifth century (Plate 2). There is little that recalls the style of the

Kuṣāṇa school. The new bodily ideal of the god-man Buddha shows no trace of the powerful corporeality of the previous centuries. The body parts cohere in planar contiguity, forming a rhythmic whole even more intimate and uniform than in the Buddha of Bodhagaya. The figure now becomes lighter and more ethereal. Steeped in an aura of grace, the features of the face portray perfect inner absorption. This attitude contradicts the earthbound serenity that characterized the Mathurā school earlier. The new ideal, with its refined mode of expression, was moulded in Samath. From there it found its way to Mathurā, where the Buddha's likeness had first been created by local means in the Kuṣāṇa period. Samath, departing from the commanding image of the Kuṣāṇa period, proceeded to create a more lyrical, devotional image. It was this new type that returned to Mathurā in the Gupta period.

The centres of the artistic development of the cult image in the northern part of India moved farther east from the fifth century onward. In the fifth century the centre moved from Mathurā to Samath, which remained the creative centre during the Gupta period. Later Nālandā became the place where new Buddhist types originated, and finally, during the medieval period, Bihar and Bengal played a decisive role in the creative output of all sects and religions.

In the Gupta period the Mathurā school maintained or transformed certain motifs of the Kuṣāṇa period. For example, the folds of the drapery of the monk's outer garment, originally taken over from Gandhāra, were changed into a flowing pattern of regular, fine ridges, which play over the gently rising and falling modelling of the body. Where the cloth hangs free without touching the body, it becomes a deep, concave foil for the subtle gradations of the body's modelling. The edge of the garment becomes an accompanying motif of the body's silhouette (Plate 2). Its curve transposes the boundaries of the body's reposing mass into linear motion. This function of the garment's hem remains a characteristic of the Mathurā school. In Samath, and farther eastward (Buddha of Sultanganj [Plate 16],[33] of a later date), the garment falls straight down, and rounded corners provide the transition to the horizontal hem.

The garment's ends, gathered in the lowered left hand, have a life of their own. It obeys an ornamental discipline. At this point, Indian tradition has absorbed volumetric motifs of Hellenistic art. For the rest—and in contrast to the barely visible undergarment in Samath—the skirt-like undergarment (*antaravāsaka*) of Mathurā, though as thin as a membrane, is evident considerably below the slightly billowing lateral edges of the outer garment (*saṅghāṭī*), while the cincturing cord (*kāyabandha*) of the undergarment, with its hanging ends, is entirely visible and crossed by the parallel ridges of the

saṅghātī's folds, as is the modelling of the body. A further sculptural accent, which is less evident in Sarnath, is the draping of the upper garment, which leaves the neck free and accentuates its three creases (*trivali*). The neck is longer than in the Kuṣāṇa school, and the head is carried with noble ease.

Characteristic of the Gupta sculptures of Mathurā are the eyebrows rendered as antenna-like ridges, with eyelids and lips bounded by the same device. At times such a ridge is placed between the intersecting planes of the upper eyelids. The role of the ridges in the face, as on the body, is to bind the form of the figure, and to encompass and arrest the flow of the plastic modelling. This effect is also achieved by means of deep, round holes placed at the corners of the mouth.

As already mentioned, the lowered eyelids are carved as intersecting convex and concave planes, and shadows linger in the space thus created. They give to the sculpted faces of images from the latter half of the fifth century onward an expression of dream-like enchantment (Plate 4). This treatment of the eyelids is known from an earlier period on the stucco and slate heads of Gandhāra. Hellenism had no share in this particular feature, nor did Scythian art. Technically the intersecting planes of the eyelids are characteristic of the earliest monuments of the Indian tradition. But it is the downcast eyes that allow this technical potential to be developed as an element of creative form, particularly in the cult images of Buddhism.

The elaborately ornamented nimbus (*śiraścakra*) (Plate 2), richest in motifs in the Mathurā cult images, had its origin in the Kuṣāṇa period toward the end of the first century. Then the nimbus was a plain disc with scalloped edges;[34] in rarer cases it was filled with an open lotus flower or some similar device. The nimbus in the Gupta period, with its rich, decorative detail, was not only derived from the Kuṣāṇa nimbus, but also from the ornamentation of the inner surface of the flat umbrella, a horizontal stone disc that originally shaded the head of the Bodhisattva (Bodhisattva statue of the monk Bala, A. D. 81). It is from here that the concentric circular zones and the variety of motifs they contain are borrowed. The nimbus is filled with radiating lotus petals, scrolls, garlands, twisting tendrils, rosettes, strings of pearls, and the traditional scalloped edges (also Plate 6). The flat disc of the umbrella was raised above the image after the Kuṣāṇa period. In Sarnath, the nimbus is rendered as a smooth plane, framed by the broad band of scrolls, the foliage cut in concave planes at an angle to the ground of the relief. The scrollwork of entwined shapes, enclosed by slanting, concave planes, became the central motif of decorative sculpture in northern India in the following period. It had its ultimate triumph in Konarak, in Orissa, in

the thirteenth century, and even earlier it found its way to the remote corners of 'Greater India'.

Although the non-Buddhist Gupta sculptures of Mathurā (Plate 5) conform stylistically with Buddhist works, the absence of a monastic overgarment allows the modelling of the naked torso its full effect; no ridges indicative of drapery folds overlie the modelled planes. The flesh, swelling above the upper edge of the tight loincloth (dhoti) is depicted naturalistically, while the folds of the dhoti are only scratched in; they are not raised as stylized ridges, as are those of the Buddhist *saṅghāṭī*. Together with the opulent motifs of its jewelry, the Hindu images appear more sensually animated, more vigorous in contour and also in facial expression. Compared to the severe discipline of the modelling of the Buddha statues, the creative power of the Gupta period more freely unfolds here and is richer because of this freedom. The fragment of a Viṣṇu statue (Plate 5) belongs, like the Mathurā Buddha (Plate 2), to the second quarter of the fifth century.

The later development within the Mathurā school runs parallel to that in the Sarnath school, yet its peculiar characteristics remain. For example, the face of the Buddha image in the Lucknow Museum is rendered with unsurpassed expressiveness (Plate 4). The tension of the upper portion of the face with its steep forehead, highly arched brows, and eyes fixed in deep concentration, is balanced by a gently pouting mouth, the smooth roundness of cheeks and chin. The profound calm of the earlier faces has begun to vibrate.

In comparison, the standing Buddha from Mathurā (Katra), likewise in the Lucknow Museum, with an inscription from the year 549-50 (Plate 6), can only be seen as an archaism, even if one considers the inferiority of the work. The lion between the feet of the image and the massiveness of the composition are in the Kuṣāṇa style; in contrast, the halo and the schematic quality of the clothing are in the style of the early fifth century. Noteworthy are the rays of the nimbus. The Śakya nun Jayabhattā, the statue's donor, possibly gave the relevant instructions to the sculpture. That this image may be a work of the sixth century is indicated, not only by the inscription, but also by the position of the right hand, which does not appear raised to the shoulder, as is characteristic of early Gupta work; here the forearm is outstretched, almost horizontally. The face makes use, however crudely, of the sculptural abstractions typical of the fifth century. This archaic sculpture is an exceptional case.

During the fifth century, the Mathurā school undergoes the transition from a ponderous to a visually lighter form, though Mathurā remains austere in its preference for static massiveness instead of the rhythmic flux of form in which Sarnath excelled.

SARNATH

Sarnath overshadows Mathurā as an art centre with respect to the age and quality of its work. The interaction with Mathurā has already been alluded to. From the end of the first century A. D. on, works of the Kuṣāṇa school from Mathurā were exported to Sarnath where they could be studied by its artists. How Mathurā models were taken over in Sarnath is shown, for example, in a standing Buddha-Bodhisattva figure (Plate 7). It gives a new cast to the Mathurā model. The Kuṣāṇa style, diluted by Hellenism and intensified in its naturalism, is here given a nervous suppleness alien to the more earthbound manner of Mathurā. Invested with sensitive agility, the gestures, such as the right hand raised to the shoulder in *Abhayamudrā*, become full of expression and life. The same refers to the torso, though here the Kuṣāṇa style still prevails, and the modelling, though soft, is not yet imbued with fluent vibrancy. Especially characteristic of Sarnath is the undulating lower edge of this overgarment, which is otherwise exceptional for baring the one shoulder and for being depicted without folds. The lower part of the statue details much of the Kuṣāṇa style, with clear influence of Hellenism. This torso could belong to a transitional period, that is, to the fourth century.

In the beginning of the Sarnath school, its fully developed style is seen in statues like the Buddha of Tanor (Plate 8) from North Bengal, now in the Rajshahi Museum. It is a typical work, the product of a Sarnath artist; judging from the coins found in the same place, it was made in the year 432-33. The garment covers both the shoulders, but it is treated so that it is not visible on the body except for the modelling around the décolletage and a pair of barely noticeable incised lines on the shoulders. The upper garment forms a trough-like foil, a kind of stele for the body of the image. The relationship of the body and its garment is finalized by the hem of the rolls above the wrists, which are broken off here, and by the lower edge of the garment over the legs. The legs appear to be jutting through the concave plane of the garment. The body is flat and loosely follows the kind of 'anatomy' that developed in the Kuṣāṇa period and was still tinged with realism during the transitional phase (cf. Plate 7). However, the new style of modelling regulates its convex and concave sequences and is unconcerned with realistic description; it follows a rhythm of its own. At the same time, this style of modelling presses the convex and concave shapes sidewards, so that the planar body is surrounded by a contoured curve. The proportions of the torso, according to convention, appear to be stocky and short. No attempt at representing the cincturing cord of the undergarment can be seen here. Instead, a deeply incised curve, dipping

somewhat in the middle, defines the upper part of the body. We can assume that it was straighter at the beginning of the century,[35] as in the case of the Tanor Buddha.[36] In the next period, this originally horizontal curve sinks more and more toward the middle of the body, until it almost forms a sharp angle (Plate10). Otherwise, linear definition is avoided within the modelling.[37]

In the transitional works leading up to the Gupta type of Sarnath (Plate 7), the flexibility of the joints has already been noticed. This involved only the finger, hand, and elbow joints, while the legs in rigid *samapādasthānaka* pose are as stiff as 'inverted banana stems,' a stance that becomes typical of the later medieval icons. Not until *c.* 425 did a Sarnath craftsman succeed in making the knee joints supple and in distributing the body's weight over both legs (Plate 8). This achievement was taken over by Mathurā as well.[38] In between these supple legs with their long, elegant curves, whether the legs are shown as if stepping forward or are standing still, the outer garment clinging to the body indicates or dissimulates the area of sex (e.g., Plate 8). But this vestige of a realistic style portraying the body disappears around the mid-fifth century, when the plane between the legs is assimilated to that indicating the garment (Plate 9). The feet of all the Sarnath icons appear swollen, padded from their ankles to the base of their long toes. This 'deformity' is one of the signs of the Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa.[39]

The facial features of the Sarnath Buddha statues are generally rounder and animated with a lighter grace than is found in Mathurā. This is due not only to the round physiognomy that is preferred at Sarnath, but to the way the face is sculpted. In contrast to the more detailed modelling of the facial features in Mathurā, those of the Sarnath images imply a modelling of the entire face that ascends in a smooth curve from the lower jaw upwards. In this way the eyes appear embedded in their sockets, and the heaviness of the upper lids is mitigated, whereas in Mathurā this same heaviness weighs on the cast of the other features. The sculptural treatment at Sarnath is altogether more delicate. Absent is the heavy accentuation of features we find at Mathurā, such as the ridge lines around the mouth and eyes, or the deep, dark holes at the corner of the mouth; in Sarnath, the facial features flow into one another. All this gives the Sarnath heads their supernatural, serene calm. At Mathurā the facial expression of the Buddha heads tends to become rigid; the danger for Sarnath lies in stereotyped sweetness. Apart from local differences, the Gupta Buddha heads have an unmistakable character of their own. No other phase of Indian art approaches their perfection in creating the superhuman features of a state of perfect knowledge.

The mid-fifth century marks the zenith of the Sarnath school. At this moment, the total effect is powerful, harmonious. Resilient curves define each profile of the modelling. The formerly ponderous limbs appear to be lightened; there is movement in all their joints, so that the body appears to hover weightlessly above flexed knees without encumbrance, and the broad shoulders are carried with ease. The perfection of Gupta sculpture lies in the fusion of the body's several parts into a vibrant total image in which the single physiognomical features are integral to the rise and fall of an uninterrupted rhythm, where details of the garment are eliminated unless they intensify the impression of a body at rest in its vibrancy. It is evident that the incised line across the abdomen dips deeper in the course of time and that all other lines, such as those within the crook of the elbow, on the neck, ears, coiffure, eyebrows, and eyelids, follow its course. A comparison of the figures illustrated (Plates 8 and 9) points out this change, which came about within approximately a quarter of a century.

After the seventh decade of the fifth century, the shapes became even more delicate, even more subtly modelled, and the graceful features convey a spirituality that allows the corners of the mouth to point upwards as if a smile were passing over the lips (Plate10). One of the standing Sarnath Buddha images has a dedicatory inscription of the year 473-74. This sculpture is a continuation in the evolution of the Buddha image (Plate 9). The edge of the robe is partially broken off;[40] on the broken surface are small, square holes, indicative of an ancient repair. However, even in the fifth century, single parts, such as the upraised hand, were often made from a separate piece of stone.[41] This technical procedure corresponds to a changed perception. The Buddha figures of the thirties had the right hand in the gesture of fearlessness (*abhayamudrā*), raised and stretched horizontally from the elbow. At the beginning of the fifth century[42] the palm of the hand came to be situated between the shoulder and the elbow. In transitional works of the fourth century (Plate 7), the hand is still rendered in Kuṣāṇa style, raised to the shoulder, with the palm turned toward the Buddha's body, whereas from the thirties of the fifth century, the palm is turned toward the worshipper. Similarly, the position of the left hand changes. In Mathurā it was placed on either the hip[43] (as it was during the Sarnath transition period, Plate 7) or else it was brought back in some other way to the body.[44] In the fifth century, it sinks down and faces outward, away from the body and in front of the pendant hemline of the robe so that it marks the outermost limit of the Buddha statue's corporeal existence. Behind this gesture the body rests within a space of its own and its depth is limited by the plane of the back of the stele.

The sculptural treatment of the Buddha figure in fifth-century Sarnath, which then influenced Mathurā, not only places the image within its own space, but concentrates its divine presence by the close layering of the anterior plane, which is formed by the hands, and the posterior plane, formed by the back of the stele. Enclosed within a space created by its own surface, the Buddha image of the Gupta age represents a departure from the compact mass of its Kuṣāṇa prototype. Layered in planes, the Buddhist icon of the Gupta period is given its classical proportions in the relation between planes and modelled corporeality.

Two Sarnath statues, dated 476-77,[45] one of which is shown here (Plate 10), make the Buddha's form a supple, delicate vessel of rarified, superhuman bliss. The shoulders have become narrower and somewhat sloping, the legs have stretched, and the modelling gives life-breath to the body's 'anatomy'. The noble elegance of form is evident in the accompanying figures, which stand on lotus flowers. For the first time, Vidyādharas (celestial 'bearers of knowledge') appear, flying from the right and from the left on the nimbus. They are squat in appearance and somewhat restrained in their flight. Not until the sixth century are they pictured as masters of all the arts of rapid flight, which is convincingly rendered without external trappings, but simply by the way their limbs and bodies are placed. In the medieval period, flying Vidyādharas are the inevitable companions of practically all icons.

A further change took place in the rendering of the end of the robe gathered by the left hand. The zigzag folds that had been so popular earlier (cf. Plate 8) are now deemphasized; they form but a narrow pattern at the bottom of the robe. The honing of form to create a unified plastic effect tends to eliminate even linear decorative details inherited from earlier Indian traditions such as Bhārhut.[46] Also noteworthy are the small figures of the donors, placed on either side of the scrollwork at the bottom of the stele, and the straight stalk bearing the lotus flower on which the figure of the Buddha stands.

Gandhāra and Mathurā had introduced a scene of worship as a subject on the base of the image. Here the figures of the donors, the lotus flower, and the standing attendants have been integrated with the Buddha image into a unified composition. In the following period the lotus, the scrollwork, and the donors are all again relegated to the base. This is particularly true of the Eastern school of the Pāla period.

The scrollwork of the lotus must be noted. It consists of single concave planes cut at an angle to the plane of the relief and is a descendant of the early fifth-century scroll motifs that adorned the nimbus of the Buddha. Now the treatment of the scrolls has become fleshy. One might be tempted to call it a

'roccoco motif,' but the terms used for artistic epochs of European art are meaningless with regard to Indian art.

The famous seated teaching Buddha of Sarnath exhibits a feeling for form similar to that of the two standing Buddha images, but it is more extreme in the economy of its modelling.[47] The slight stiffness is partly traceable to the abstract, triangular scheme on which the composition is based (compare the modelling from shoulders to breast, and from there to the abdominal area). This stiffness marks the beginning of reduced plasticity and sensitivity to subtle tactile transitions. There is also a change in how the bodies and the impetuous flight of the Vidyādharas are conceived. According to a new ideal, horizontal sequences of plastic volume are accentuated. The seated Sarnath Buddha typifies the Sarnath school at the end of the fifth century.

The phases of shaping the icon at the Sarnath school within the fifth century are now clear. After the transitional forms of the fourth century, the early fifth century created the Buddha-type of the Gupta period in its normative form. Its still heavy limbs and expressive facial features each became a unique amalgamation of observation and abstraction. In the seventies a rarified subtlety of modelling and expression was achieved, but it lasted in this perfected form for only one generation. The turn of the century again shows a tendency toward a new formalization. This persisted during the entire sixth century, allowing nuances of introspective knowledge and compassion to form the images in subtle variations.

In the mid-fifth century each sculptural profile consisted of generous, flowing curves. The profile of the trunk, from the breastbone to the abdomen, showed a gradual rising, like an elastically stretched curve. In the seventies this profile was retained; yet, as a result of the narrower and more elongated shape of the figure, it now lacked the space that would allow a gradual lateral transition to the flanks. In the seventies this profile was more pronounced, and its curve recalls the female figures of Gothic art.[48]

A swaying stance characterizes an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, probably belonging to the sixth century (Plate 12). The figure is poised in a harmonious balance of form and movement, one might say, of matter and spirit. It is the spirit that sways the body and bends the limbs in a manner conducive to that motion. It is precisely in the sixth century that the motif of the flying figures occurs so frequently and is presented with such spontaneity.

The image of Avalokiteśvara (Plate 12) is endowed with all the characteristics of this new phase. Although the body's sway is accentuated by the countermovement of the garments, the curves of the scarf, and the edge of

the dhoti, the main emphasis remains on the arching contour of the body. It is complemented by the bow-shaped lotus stalk, from which the flower is broken off. The richness of costume, coiffure, jewelry, and drapery shows motifs that the artists refrained from using in images of the Buddha. These several motifs add an aura of worldliness to the image of the Bodhisattva.

The lack of dated sculptures within the sixth century at Sarnath poses a problem in attempting to trace stylistic changes. Works from the seventh century show a tendency to stiffness and minimally articulated massiveness (Plate 11). Each part of the image appears stilted and is only connected to the next by placement, not organically or plastically, as was the case earlier. The eyes are now opened somewhat more widely. Often a cushion is placed behind the Buddha's back, in order to make him comfortable.[49] This object seems to be without a symbolic meaning. A rigid contour, a schematic elaboration of detail, a general coarsening of form, and a pedantic respect for rules mark the end of the Gupta sculpture at Sarnath.

After the icons, the relief panels with representations of scenes from the Buddha's life are the most frequent works of sacred sculpture from Sarnath. They belong to the fifth and the sixth centuries and onward. Their early, aniconic predecessors are reliefs filled with symbols, such as a *bodhi* tree, a wheel, or a *stūpa*, on the railings and gates of the Śuṅga and Andhra periods. From then on, in Mathurā as well as in Gandhāra, human figures lent pathos to the narrative scenes in a panel.[50] Sarnath follows the Kuṣāṇa prototypes from Mathurā. The scenes now appear in separate panels framed by flat fillets, or in separate sections compositionally connected in one relief. With regard to style, these steles follow the changes that were observed in the representation of the Buddha image.

The question of whether the images were painted is answered at Sarnath. Some of the sculptures show remnants of colour, which is also evident in the Bodhagaya Buddha. However, it is generally only the ochre colour of the robe that is preserved.[51]

LOCAL SCHOOLS CONNECTED WITH MATHURĀ AND SARNATH

Gadhwa: From the fourth to the sixth century, Sarnath and Mathurā were the major art centres. It has already been pointed out that Mathurā artisans worked at various locales and that art works were exported to such places as Mankuwar, with its peculiar seated Buddha image,[52] and Kasia, where the sculptor Dinna of Mathurā carved in the rock, and also to Kauśāmbī and Bodhagaya. In addition there are significant terracotta reliefs from Bhītārgāon, in some of which the exaggerated musculature of the figurines does not conceal



Plate 1 Buddha, Bodhagaya, Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 2 Buddha, Mathurā, National Museum, New Delhi



Plate 3 Śiva and Pārvatī, Kauśāmbī, Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 5 Viṣṇu, Mathurā, National Museum, New Delhi



Plate 4 Head of Buddha, Kaukali Hill, Mathurā, State Museum, Lucknow



Plate 6 Buddha, Katra Hill, Mathurā, State Museum, Lucknow



Plate 7 Buddha, Sarnath, Sarnath Museum



Plate 8 Buddha, Tanor, Rajshahi Museum



Plate 9 Buddha, Sarnath, Sarnath Museum



Plate 10 Buddha, Sarnath, Sarnath Museum



Plate 11 Teaching Buddha, Sarnath, Sarnath Museum



Plate 14 Music and dancing scene (Kṣāntivādin Jātaka), Sarnath, Sarnath Museum



Plate 15 Stucco figures of the Buddha with the gesture of the renunciation of the world from the temple at Bodhagaya



Plate 12 Avalokiteśvara, Sarnath, Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 16 Buddha, Sultanganj, Birmingham Museum



Plate 17 Intercession of Gaṅgā, pillar relief, Candimau



Plate 18 Dvārapāla, Udayagiri, Gwalior



Plate 19 Bhūdevī, Udayagiri, Gwalior



Plate 20 Śiva-gaṇa, Bhumara, Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 21 Śiva, Mandasor

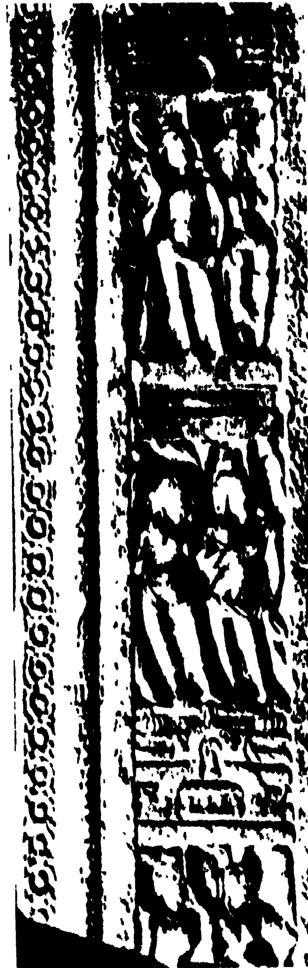


Plate 23 Door-post relief, Nagari, Rajasthan



Plate 22 Scene from the Kṛṣṇa legend, Deogarh





Plate 13 Right half of the architrave from Gadhwa, State Museum, Lucknow

Hellenistic influence. However, the figures' manifold and powerful movement can be accounted for in the Indian tradition, for the manner of rendering them is freer in terracotta reliefs than in the contemporary stone reliefs.

The same currents are evident in works from other sites, among which Bilsad and Gadhwa are noteworthy; also the sculptures of Kasia (apart from the Parinirvāṇa Buddha, a work of a Mathurā master) and Mirpurkhas in Sind. The Kuṣāṇa school of Mathurā, as well as the Kuṣāṇa style influenced by Gandhāra, set the standard for the sites just mentioned. The works of the various centres are clearly distinguishable from one another; a lively artistic life in each locale contributed in its own way to the whole cultural context.

Vincent A. Smith has already drawn attention to the relationship between the pillar reliefs of Bilsad and Gadhwa.[53] Close in time and space,[54] these sites in Uttar Pradesh at the beginning of the fifth century share elements of style. But differences in quality and character exist despite the similar mode of composition and common decorative motifs. Aside from their ornamentation, the Bilsad reliefs are heirs to the early Indian tradition. The Gadhwa reliefs are unimaginable without the Hellenism that shaped the Kuṣāṇa school of Mathurā. The distinct way in which various influences were transformed makes these reliefs masterpieces of early Gupta art.

No other work of Gupta sculpture surpasses the Gadhwa panels (Plate 13) for rhythmic harmony and delicacy of carving. Probably made to serve as the lintel of a temple doorway, these panels show scenes of celebration and worship, with Viṣṇu as the focal image. The sun god Sūrya is on the right end of one panel; Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on the extreme left of the other. The celebration includes various offerings of food and acts of veneration. Free of the limiting norms that were applied to icons, the figures appear in groups of classical purity. As in the earlier reliefs of Amarāvatī, some figural motifs are reminiscent of the Kuṣāṇa school. The composition is characterized by its diverse elements: an understanding of the human form based on lively observation; gestures that speak in the nimble language of dance; natural grace of movement and balanced rhythm; varied physiognomies and costumes.[55]

The perfected classicism of the Gadhwa reliefs is confined almost exclusively to the human form; the juxtaposition of nature's shapes, so characteristic of early Indian art, has no place in this world of emotionally mature humanism. Hardly any use is made of the abstract spatial formulas of earlier times; the optical perspective accommodates itself effortlessly to the frieze and its figures. In this composition, the human figure, which can be godly as well as human, is the sole standard.

In the province of Gandhāra, the constituent artistic traditions (whether Indian, Hellenistic, or 'Scythian') coexisted and commingled, while in the rest of India high artistic achievement was based on ancient indigenous traditions, and Hellenism was so transformed that its foreign origin was forgotten. This happened at Amarāvatī in the south, and at Gadhwa in the north.

Only a spontaneous and increasingly sensitive understanding of the human body, innate in the early period of the indigenous tradition, could fully respond to and integrate values that were ultimately Greek in origin. By the fifth century, the Graeco-Roman heritage had become 'classical antiquity' in the West. Its impact in the India of the same time was vital, though it had come to Indian art centuries earlier. It had entered the fabric of Indian art like a foreign body and lay dormant until the new spirituality of the Gupta period made it effective in the northern part of India. Here, the Indian genius produced a rebirth of the classic Western forms, not inferior in quality and originality to the European Renaissance a thousand years later.

In the Bilsad pillar reliefs, the old Indian school is seen meeting the demands of the Gupta period. This is equally true of the narrative 'architectural' reliefs in Sarnath[56] (Plate 14). This can be understood in two ways: on the one hand, the Kuṣāṇa style and Hellenism were incorporated into the complex form of the Gupta period; on the other hand, the old Indian tradition, continuing on its own path, was brought to efflorescence by the genius of the Gupta period. The influence of Sarnath spread to the eastern and western parts of the country, where it stimulated various local resources.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE EASTERN SCHOOL

The eastern sites of Gupta sculpture include Sultanganj, Bodhagaya, Rajgir, and Nālandā, as well as Caṇḍimau.[57] They exhibit the eastern transformation of the Sarnath model from the fifth to the seventh centuries. Many reliefs, especially those from Caṇḍimau, possess an appeal coming from their locally determined character. One of the most outstanding works of the eastern style is the colossal copper Buddha from Bhagalpur-Sultanganj in the Birmingham Museum (Plate 16).[58]

The Sultanganj Buddha exhibits some distinctive traits: the summarily rounded stiff legs; the accentuated kneecaps; the almost horizontal, incised midline; the right hand raised to a level below the shoulder; the sensitively modelled flesh of the torso. The style of relating garment to body is derived from the Sarnath-Mathurā tradition, but an innovative compromise operates here. In Sarnath any suggestion of folds, apart from those at the neck, was smoothed away, whereas in Mathurā, a linear pattern of parallel curving ridges

suggested folds. But in the Sultanganj Buddha these 'folds' are indicated by faintly incised lines on the body, swinging downward in ever wider arcs. These lines are incised where the garment adheres to the body but not where it hangs free; they emphasize the body rather than the garment. While the Sarnath icons guide the eye downward from the face along the calmly relaxed curves of the limbs, the Sultanganj Buddha leads the eye upward from the firmly yet lightly resting feet to the head, which is carried with great dignity. The body is proportionately slimmer, but the shoulders are broader and the neck is longer than in the other schools, so that the overall impression of the figure is one of nobility and power rather than of the bliss of *samādhi*. The sensitive rendering of each individual finger and of the edges of the garment animates the silhouette of the image. Another characteristic of this sculpture is the facial type, which is longish and heavy, with more sharply defined features than in the Western schools. This eastern Buddha-type evolved in Nālandā[59] and Bodhagaya[60] (Plate 15, seventh century).

Among the sixth-century reliefs, the stucco reliefs at Maniyar Math,[61] Rajgir, as well as some of the rock-cut reliefs at Sultanganj have no distinct 'eastern' character, but pillar reliefs of the late fifth century from Caṇḍimau (Plate 17) are noteworthy. They demonstrate an eastern variant of the Gupta style, more nervous and more forceful in the gestures of its figures and rhythms of sculptural detail (such as the curve of the cloth hanging from the umbrella and the way that the snake curves around Śiva's neck). Such traits continue in the east into the ninth century and become commonplace in the Pāla period.

CENTRAL INDIA

All that had made early Indian art so vital came to a full flowering in the fifth and sixth centuries in the areas where the sculpture of the Gupta period represents a direct transformation of trends of early Indian art. Although connecting works from the second to the fourth centuries are almost entirely missing, in the fifth century one can see how the strands interconnect. The central Indian monuments of the Gupta period are numerous; to do justice to them requires a more exhaustive statement than what can be given here.[62] However, the greatest monument of the fifth century is the Udayagiri rock relief of Varāha.

The rock reliefs at Udayagiri, Bhopal, are among the earliest works of the fifth century. The relief of Varāha, the Boar incarnation, is so famous that a description of it would be superfluous (Plate 19, detail). The colossal power and slow flowing plasticity of this unique relief blend harmoniously with the delicacy of detail carved in the flowers of the garland, the folds of the dhoti, and

the jewelry of Bhūdevī. The entire rock wall and its adjoining sides were transformed into a scene of cosmic upheaval. A cosmic vision also underlies the Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara, built somewhat later in the fifth century. The walls here are reshaped into rocky boulders, the temple becomes an allegorical mountain, the cosmic mountain. Such gigantic visions assumed concrete form for the first time in central India in the fifth century. The 'Descent of the Ganges' at Māmallapuram and the related rock relief at Isurumuniya, Sri Lanka, have their northern forerunners here.

The Dvārapāla figure near the entrance to the Candragupta cave in Udayagiri (Plate 18), in its powerfully realized corporeality, forms the 'first movement' in the symphony of central Indian sculpture of the fifth century. The refinement that pervaded Buddhist imagery at Sarnath and Mathurā can be seen in central India in the treatment of such figures as that of Bhūdevī in the rock-cut relief of the Boar incarnation (Plate 19), the reliefs of the river goddesses at the Candragupta cave, and those from Besnagar[63] and the Tigowa.[64] Though they are the descendants of the female figures at Sāñcī, a 'classical' freedom and calmness of motion, as well as of the flowing contour, are characteristics of the new period.

This can also be seen in the overall sensitivity of modelling of the Śaiva figures at Bhumara (Plate 20).[65] These figures, like the flying Vidyādharas of the fifth and sixth centuries at Sarnath, are among the most charming realization of Gupta sculpture. Flying Vidyādharas, Gaṇas of every imaginable kind, full of verve, humour, and lightness are frequently found in central India, yet nowhere else do the Gaṇas have the childlike wisdom infused into classical form that they have at Bhumara.

The temple reliefs of Deogarh, which have been granted high praise, can be placed in the early sixth century.[66] It is not possible here to go into the details of the types of coiffures, drapery, and so on. The rendering of dhoti-folds (Plate 22) as small, tight undulations is not a local peculiarity, but is also found at eastern sites, such as the doorpost reliefs from Bihar in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. However, certain peculiarities of costume may be noted. For example, the Yaśodā of the Deogarh relief (Plate 22) is wearing a long-sleeved, *kurtā*-like upper garment that is slit at the left breast. The dancer of the Kṣāntivādin frieze at Sarnath wears a similar *kurtā*-like overgarment, although here the slit at the breast is missing (Plate 14). Whereas the dancer wears a long dhoti, the Deogarh Yaśodā is dressed in a richly pleated skirt. The long, flowing scarf does not rest on her hair, but is raised up by a conical frame, similar to certain medieval European headdresses. The heavily pleated skirt, the *kurtā*-like

overgarment, the high, conical bamboo frame over which the scarf is draped, are still worn in India today by women of the nomadic Banjara tribe, in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Another notable article of costume is found in the relief of the Gadhwa architrave. Here some of the women, for example those who are feeding the monks (Plate 13), wear a cap whose elongated sidepieces reach below the chin; similar headdresses are still worn by Kirghiz women. These features of costume point to the northern nomadic element in India during the Gupta reign. Though it left no trace in the form of figural sculpture, it did shape the ornamentation.

THE FORMATION OF THE WESTERN SCHOOL

The special character of the Eastern school emerged during Gupta times. The Western school was defined in the medieval period. In both the Eastern and Western schools, the new style was not yet pervasive in all work. The old tradition, which was concentrated in central India, was also widespread in the east and the west; it provided the matrix in which transformation and further development took place. The first symptoms of the new style, in the 'west,' appeared at the same time in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh,[67] and Rajasthan.

The Śiva stele at Mandasor, Gwalior [68] (Plate 21), from the first half of the sixth century, can be compared with the Viṣṇu from Eran,[69] of approximately the same age, on the basis of the rigidity of Śiva's massive body. But other features, such as the draping of the loincloth, which forcefully emphasizes the naked *liṅgam*, point to a connection with the Northern school. The Northern style is most creatively integrated in the delicate modelling of the body and face of the Āyudhapuruṣas of Śiva (anthropomorphic embodiments of Śiva's weapons). Another feature, which may remind one of an earlier northern conception, is represented by the Gaṇas along the edge of the stele, a motif reminiscent of the well-known Gandhāra relief with its figures of soldiers and grimacing demons. The Gaṇas form a frieze on the base of the Śiva stele, and, by contrast, are genuine children of the Gupta period; their grotesque trivialities make up the base of the serene sensuality of the Āyudhapuruṣas and the threatening gloom of the towering Śiva figure.

Among all these currents, one trait in particular anticipates idioms of the Western school. It is the sickle-shaped curve of the Āyudhapuruṣas' stance, resting on one leg, stretched at the knee. This pose is unknown farther north or east. On the other hand, in its extreme form it marks the end of the Western school exemplified by many marble statues from Mount Abu. In the fifth-century Śaivite doorpost reliefs from Nagari (Plate 23), this particular motif appears clearly recognizable, not only as a particular posture, but as the symptom of a

style. This may be due to its more western site, while in Gwalior this motif is only one among other features. Above all, the central relief panel (Plate 23) shows how sculptural values here form the base for a triumphant linear movement, to which the plastic quality of the relief has become subordinate, whereas in the other schools of Gupta sculpture, the plastic quality is paramount.

This chapter has attempted to show how a wave of genius, carried by uniquely favourable circumstances, raised the sculpture of the Gupta period to one of the peaks of Indian art. It has also attempted to trace how this took shape in relation to the Kuṣāṇa sculpture at Mathurā in the north. Attention has been drawn to the regional varieties and changes of style during a three-hundred-year period—how the high crest in central India was supported by the old Indian local tradition and how, within the Gupta tradition, the Eastern and Western schools each began styles of their own.

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[12] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' pls. 12-13, figs. 6-7.

[13] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 146; J. C. French, *The Art of the Pāla Empire of Bengal* (London, 1928), p. 1.

[15] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 262; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 3:36.

[17] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 1:91, pl. 29; 16:129, pl. 29.

[18] *A.S.I.-A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 99, p. 63, fig.b.

[19] *Ibid.*, figs. a and c.

[20] Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-100, 112, 121-35.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 88; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 10:87, pls. 25, 26.

[22] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 271; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 3:48, pl. 18.

[23] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 281; cf. *Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pt. 2, nos. 11, 12,14.

[25] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 110; R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Siva at Bhumara, M.A.S.I.* 16 (1924).

[26] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 10, pl. 23.

[27] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 142; Cunningham, *A.S.I.* 10, pl. 22.

[29] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

[31] In each of these figures, there remains only the pedestal, with an inscription, and a fragment of sculpture.

[32] Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 15; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Leipzig, London, and New York, 1927), fig. 158.

[33] Author's revision: This is of a later date, i.e., seventh century. See Frederick Asher, *The Art of Eastern India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), pp. 56-8.

[34] Cf. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pls. 81, 86, 87 and pls. 84, 85.

[35] Stella Kramrisch, 'Die indische Kunst,' in Anton Springer, *Die aussereuropaische Kunst, Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6 (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1929), fig. 285.

[36] Kramrisch, 'Die indische Kunst,' fig. 278.

[37] Author's revision: The reference to the Sultanganj image in the original text is not valid, since the image belongs to the seventh century.

[38] Cf. Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 16.

[39] Cf. Stella Kramrisch, 'Emblems of the Universal Being,' *J.I.S.O.A.* 3, no. 1 (June, 1935): 148-65; and in this volume.

[40] Cf. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 100, no. 6.

[41] D. R. Sahni and J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 45, B (b) 19.

[42] Kramrisch, 'Die indische Kunst,' fig. 285.

[43] Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pls. 75, 80, 81-84, 87.

[44] *Ibid.*, pl. 86, on the left.

[45] Cf. note 19.

[46] In the third quarter of the fifth century, before the steles of the seventies, is the standing Buddha, *A.S.I.A.R.* 1903-1904, pl. 62, 1; Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 9.

[47] Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 14; Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A*, sec. 161; Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, fig. 70.

[48] It is also possible that various stages of inhaling and exhaling are captured in separate works. The inhaling position is in accord with the powerfully accentuated figures of the first half of the century; the more relaxed position conforms to those of the following time.

[49] Sahni and Vogel, *Catalogue*.

[50] A. Foucher, *L'Art grécobouddhique du Gandhāra* (Paris, 1905), fig. 74; J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura* (Allahabad, 1910), pl. XII.

[51] Sahni and Vogel, *Catalogue*, pp. 53-9.

[52] Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, sec. 162.

[53] Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' p. 10, fig. 5.

[54] Cf. notes 11 and 12.

[55] Only the left half of the lintel is shown here. Cf. Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 7, where the whole lintel is reproduced, although in sections, and Kramrisch, 'Die indische Kunst,' fig. 280, where the right half is reproduced, along with the figure of Viṣṇu; also Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, figs. 71-78 for both halves, with details.

[56] Cf. Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' figs. 13a and b.

[57] *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 161ff.

[58] Kramrisch, *Calcutta Review*, 1923.

[59] *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1920-21, pl. 18c.

[60] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. 15.

[61] Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, sec. 176.

[62] Cf. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* (first published Heritage of India Series, 1933; reprinted Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981, pp. 68-9).

[63] Smith, 'Indian Sculpture,' fig. 3; Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, sec. 177.

[64] Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1930), pl. 46.

[65] Banerji, *Bhumara*; Banerji places the temple 'in all probability' in the middle of the fifth century; Sir John Marshall places it in the sixth.

[66] Smith, *History*, pls. 48-49.

[67] Cf. the fragment from Sondani in the Gwalior Museum; Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, sec. 173.

[68] Cf. note 28.

[69] Cf. note 27.

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PĀLA AND SENA SCULPTURE

INDIAN art differs in its development from the course of art in Europe. Every moment of productive activity in the West is usually the consequence of a previous moment. The effect of this is continuity. Indian art, on the other hand, repeatedly begins from the beginning. This, to a certain degree, was also the case in Europe when Christianity took over the traditions of classical antiquity. There, a syncretism, mainly Eastern in origin, found its way into the decaying mass of aged conventions and carried with it the germs of a new life. But the course of European art did not lose continuity because of these Eastern sources.

The reasons why Indian art 'starts anew' are explained both by repeated foreign invasions and by indigenous political developments and religious ideas. Dynasties rapidly rise to power, retain it for a limited number of years, a few centuries at the most, and are rapidly overthrown. Then, after a short interlude, events once more take a parallel course. A vaster spectacle than this, however, is contained within the Indian notion of time, in which the process of art is ultimately rooted. Man in his reincarnations, the gods in their avatars, *kalpa* and *pratikalpa*, Brahmā-day and Brahmā-night of the world, cosmos and chaos, creation and dissolution, all of them are varied appearances of a notion of time that does not take its straight course from the past to the future, but seems to oscillate between two points. This notion of time almost could be considered a spatial one. Its movement proceeds on a stage, so to speak, built up by imagination and reality. There it goes on without ever coming to a dead stop, exchanging and connecting one extreme with the other, a sort of pendulum, whose mechanism swings according to the ever varying impetus of life.

This peculiarity is rooted in the texture of the peoples of the country and in their manifold racial origins. Not only had the Aryan invaders found pre-Aryan races who themselves had been immigrants to the country, but even the mixture that centuries brought about between those Aryans and pre-Aryans was not fed from the same sources throughout the first millennium of the Christian era. On the contrary, repeated immigrations from the north had infused new blood during the earlier part of that epoch and had brought about those combinations

that distinguish the medieval phase of Indian culture. The influx of new blood suggested new trends in art; these in turn blended with the main tradition, itself already complex and changing. An ever-renewed fusion of trends and capacities on different levels again produced various levels. A progressive development from the primitive to the classical and from there to the baroque is unknown to Indian art as a whole and only certain phases, like that of the Pāla and Sena period, conform with this general rule. In spite of the uninterrupted chronological sequence and geographical limitation, the complexities of racial mixture and their expression in the artistic sphere follow general laws of organic growth that lead art forms from simplicity to perfection and from there through exaggeration to decay.

Indian art repeatedly seems to start from a fresh beginning; its monuments are conspicuous by their plastic quality, by a flowing connectedness of surface and depth. In the second century B. C. volume appears to lose its earth-bound and static weightiness. At this time, the tradition of the Maurya period (322-185 B. C.) loses its vitality. Its place is taken by the scrupulous narratives of the Śuṅga and Āndhra reliefs (185 B. C.-A. D. 225 approximately) with their demure figures, which in the course of four centuries become more agitated and more passionately modelled, but this style comes to an end after the second century A. D. But simultaneously, from the Kuṣāṇa period onward (20 B. C.-A. D. 226), the trend of the plastic development rises once more, its centre now being situated in the northwest, in Gandhāra and in Mathurā, whereas its radiations are noticeable in south India and in western Indian cave sculptures. This trend reaches its climax in the Gupta period (*c*. A. D. 320-600). It is characterized by its blossoming fleshliness and by a dignity in which metaphysical knowledge and spiritual charm equally contribute to the mature freedom and disciplined mastery of form. Inertia, however, sets in by the seventh century, and drowsiness lies heavily in every limb. New energies seek expression, and new schools arise, united by the impress of the same age, differentiated, however, by the varieties of races and their mixtures in the different art centres.

At this moment the Eastern school becomes tangible. Few of its productions dating back to this early period are known. The Buddha image from Beharail, Rajshahi, ranks with the finest specimens of the Sarnath school of the first half of the fifth century. The black stone pillar from Caṇḍimau is another East Indian contribution to the Gupta style. The colossal copper image of Buddha from Sultanganj has the individuality of a masterwork, whereas the rock-cut images of the same locality are carved in the current idiom of Gupta sculpture. No work of marked eastern peculiarity, of the fifth century, is known hitherto, but

sculptures of a high quality of the Sarnath tradition of Gupta art were worked then in eastern India.

The Paharpur finds, northern Bengal, have shown that in the sixth century the Gupta tradition then current was followed, although the quality of these reliefs is inferior. One of them represents the divine couple of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

However, there are other panels in Paharpur, of crude execution, but full of decorative beauty and lively action, the work of local men, scarcely earlier than the eighth century, illustrating the Kṛṣṇa legend. No other reliefs comparable to these are known but that their unsophisticated expressiveness and bold decorative quality are local features is corroborated by paintings of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1]—although these are of later date.

The seventh and eighth centuries are represented by a relatively small number of known images. A third group of Paharpur reliefs also belongs to the eighth century.

A vigorous gesture asserts itself in spite of a drowsy heaviness of form in the seventh century (Plate 2).[2] By the eighth century, however, in eastern India as elsewhere, the high tide of the Gupta tradition had subsided, little remained of its refined sensuousness and of its sensitive abstractions, and yet the peculiar quality of early ninth century work is still indebted to it.

A large number of sculptures date from the ninth century, when under the Pāla dynasty many devotees dedicated images. At that time its fame spread far, so that Tāranātha, a Tibetan historian of the sixteenth century, mentions it with praise. This school grew up in an age agitated by political disturbances and reached its height while Indian and Mongolian troops continued their invasions. During a relatively consolidated and more successful period, it enjoyed the possession of the art form it had built up—it was now seized by a slight stagnation—but coming generations finally stirred it up with a baroque luxuriousness. Invading Islam suffocated it forever.

The Pāla dynasty came to the throne with Gopāla, a soldier-emperor, about the year 750.[3] The preceding century, after the death of Harṣa, had seen the invasions of the Gurjaras from the west as well as of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Deccan, which, despite successful repressions by the Pālas, continued up to the middle of the next century. During this period the extension of the Pāla country kept changing; at the beginning of the ninth century it reached as far as Rajasthan; later on, however, it kept itself within the limits of the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal. The rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was dissolved toward the end of the tenth century; the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also were weakened, but now the South Indian Colas invaded Bengal, the home of the

Pālas (A. D. 1025), who were no longer rulers over the whole of Bengal; in eastern Bengal three different dynasties rapidly succeeded to the throne. This invasion left permanent traces. The Sena dynasty, partly contemporary with that of the Pālas, ruled over the country of the latter and occupied the twelfth century; whereas in eastern Bengal they held sway for a quarter of a century more; the emperors were the descendants, most probably, of a Kannaḍa chief of the Cola army who had remained in Bengal. In the year 1199, Bakhtiār Khilji conquered Bihar and Bengal. The followers of Islam smashed many of the extant images and left little room for creative power that would have been required for producing new ones.

The four centuries of continuous East Indian artistic productiveness cover a period of political unrest and belong to a country whose extension frequently changed. But neither of these circumstances touched the artistic vitality of Bihar and Bengal, for battles were an internal affair of the Kṣatriyas of the warrior caste, which did not essentially act upon the occupations of the other spiritually, economically, or commercially productive castes. Even in the case of an ethnically foreign element settling down in the country, as for instance in the case of the Sena dynasty, this only modified the trend of art within the limits of its hieratically fixed forms and of its own inherent impulse.

The home of the art of the Pāla and Sena dynasties is the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal; its most prolific schools are situated between the forty-eighth and the ninety-second degree longitude, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-second degree latitude, the present Chhota Nagpur excluded. A few images were occasionally exported outside these limits as royal gifts, for example an image of Buddha that was sent on elephant back to Lalitāditya, the ruler of Kashmir.[4] Apart however from such an accidental token of the appreciation of eastern Indian sculpture, the art of Bihar and Bengal exercised a lasting influence on that of Nepal, Burma, Sri Lanka, and Java. But this extension no longer can be called eastern Indian art, which acted as a seed only, placed into the fertile and ready soil of new countries, where it germinated in a familiar yet indigenous fashion.

Many images were dedicated under the rule of the Pālas and Senas. Dedicatory inscriptions from the time of the various rulers are known up to now on almost two dozen reliefs and fragments of reliefs.[5] Yet no image has been found with an inscription of any of the Pāla rulers themselves, for the Pālas had an itinerant residence, always close to the battlefield for the time being.

This already suggests that no personal patronage of art is to be expected from their side. Also the donors of the different images had no personal relation

to the work of art that was finally dedicated on their behalf. They were solely interested in the dedication itself, through which they expected to acquire religious merit. Nominally, this attitude remained the same under the Senas. They helped to revive Sanskrit literature, but at this epoch religious life was saturated with a luxurious worldliness, so that poetry as well as sculpture occasionally seemed to have satisfied the aesthetic taste of the royal patron, as for instance that of Vijayasena.

In spite of the religious subject matter, the art of the Sena dynasty belongs to the world and to the court and is replete with sensuousness. No artist of this period, that is, the twelfth century, is known to us by name, whereas the names of Dhīmān and Bitpāla, father and son, who flourished in the ninth century and had founded a school of sculpture, bronze casting, and painting, are remembered by the Tibetan historians. The name of the artist, however, by no means stands for individuality of artistic conception; that work only in India is extolled by fame, which rises above the rest by the accomplished quality of its craftsmanship. For the religious experience that underlies the work of art is anterior to its conception, and is moreover the common property of the initiated. The individual is just the channel, narrow or broad, through which it passes. Similarly, the artistic form meant to help it toward objective appearance is pre-existing with regard to the single work of art. It is chiselled or moulded by the master or his pupils under the guidance of a living tradition. This, with the most creative type of artist, amounts to a true inner vision and an identification of the self with that vision; in less favoured cases, however, the well-fixed tradition itself about the appearance of the image yields a solid and reliable framework with the help of which the religious experience is evoked in the worshipping devotee according to the rules that are familiar to the craftsman. But the image, even when fully visualized and finished, is not yet fit to fulfill its purpose of being worshipped and of leading to the desired salvation. It has to be consecrated first; then only it is considered an *arcāvatāra*, descent of the highest for the purpose of worship.[6] Then at the proper season, with appropriate *mantras*, songs, and ceremonies, the breath of God is breathed into it (*prāṇapratiṣṭhita*). Then only the work of art becomes the visible body, suggestively animated by the divine presence.

The images of the ninth century are mainly Buddhistic, but there are also Brāhmaṇic images; in the tenth century Brāhmaṇic sculptures begin to increase in number; in the twelfth century Viṣṇu images are so abundant that they scarcely can be counted, but images of the various goddesses are equally widespread, whereas Śaivite and Jaina images are less frequently met with.

The figure of Buddha rendered in the ninth century generally exhibits a satisfied and enigmatic smile, and a plump smoothness of stiff limbs, but a novel and manifold grace is infused into the Bodhisattva figures (Plate 14). Strangely enough, it reflects back upon the rendering of the Buddha image. A jewel crown and heavy, yet finely wrought, jewelry now become added to the saṅghāṭī, the upper monkish garment, and they cover the symbolism of the *uṣṇīṣa* and the short locks (Plate 18). Compared with the feminine and emotional grace of the Bodhisattva image, and to some extent with the image of the Buddha too, the goddesses appear either as their equal as graceful and emotional Śaktis, whereas others appear as mighty women; they are the mothers.

The main figures of Buddhism when it had become imbued with Tāntric views are those of the goddesses in their two-fold aspect, as Śakti, that is, as working energy, and as mother and those of the Bodhisattvas, with their girlish charm. But not only Buddhism, but all the religious systems at that moment were tinctured by the Tāntric view of life. A Viṣṇu image thus does not differ from the figure of a Bodhisattva in features or in composition; it can be distinguished by its position, only its attributes, and its accompanying figures. The goddesses, similarly, are differentiated from one another mainly by their names, which can be 'read' with the help of the attributes they carry (Plate 20). Śaivism, however, just at this moment invented two very pronounced types, that of the dancing Śiva in its peculiar East Indian version, and the united group of Śiva and Pārvatī, in the aspect of Śiva known as Umā-Maheśvara or Umāliṅganamūrti (Plate 54) familiar to the whole of northern India, but especially widespread in the eastern districts. Jainism, again, has its iconographically established types. They are neither animated nor transformed by any peculiar artistic experiences. They are just some more images executed in the form idioms current at the different periods.

The artistic conception, in spite of iconographic and sectarian differences which then had reached a climax of pedantic observation, remains the same, exactly as the religious experience in its Tāntric trend tinctures all the different sects. There are stelae, for example, with a relief on one side, representing Viṣṇu, and with another relief on the reverse representing Umā-Maheśvara. This may be looked upon as a widening of the conception of Hari-Hara, which unites Viṣṇu and Śiva, in one superhuman figure carrying both their attributes. Such a coordination may be attributed to religious eclecticism, but it will be better understood as the outcome of a knowledge, that considers all differences as names and forms of appearance of one and the same reality.

Facilitated by this attitude, one religious diapason, that of Tāntrism, became established under different names and with varying rites. The goal of the much-

discussed Tāntric cults is the intuition of the cosmic spirit, its throwing forth female energy and their final union, the understanding of which brings about salvation and bliss. The ways that lead to the goal are adapted to the temperamental and spiritual aptitude of the various types of men. Even actual union in the flesh may be resorted to, when its aim and condition are the absence of all passion. This sexual yoga as a permanent form of the world and its life is symbolized by the image of Umā-Maheśvara. While the god holds Pārvatī seated in shy happiness, his aloofness and imperturbability are to be seen by the vertical position of the 'ūrdhvaliṅgam'. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that to some outsiders such a group did not convey much deeper a meaning beyond that of conjugal happiness. Not only the Tāntric ceremony, but also the Tāntric images have lent themselves to much misunderstanding.

This typical group of Śiva and Pārvatī, however, is the more significant, because it is not meant as a representation of the god and the goddess, but merely as a manifestation of the god in his form as Umā-Maheśvara. Umā, in this conception, has no existence of her own; she is part of the god in his unfolded appearance. Compared with this explicit form, the other images of gods and of Bodhisattvas (Plate 45) appear as hypostasis of the male permeated by the female principle, and the images of goddesses (Plates 19, 20, 23) as hypostasis of the female principle itself. It is so manifold that the emaciated, grinning skeleton of Cāmuṇḍā, the pot-bellied dancing Parṇaśavarī, the graceful nobility of Tārā, and the brooding motherliness of Pārvatī stand side by side.

The female principle as creative energy, as potential all-mother, seems to be preponderant in these sculptures. But every image also (Plate 40) contains a complex mixture of contents, consisting of abstraction, obedient to fixed rules regulating the proportion of the image, of a sensuously soft modelling of the flesh and of an overconscientious precision in the rendering of the rich goldsmith's productions that clasp and play over the smooth fullness of limbs. The same qualities are shown by the images of goddesses and gods; as the god carries within him the female part of himself, so the image makes it visible.

The female element that rules over the sculptures under discussion left its impress already long ago upon the religious experience. The cult of the mother is known to the remotest antiquity of India. A sculptured group of the Mātṛkās, of the seven mothers, for instance, exists from the later Kuṣāṇa period (Besnagar, now in the Gwalior Museum). The conception of Śakti, or female energy, becomes tangible during the early centuries A. D. and is enlarged and deepened later on through Chinese and High Asiatic influences. The image of Tārā (Plate 7), so frequently met with in the northern countries of Buddhism, in the art of the Pāla

and Sena period, is utterly unknown in the south of India. Śaktism is not only one of the three main aspects of Brāhmaṇism (i.e., Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaktism), but having its roots in the most remote antiquity, in the course of centuries it filtered into Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism; and it is responsible also for the last phase of Buddhism. The first century A. D. in the life history of Buddhism was a turning point on the way to salvation—a turning away from the Buddha to the Bodhisattva. A religion of faith and devotion toward divine mediators who had voluntarily renounced their own salvation, replaced a philosophy of the ideal of personal nihilism. This deviation, that had begun about 600 years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Lord, once more, after six centuries, was reinforced and more and more directed toward Tārā and Śakti.[7] These, however, are the most conspicuous milestones only on a way, that, at the time of the beginning of the development, already contained the germs of some of the later stages. Such a phenomenon, however, is typically Indian. A section across the culture of any period simultaneously shows the most variegated trends of thought and possibilities of imagination; one or the other eventually surges into the foreground and leads the spiritual life for a certain period. Sexuality as a simile of the bliss of knowledge is emphasized already in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[8]

An attitude of this kind later on became the keynote of religious experience. The five steps of devotion, as prescribed to the Vaiṣṇavites, illustrate it well. The first step is permeated by *śānti*, by the peace that embraces the devotee, who, from the fearsomeness of existence, turns toward God. In the peace of his soul he now enters the next stage, where his attitude toward God is that of the servant (*dāsya*), while on the next higher step he approaches God already with intimacy (*sakhya*). In the fourth stage, he yields in tenderness and affection (*vātsalya*), and in complete dedication of his body he reaches the final stage (*mādhurya*). This attitude of religious experience, so strongly emotional, is kept in strict obedience; the details of daily life in their regular sequence are meticulously prescribed by *ācāra*—individual thoughts and personal emotions are thereby excluded. In the twelfth century this orthodoxy reaches the heights of pedantry under Vallāla Sena's *Kulīna* system of rigorous caste observance. Emotional freedom had given many new contents, to the last phase of Buddhism, but it finally shattered its foundations. As compensation the opposite was needful, that is, a new orthodoxy. *Bāuls*, *Neḍā-Neḍīs*, *Sahajiyās*, and other popular sects that had originated within the garb of late Buddhism after its 'extinction' were received by the Vaiṣṇavites. The reaction set in against such movements under the Sena kings, of whom some were followers of Viṣṇu and

others of Śiva, while the majority of the population, just as during the rule of the Buddhistic Pāla dynasty, remained within Brāhmaṇism.

The Buddhist images, of which large numbers were installed in the monasteries (*vihāra*)—Bihar, the country derives the name from this—are of the same type as the Brāhmaṇic sculptures that were worshipped in many large temples and small sanctuaries. The mood of the image represented always remains impersonal, whatever *guṇa* may be embodied, whether *sattva*, *rajas*, or *tamas*, however tenderly and roundly the features may be shaped, however rich the jewels, however full the limbs; grace or fury have the typical bearing laid down by the *śāstras*.

We may consider the character of these sculptures complex. It is consistent, however, for an exuberant impersonal experience is passed through by the experiencing individual in perfect tranquility. But this art never has been the art of the people, of which the majority remained within Brāhmaṇism, whereas the number of Buddhist images is very large compared with the Brāhmaṇic images.

Thus within these four centuries art seems to be produced organically, within a well-surrounded district, of which the limits and chief factors are the court, the cult, the prosperous lay communities, and the workshops. Its quality, as well as its limitations, result from this high breed. Every sculpture of this period shows at the same time a more or less petrified bodily form and over-sensitive gestures, a baroque upheaval of the plastic organism and a well-calculated accuracy in every detail of the linear composition. Similarly, the bodily appearance of the images, though sensuous, is not the outcome of an equivalent experience; it is not spontaneous but is derived from the knowledge of the corresponding formula (*sādhana*).[9] With all that, the temptation to look for the gods of the common people and for their images is great. They were absorbed, however, partly into the pantheon of the educated classes, and like Caṇḍī and Manasā were worshipped with due rites and were represented in the current art language. Partly, however, they forever remained excluded from this higher and officially recognized community. To represent them, nothing more was needed than a conical shape made of clay. It was worshipped by the women of lower pre-Aryan descent who had married into the higher castes, and in spite of frequent mixtures considered themselves Aryans.[10]

A cross section through contemporary literature is as intricate in its texture as one through the images. Ballads, for instance, as those of eastern Bengal, cinema-like in their dramatic appeal and simple diction, originated with anonymous authors belonging to the lower strata. They are far away from the style of writing, called *Gauḍī*, which Daṇḍin mentions in his treatise on poetry,

Kāvyādarśa, as a peculiarity of Bengali literature.[11] These popular ballads are conspicuous by a gypsy-like freedom and intense passions. They take place entirely on this earth and have no metaphysical outlook. Although dates cannot be fixed, some seem to have become well known during the Sena period. There are, on the other hand, popular songs of the tenth century in praise of agriculture that celebrate Śiva as the tiller of the soil and Pārvatī as the good housewife. These homely and naive tokens of the piety and the comfort of peasant life express an outlook considerably different from that of such later novels as Behulā or Caṇḍī. Although free from true metaphysical conceptions, the latter make goddesses human in their nature but endowed with some supernatural attributes—the punishing or helping powers that destroy or save human life—described with considerable sentimentality. Side by side with this popular literature, mystic songs were, and are, sung to the present day by the *Bāuls*, for example, that with a few words and similes suggest a spiritual mood. Of this entire popular literature, the language—Bengali—strangely differs from the art literature of the Senas, which, in a high-flown Sanskrit style, surrounds a few imaginative and graceful inspirations with cumbersome pompousness. The worldliness, almost frivolous, of the court atmosphere of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, breaks through the classical figures of speech, and both of them are surrounded by meticulous and stereotyped phrases. This mosaic of literary activity of the Pāla and Sena period is reflected in the entire artistic life and is compressed, so to speak, in every single work of sculpture. Frequently the most variegated trends are interwoven in one and the same image. This is due to the artist following the strict rules of iconographic tradition while working for a donor, frequently a man of the world, whose sphere of life, though inaccessible to the artist by caste, nevertheless lay before his eyes, while he himself belonged to the lower strata of the people, whose customs and notions were alive within him. The artist or workman, on account of his caste and profession, gathers within his person the upper and the lower layer of the contemporary civilization. The work of art thus becomes a repository of religiousness, tinctured by worldliness with its rich ornaments. It unites refined taste with homely sturdiness, and combines pedantic and uninspired formulas with the grace of a humanized vision of God.

When transplanted into a new soil this art, so comprehensive in its features, proved a great stimulus and provoked provincial and colonial art schools that variegated the language of the motherland by a vernacular of their own. Kashmir and Nepal were reached by land, Burma and Java by sea. Bengal, which today is mainly an agricultural country, at the time of the Pālas was the home of

enterprising seafarers. Considerable wealth seems to have come into the country that way, in spite of the harassing and almost continuous wars that were going on. An expression of this well-being can be seen in the names of men and women. The captain of a ship, for instance, is called Dulāldhan, that is, 'highly prized wealth', an architect Hirāmānik, 'diamonds and precious stones', a girl Kāñcanamālā, 'string of pearls.'[12] The number of images dedicated by the prosperous community in order to secure religious merit for themselves, for their near relatives and for all sentient beings, may be imagined, when the large number of sculptures is considered that escaped destruction—although rarely only mutilation—by the invasion of Islam.

In the ninth century, as mentioned already, the art of the Pālas already had fully developed features. Only a few monuments are known at present in Bihar and Bengal that date back to the period after the decay of the Gupta tradition. The seventh and the eighth centuries especially, as far as can be judged from a scanty number of images one of which only, the Cauddagrām Sarvāṇī bears a dated inscription, may be looked upon historically as the critical moment from which eastern Indian art, as an art school of its own, takes its start. Nevertheless, the connection with Indian art as a whole is not cut off, for, from now onward as in the past, the country is the common basis, while every province and within it every local school contributes its own features.

The common denominator of Indian sculpture is obvious in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The most conspicuous data are, to indicate just a few—the sculptures from Tanjore, in South India, about the year 1000, on one level with contemporary eastern form; the western and central Indian carvings of the eleventh century, corresponding to those of eastern India at the same moment, and similarly, the images of the twelfth century in the Deccan, which partake of the same exuberance that weighed heavily on the sculpture of the Senas.

Indian sculpture, however, in the various provinces during the eighth and ninth centuries, does not admit a common denominator of the stages in its development. The south, at that time, had proceeded on a straight line from the early classic Pallava style to the high classicism of the Cola temples. In the Deccan, too, the artistic movement went on without any significant incision. This was limited to the northern half of the country. For just then northern, and especially north-eastern India, shaped a form-idiom of its own. The awakening out of a rigid state, the growth and exuberance of this novel spirit will be traced in the following pages with the help of dated images, and illustrated by those of artistic significance. One generation takes over the tradition from the other and

adds its own vitality, scarcely perceptible to the casual spectator, yet essentially differentiated on closer scrutiny. Tradition thus goes on through four hundred years in a steady course without stop, but also without making any of the moments especially significant or graced by supreme artistic achievement.

Most of the sculptures are carved out of a black stone, frequently highly polished. It has been quarried in the Rajmahal hills in the Santal Parganas of Bengal. It is known under the name *kaṣṭi pāthar* and is found in two varieties—one coarse grained, the other of a fine and even structure. The first variety is a basic phyllite, mainly consisting of chlorite and talc, the latter a cericitized slate.[13]

Both, when newly quarried, are said to be relatively soft and easily workable. Exposed to the air they harden quickly and scarcely weather. During the earlier centuries, bulkiness and dignity were features of the images, and for this the coarser stone sufficed[14] as well as the finer one; later on, however, with an ever increasing accumulation of ornaments, and with features growing sharper and sharper, the finer stone was more in demand. In the twelfth century it was used almost exclusively, and its surface became wrought with metallic precision. It is, however, difficult to say whether these images were painted, or tinted with colour, as were those of the Gupta period. No trace of paint has been left on any of the images. That of the goddess Vāgīśvarī (Plate 19), in Nālandā, it is true, had been streaked with gold according to the inscription, but this has to be understood as an act of Buddhist worship, for to cover *stūpas* or images with gold leaf is held to be meritorious.[15] This devotional action, however, was free of any aesthetic or iconographic intention.

The metal images of the period are cast in brass or in *aṣṭa-dhātu*, an alloy of eight metals, that is, copper, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, gold, and silver in varying proportions; at times these bronzes were enamelled with a thin layer of kaolin or clay, green or brown, patina-like in its effects.[16] One small image cast in silver has been preserved, too, a solitary example of the gold, silver, and jewelled figures that in the course of time have disappeared, a prey of avidity. A special preparation of unburned clay may be mentioned, last, of which the magnificent head from Deopara, Rajshahi, is formed.[17] The material is extraordinarily light and elastic. It is covered and made watertight with the help of *vajralepa*, a decoction of buffalo hides.[18] A figurine carved in ivory (Plates 35, 36) and some wooden carvings[19] also have come to our days. The formal treatment is essentially the same in every material; it is modified with that minimum of variety which the texture of the different materials demands.

The large majority of the stone images are stelae, carved in relief. The small bronzes too are treated as stelae, the figures there, however, being

worked in the round as a rule. This setting results from a struggle between liturgical convention and artistic intention. The image made to be worshipped is turned toward the worshipper, and its back view is immaterial. Relief, therefore, is the proper style which the cult demands. It is peculiar, however, that *pradakṣiṇa*, the ceremony of circumambulation, did not favour images carved in the round. But orientation was the main goal, and the image has to face the appropriate direction, that is, the east generally. Circumambulation does not lend itself to aesthetic contemplation; it is a devotional procession around the divine presence which it has for its centre. The image in the dim obscurity of the shrine lost much of the effect that appeals to the eye. The devotee thus did not see the image in its reality; the vision he beheld of it originated from his knowledge of the divine presence. The artist, on the other hand, far from calculating the artistic effect of his work, was guided by the elementary principles of artistic form, whereas the more specialized features were dictated to him by the *śāstras*. One trend, however, he added quite of his own—the tendency to model in the round. This urge is inherent in almost every Indian sculpture but perpetually it is repressed, either by another aim, that is, to tell stories in a clearly visible connection, which is possible only by a relief treatment, or by canonical prescriptions of the *śāstras*. The urge to shape the form in the round fully comes into its own in the case of the *stūpa* and in the later medieval temples; in either type the entire body of the monument is nothing but a colossal sculpture in the round.

During the Pāla and Sena period, the relief becomes more and more independent from its background. The single figures modelled in the round, when seen in front and side view, are connected finally by struts only with the back slab. The figure of the main deity, even during the Gupta period, had almost been made in the round; during the following centuries this mode became the favourite. It was effected by cutting away the back slab around the outline of the figure, so that it ends parallel to it. The distance between back slab and figure is filled by air, which, according to the inclination of the rays of light, appears as a dark or light border that accompanies the figure of the main deity with its rounded limbs. The back view of the figure is modelled in a sketchy manner only, but garments and jewelry in full reality, multicoloured, golden, and silky, were attached and slung through, where limbs and body and the back of the slab have an opening, in order to heighten the joyousness of worship. But in spite of its isolation from the background, the effect of the figure remains flat and compressed into the surface. It is only in the twelfth century—at the end of the development—that a fully three dimensional sculpture comes into existence, self-assuring to the same degree, as that of the Mauryan period. Not only

figures of Garuḍa (Plate 48) meant to adorn the top of columns but also actual images, as that of Ardhanārīśvara, are freed from two-dimensional restrictions.

The tendency of modelling in the round comes into its own at the end only of this period. The plastic imagination, on the other hand, as far as the relief is concerned, is untiring in increasing inventions of creeper-like scrolls, flame and feather arabesques, cloud-motifs, and those graceful creatures that go by the name of kinnara and kinnarī, haṁsa, śārdūla and gandharva (i.e., bird-men and women, swanlike geese, leogryphs, and flying aerial spirits). They bustle about on the back of the slab in all degrees from flat to high relief. Most of the images thus consist of two plastic layers, some even of three strata. Complex contents necessitate a complex rendering even in the matter of mere technical treatment. That it succeeded in remaining organic speaks for the vitality of this art.

The chief medium of this sculpture is the human figure. Its typical feature is the union of abstraction and realism with its religious and sensuous suggestiveness. The male figure seems endowed with the graceful roundness of the female body, yet both the masculinity of the male as well as the femininity of the female figure are overemphasized. A new type of man seems to be featured on androgyne base. His shoulders are broad as those of the elephant, and his waist slender as that of the lion; contrasting with these peculiarities are the exaggerations of the female figure that enhance her almost paleolithic beauty of motherhood by over-large, round breasts and bulging hips. These features, derived as they are from actual appearance, abstract however, that is, unnatural in their exaggeration, were not newly invented at the time of the Pālas. They were, on the contrary, taken over fully developed from preceding artistic tradition, and though placed in novel surroundings, remained unchanged, being a constant expression of an attitude essentially Indian. A twofold process led to these abstractions. An inner experience of an erotic nature lies at the bottom. It is stronger than the impression of the actual appearance, through which it is excited. In order to express itself satisfactorily, this actual appearance had to be exaggerated when reshaped as art, in order to be on one level with the inner experience. This exaggerated form loses its reality of appearance; it becomes a formula and as such it is lifted even outside the range of the inner experience that caused it. The same process, however, that led from exaggeration to abstraction, can be traced also in the opposite direction. For not only with the help of exaggeration, but also by suppression, an abstract form is gained, and this, too, was used as a current formula. The skeleton, sinews, and veins of most of the figures are invisible, most of the gods appear as if eternally sixteen years old[20] and free from all worry; some figures, however, are conspicuous by

the portliness of a more mature age (Agni or Brahmā), some again, representing destructive powers appear as emaciated, mere skeletons covered by a net of veins (Cāmuṇḍā).

In any case, a typical imagination is visualized by a suggestive selection, whether it overemphasizes or whether it suppresses certain portions or constituents of the body. This tendency toward abstraction is based upon actual appearance and is strengthened by the norms of the cult. Canons of proportion regulate the relative size of the single figures of the image as well as that of each single limb, with mathematical objectiveness. Symmetry, repetition, and balance equally do justice to the prescriptions of the cult and to the artistic composition. But the dignity and suggestiveness of these images are attained not only by a typical or idealizing treatment. Together, and this is no contradiction, with this abstract treatment, soft fleshliness is also suggested sensitively. Almost within every century, one generation of artists at least, endeavoured to model the supple roundness of the flesh. Although realistic anatomy is suppressed, as has been said above, the limbs show such fullness, and their outlines are of such caressing roundness that, it may be said, the artist by yielding to the emphasis of blossoming and perishable flesh has grasped the eternity of imperishable bliss. The scanty garments, in order to show more of the body with its firm skin, were made transparent, clinging to every modulation as if they were wet and the jewelry in its hard, metallic heaviness was chiselled with utmost intricacy, so that the sharp play of light and shade, set against the broader and soft modulations of the limbs, enhanced their smoothness. The different types of jewelry are most accurately described by the sculptor, but this realism is not based on a joyous optical perception. It is the result of a sense of orderliness, of a conscious appreciation of wealth and of a caste-like self-assertion of the householder and of his property.

The appearance of the figures in this way belongs to a world, rooted in the spiritual sphere, yet supported by the smooth surface of sensuous satisfaction and proud possession. Their attitudes and movements also, though in a different manner, are the outcome of perception and imagination. The single figures are thoroughly static. If standing stiffly on both legs, the weight of the body is carried by legs without much articulation and resembling trunks of trees. This is especially conspicuous in the standing figures of Sūrya, Viṣṇu, and Buddha. There, the weighty massiveness of the lower part of the figure is emphasized to such a degree that in its solidity it appears to assert its existence beyond life with its changes, consolidated within itself, as a guarantee for the unshakable existence of God (Plates 1, 8, 40, etc.). The same effect (Plate 18) is attained

by the *vajraparyaṅka* motif, a seated posture on both legs, with soles turned upwards and resting on the thighs. Both these motifs are peculiar to representatives of the highest hierarchy of spiritual existence. Bodhisattvas, on the other hand, and their female counterparts, gods and goddesses, accompanying the figure of the main deity balance the weight of their bodies playfully and in gentle curves of a well-contented existence. This satisfied oscillation from right to left and back again, in diagonal correspondence (Plate 24, and the accompanying figures in 40, 51, etc.) at times becomes exuberant, expressive of an ever-growing sensuousness that, especially during the last stage of this period, in the twelfth century, overwhelmed the single figures. The sitting figures, too, of the deities just mentioned are more easy in their attitudes, squatting in *mahārājalīlā* or with gracefully pendant leg in *lalitāsana* (Plates 7, 20, 43, etc.), they rest in self-conscious gracefulness. But either attitude, whether rigid or animated, is the outcome of an experience of restfulness. Even such vigorous and seemingly active movements (Plates 2, 26, etc.), as suggested by the forceful *ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha* postures or by the three steps of Viṣṇu (Plate 28) or by the flying gandharvas, correspond to a state experienced in imagination and attributed as permanent character to that particular conception of the deity. An inner attitude is rendered as a state of movement with the help of a display of limbs. The representation of transitory motion by no means is attempted.[21]

The translation of an inner state of mind into posture is not the exclusive property of the Pāla and Sena period. The preceding tradition of the Gupta period in this respect, too, had evolved the essential norms, but it was left to the four centuries of eastern Indian tradition to exhaust all their latent possibilities. The same refers to the *mudrā*, that is, to the attitude of the hands. The extraordinarily varied touches of fingertips, the directions of palms and flexions in every joint convey a special, yet permanent, attitude of the mind of the respective deity. A deity may bless at the same time and threaten, with his hands; his multiple faces may express bliss and at the same time wrath. But the objectivation of the various qualities of the deity does not stop short with the differentiated attitudes (*mudrā*) of the hands. It is achieved also by permanent attributes, carried by the deity, of which the lotus of Avalokiteśvara, or the wheel, club, conch, and lotus of Viṣṇu may be especially mentioned (Plates 43, 50). The hands with their attitudes and the faces with their expressions, thus, are nothing else but objectified and visualized attributes of the deity represented. To a certain degree, this is the function of the body too. The wild aspects of the deity frequently are endowed with potbellied and squat

bodies, whereas their more frequent and peaceful appearance is graced with eternal youth and loveliness. Simultaneously with this spiritual suggestiveness the features somehow, although remotely, are conditioned ethnically, while the attitudes are dictated by tradition inspired by artistic grace.

The great abstractions and charming realities of which the single figures are built up are linked by a severe composition. It becomes more and more elaborate and is replete with all its details in the twelfth century (Plates 37, 38 etc.).

The stele is meant to be the throne-carriage of the deity. It is supported by a plinth, which, as a rule, shows several projections, and frequently is covered by a lotus scroll (Plate 45, etc.). In it are placed figures of devotees, of the vehicles of the gods (*vāhana*), and of the implements of the cult. On the upper surface of this pedestal lie the open or double lotus flowers (*Mahāmbujapīṭha*), upon which the deity rests. Frequently they grow on long stalks that are shown in relief on the pedestal. The depth of the lotus throne measures the space occupied by the standing or seated figures of the deities. Its back is the stele proper, suggestive of the back of the throne. The *prabhāvalī*, the halo that surrounds the entire figure of the main deity, is fused with the back of the throne and at times, in the earlier sculptures especially, the back of the stele suggests nothing but the *prabhāvalī* (Plate 10, etc.), with its border of flames. When, however, representing the back of the throne as such, the stele is richly decorated, and the decoration is the richer the later it is. Its full ornaments are the leogryph-motifs (*śārdūla*) on either side of the posts of the throne, the kinnara or haṁsa motifs above the throne-lintel, which frequently is terminated by makara devices. On it, generally, rests the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, the halo that surrounds the head of the deity. Above, to right and left, flying gandharvas display their alertness on cloud-motifs; the top of the stele, in the later examples (Plate 51, etc.) is made into a point decorated by *kīrttimukha*, the face of glory. The middle of the entire composition is occupied by the figure of the main deity in high relief. On either side, and correspondingly smaller in size, figures of the accompanying deities are placed on separate lotus pedestals. Frontality, symmetry and triangular composition are the inevitable rule (cf., however, a slight divergence in Plate 30). Within this linear scheme, the movement of the outline has only a relative freedom. Strongest curves are allowed when it accompanies the double and three-fold flexion (*atibhaṅga* and *tribhaṅga*) of bodies; but bows and fluttering garments, too, yield capricious possibilities. Yet the roundness and flexibility of the outline is never a factor by itself, but goes hand in hand with a corresponding plastic value, so that the entire slab appears in a rich variety of lively form, and the stele, as a whole, achieves its solemn and

luxurious effect by the large, smooth, and economically modelled surfaces of the bodies of the deities set against the curly exuberance of the back and plinth of the stele and enlivened by the lighter sound of jewelry tightly clinging to head, neck, body, and limbs.

The plastic group as a whole is set against the back slab. It hereby gains connectedness. Along the figure of the main deity, fully modelled in the round, the back of the slab is cut away sharply, and parallel to its outline. The open space between figure and background (Plates 32, 40, and 50) appears according to the fall of light or according to the colour of the wall behind, as a light or dark zone; it accompanies the outline and heightens its sharpness, while at the same time, by way of contrast, it accentuates the intermingling play of light and shade on the richly carved surface of the slab. But these effects scarcely can be considered as calculated, for the images, standing in the dim light of the shrine, could not become visible with all their intricacies. The effect, however, is there, not as a purpose, but as an outcome of the surety with which contents, whether experienced or merely traditional, were visualized. In rare instances inspiration graced the craftsman; norm and inner experience then became one and produced the masterwork, greater than all rules, but greater also than the single artist. In spite of the absence of a purely aesthetic appreciation of artistic quality, it may have nevertheless helped some impressionable souls toward an easier approach of the deity.

The single works of sculpture, by no means individual, fall into groups, mainly dependent upon time, and but slightly influenced by local tradition.

The few sculptures of the seventh and eighth centuries, that are known hitherto, in their formal treatment lead from the preceding Gupta tradition toward the form in vogue under the rule of the Pālas. The latter is conspicuous (Plate 2), especially in the relief of Durgā. A tender modelling of heavy bodily forms is inherited from the last phase of Gupta sculpture. Derived from the same source are the equal compositional accents placed on the main as well as on the accompanying figures and also the increased amplitude and flexion of limbs so as to suggest mighty movement. But these factors in the course of time have become over-emphasized. The moonfaces with their full and short features, the curly wigs, and the clumsy and simple jewelry also are of the same origin. The stone images from Barakar, Burdwan, Bengal are shown, though later (eighth century), in restful attitudes, yet replete with that selfsame boldness of composition.[22] They also are great in conception. The peculiar plastic scroll on either side of the images at Barakar further corroborates the early date of these stelae (cf. the treatment of the scroll in the earlier temples of Bhubaneswar).

A plastic and physiognomical type like that of Viṣṇu, however, has all the charm of the unexpected (Plate 3). The soft modelling has become compressed into a thin surface. The outline is sharpened and the relief in clearly indicated planes is graduated into depth, whereas in the former example, modelled as one unit in the round, it was set against its background. The accents are placed on the linear effect. The single narrow and rounded fillets of the jewelry and the *upavīta* are sensitively emphasized. The flat and broad face with its pointed chin has the form of a betel leaf, the long makara-like eyes rise from the root of the nose to the temples. The modelling of the eye is based on the oblique cut, which makes the upper eyelid appear lowered in a sharp angle. It partly covers the large and bulging eye-apple. The mouth is pointed into triangular shape, with corners raised high into the cheeks. Both these facial types, that of the Viṣṇu as well as that of the Durgā sculpture, are favoured during the following centuries.

Other sculptures that may be assigned to the early Pāla period (the eighth century) maintain the thinned appearance of the relief, just described, while at the same time the single limbs appear more rounded, although stiffened (Plates 4 and 5).

From about A. D. 800 onward some dated images are the milestones of an uninterrupted evolution. It proceeds between two extremes (which entirely depend upon the modelling), whether endeavouring to do justice more to the matter of stone, 'the abstract', or to the matter of flesh, 'the realistic'. In the beginning, for example, of the ninth century, fleshliness is more accentuated (Plates 8 and 9) and even within the more abstract type (Plates 10, 11), on the whole a relative softness is attained.

The beginning of the ninth century has bequeathed to us a number of images, especially some metal images found at Nālandā, some dated, others assignable to the reign of Devapāla. Compositions as that of Viṣṇu or the Avalokiteśvara group put into shade the work of the following generations.[23] An equal standard of artistic quality is reached again at the end of the development only under the Sena dynasty. The figures are modelled so as to suggest the soft texture of flesh and skin, an inheritance of the Gupta period. Yet they have become fuller and more earthly, their movements and expressions are supported, so to speak, by their well-being; sensuousness vibrates in their glances and in their limbs. Whether the figure is Brāhmaṇic or Buddhist, Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara, the treatment is identical; it has Tāntrism for its inspiration.[24]

Toward the middle of the century, the petrifying tendency increases however, and at the end of the century it ebbs down into mere extensiveness without zest and vigour. The stone images of the beginning of the ninth century, though they do not attain the high quality of the metal images, yet belong to the

same form-complex (Plates 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 29). In the stele of Sūrya (Plate 1), the plastic form appears as if embossed out of the surface, doing justice not to a cubical abstraction, but to an overemphasized fleshliness. This conception envelops the stele as a whole. For the latter is not articulated in an architectonic sense (Plate 7), but it is conceived altogether as if embossed (Plate 11) into rounded forms. The profiles of the three-lobed niche are of the same nature as the modelling of the Buddha figure, that is, widespread and of a sturdy heaviness. Minor devices joined with those swelling plastic masses at times have a capricious movement of their own. Thus stalks of lotuses and fluttering ends of bows are bent with pedantry (Plates 1 and 7).

A stiffening of the fullness of the modelling and its becoming coagulated (Plate 12) denotes the work of a later generation, in the middle of the century. At this time also the stele becomes divided into three main portions, and this division for all the future becomes traditional. The pedestal is separated from the main group, the background, moreover, is made to consist of a lower portion suggesting the back of the throne proper, and an upper portion, with maṇḍala, kinnaras, and kinnarīs and manifold other motifs (Plate 16). At the same time the modelling becomes more flat, and a more slender ideal of bodily appearance is chosen (Plates 6, 12, 13, 15, 16, 49). Modelling finally, as well as composition, becomes rigid, governed by an architectonic discipline (Plates 17, 18). With this stage, the end of the century is reached. The plastic, whether it favours a more rounded or more flat modelling, a more weighty or a more slender bodily type, invariably connects elevation with elevation in an additive manner, without leading to synthetic unity, for the depressions are without plastic force or value (Plates 14, 17, 18, 21, 35, 36).

This, within the fleshy type, makes the swelling masses appear of less articulate modelling (Plate 21), while in the more petrified type it resembles rounded pads, laid across the middle of the body, singly or doubly (Plate 18).

The evolution of the formal treatment is accompanied by a change and evolution of single devices. Certain motifs are leading at a certain period. This, however, does not exclude their full-fledged existence at an earlier or later period. From the surroundings in which they are found, the age may be assumed of the single sculptures.

The stele of the ninth century are rounded on the top. The outline varies from the rectangle with rounded corners (Plate 6) to the half round (Plate 10) and the slightly pointed half-round form (Plates 8, 11, 12, etc.). The border is either flat or slightly raised (Plates 6, 8, 10).

The garments, which in the main consist of shawl (*uttarīya*) and loincloth (*paridhāna*), have their folds indicated by schematic and parallel scratches or

ridges with a diaper pattern of rosettes or of lozenge shapes[25] (Plates 9, 10, 17). The ornaments are heavy; the single motifs, lotus scrolls as a rule, are linked together in the shape of buckles or of triangles (*purīta*) (Plates 9, 15). Hairdress and headgear undergo considerable changes. Goddesses and gandharvas in the ninth century carry a flat-round chignon on the crown of the head, figures of Sūrya and Viṣṇu a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, of prismatic shape at times (Plate 6), higher already than in the eighth century, when it was more like a fez (Plate 5), and covered with lotus scrolls. Its height is still more emphasized when it approaches pyramidal shape (Plate 8). The *jaṭāmukuṭa* again, the high crown of matted hair distinguishes Śiva and other deities; it either looks like a high chignon or else it is heaped up into a pointed shape (Plates 29, 49). Toward the middle of the century, the single plaits are intertwined in loops and fastened together. Toward the end they cover the head like a cap (Plate 14). The Buddha figures of this century that do not wear crowns have their curly locks of hair frame the forehead in a double curve, and they show a pointed *uṣṇīṣa* (Plate 11) on the top of the head, whereas at times the locks covering skull and *uṣṇīṣa* are contracted into a kind of pointed cap that terminates into a flame. At the end of the century the *uṣṇīṣa* is more rounded (Plate 21).

The facial expression after the earlier part of the century maintains a comfortably mild peacefulness in keeping with the general artistic conception, that does not betray any exalted state of mind. A spiritual state of being is transferred into the stone with equanimity. Tradition guarantees calmness. But as nothing is being added and nothing enhanced, this tradition, heavy and inevitable, seems to weigh upon as well as to carry along every single work.

Out of this calmness in the following period a new and mighty form arises. The tenth century starts with a powerful conception of the body, that in its wholeness is shaped with vigour (Plate 19). The additive manner of the preceding century is replaced by synthesis. A novel greatness lifts into significance the relief as a whole and every single part of it. The facial types in their features resemble those of the ninth century, but as a whole they are longer, although equally full as before. By this, the impression of massiveness is enhanced. The face is full of an earnestness that seems to have been condensed into pure and heavy matter.

This new conception on a grand scale subjects the slender bodily type too (Plate 24). At the beginning of the century a firm discipline of form prevails, with a slight tendency, however, toward petrifaction of the flesh (Plates 19, 22, 24, 25, 26). But this firmness is softened again, and the vigour is spread out into the surface in a sensuous and somewhat relaxed manner (Plates 20, 27, 30, 43).



Plate 1 Sūrya of unknown provenance, South Kensington Museum, London, beginning of 9th century



Plate 2 Durgā killing a demon, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 7th century



Plate 3 Viṣṇu, Rajshahi Museum, 7th/8th century



Plate 4 Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 8th century



Plate 5 Sūrya, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 8th century



Plate 6 Sūrya, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 9th century



Plate 7 Khadiravanī Tārā (inscription: in the thirty-fifth year of Devapāladeva), Hilsa, Patna, Bihar, Patna Museum, before A. D. 820



Plate 8 Sūrya, Rajshahi Museum, beginning of 9th century



Plate 9 Cakrapuruṣa, Kasiabari, Bogra, Rajshahi [?], beginning of 9th century



Plate 10 Crowned Buddha on the way to Benares, Nālandā, Bihar, beginning of 9th century



Plate 11 Buddha taming the wild elephant (inscription: in the third year of the reign of Vigraha-pāla [or Surapāla I]), Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, A. D. 820-830



Plate 12 The miracle at Sravasti, Nalanda, middle of 9th century



Plate 13 Buddha, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 9th century



Plate 15 Dhyānibuddha, Vairocana, Kurkihar, Gaya, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 9th century



Plate 16 Crowned Buddha, Muzaffarpur, Bihar, middle of 9th cen



Plate 14 Lokeśvara Pretasantarpita, Kurkihar, Gaya, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 9th century



Plate 17 First sermon at Benares, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 9th century



Plate 18 Crowned Buddha, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 9th century



Plate 19 Vāgīśvarī, Nālandā, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, A. D. 910 (inscription: in the first year of the rule of Gopaladeva)



Plate 21 Buddha taming the wild elephant, Bihar, formerly: Collection Nahar, Calcutta, end of 9th century



Plate 20 Syāmā Tārā, Dacca Museum, beginning of 9th century



Plate 22 Nairātmā, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 10th century



Plate 23 Aṣṭabhujapīta Mārīcī. Nālanda, Bihar, middle of 10th century



Plate 24 Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 10th century



Plate 29 Lokeśvara (Pretasantarpita or Sugatisandarśana), Bargaon, Nālandā, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 9th century



Plate 26 Vāgīśvarī, metal, Vikrampur, Dacca, Rajshahi Museum, beginning of 10th century



Plate 27 Varāha Avatāra, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 10th century



Plate 28 Viṣṇu Trivikrama, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 10th century



Plate 25 Viṣṇu Trivikrama, metal, Rangpur, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 10th century



Plate 30 Gaṅgā, Ishvaripur, beginning of 10th century



Plate 31 Aṣṭabhujapīta Mārīcī, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 11th century



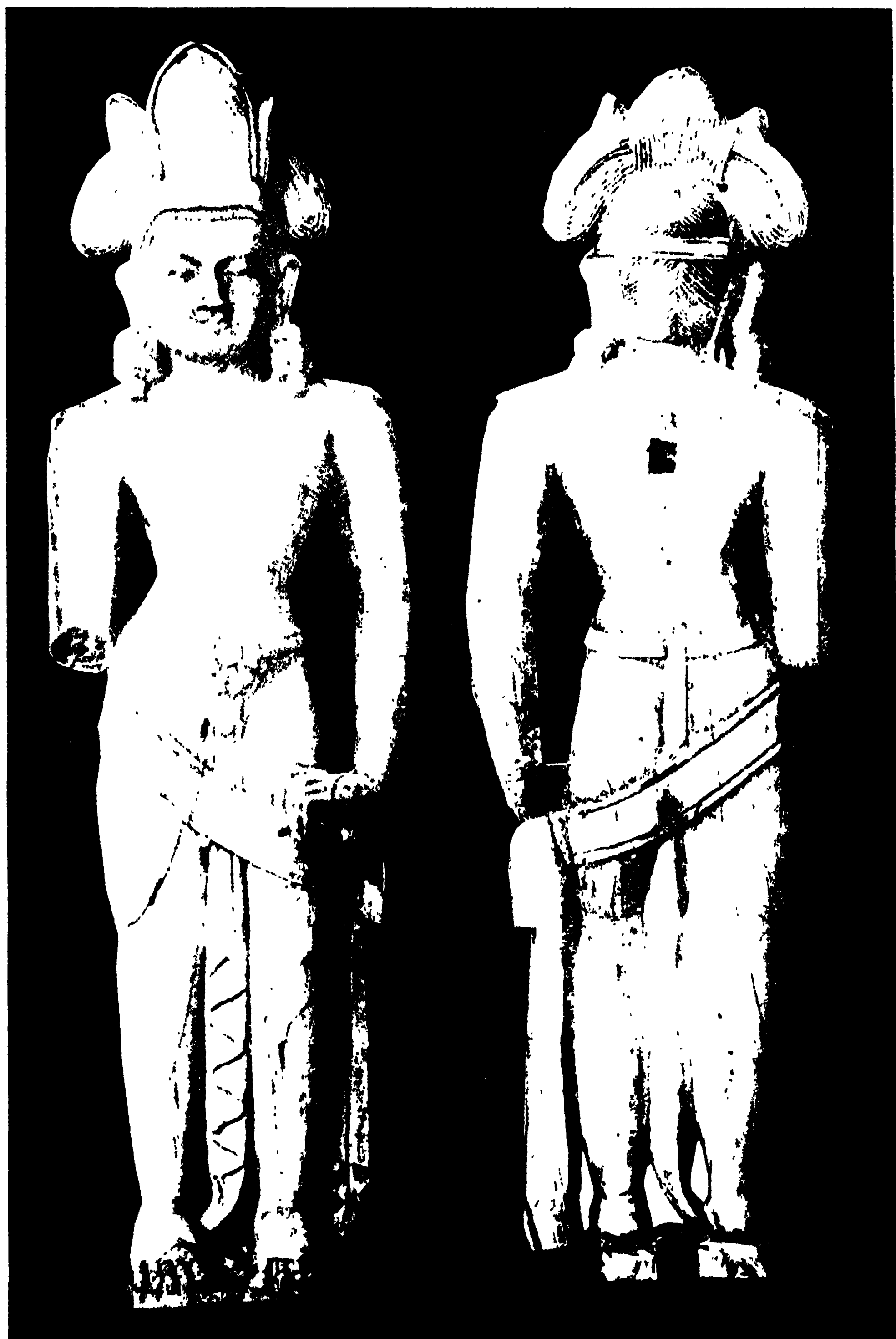
Plate 32 Sarasvatī, Chhatingram, Bogra, Rajshahi Museum, middle of 11th century



Plate 33 Sadyojata (?), Manda, Rajshahi, Rajshahi Museum, middle of 11th century



Plate 34 Sadyojata (?), Tanot, Rajshahi, Rajshahi Museum, middle of 11th century



Plates 35-36 Ivory statuette, South Kensington Museum, London, end of 9th ce



Plate 37 Sūrya, Chopra, Rajshahi, Rajshahi Museum, beginning of 12th century



Plate 38 Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, Colgong, Bhagalpur, Bihar, middle of 12th century

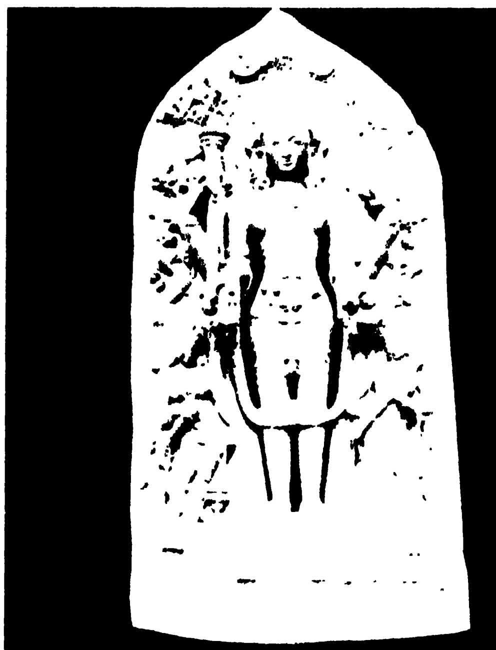


Plate 40 Viṣṇu Trivikrama, Rajshahi, Rajshahi Museum, end of 12th century

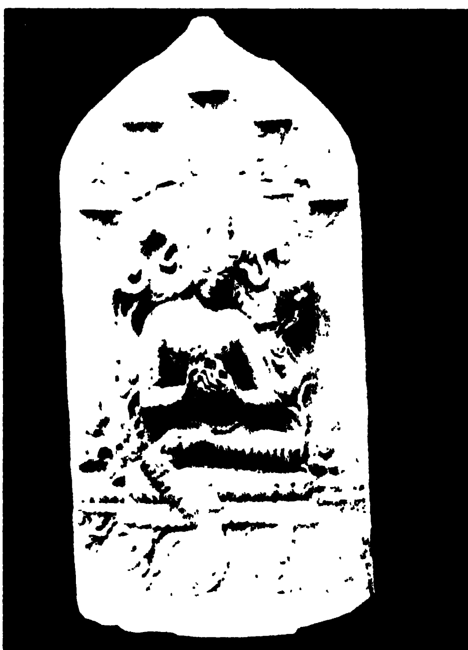


Plate 41 Khadiravani Tārā, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 12th century



Plate 39 Śaivite deity, Padumshahar tank, Deopara, Rajshahi Museum, end of 12th century



Plate 42 Betrothal of Śiva and Pārvatī, Chhatingram, Bogra, Rajshahi Museum, beginning of 12th century



Plate 43 Avalokiteśvara in the mountain cave. Kurkihar, Gaya, Bihar, beginning of 10th cen



Plate 44 Buddha calling the earth to witness. Tetrawan, Patna, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 11th century



Plate 47 Head of a colossal statue, Rajshahi Museum, middle of 12th century



Plate 45 Lokanātha, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, beginning of 12th century



Plate 48 Garuḍa, Malda, North Bengal, middle of 12th century



Plate 46 Sadyojata (?), Khetlal, Bogra, Rajshahi Museum, end of 12th century (inscribed)



Plate 49 Avalokiteśvara, Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 9th century



Plate 50 Viṣṇu Śrīdhara, Murshidabad, formerly: Collection Nahar, Calcutta, middle of 11th century



Plate 51 Viṣṇu Trivikrama of unknown provenance, Indian Museum, Calcutta, middle of 11th century



Plate 52 Sūrya, Katalipara, Faridpur, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta, middle of 11th century



Plate 53 Hārītī and Vaiśravaṇa, Deopara, Rajshahi Museum, second half of 12th century



Plate 54 Uma-Maheśvara, Dacca Museum, 12th century (inscribed)



Plate 55 Jambhala, Ghasikundi, Indian Museum, Calcutta, end of 12th century (inscribed on pedestal)



Plate 56 Jambhala, Vikrampur, Dacca, end of 11th century

These significant preludes, however, are followed by a new impulse of great power, in the middle of the century, that seems to distend the figures from within (Plates 23, 28) and to mould them into high relief, so that the limbs are pregnant with a threatening movement. This high tide now has reached its climax. The ending tenth and the beginning eleventh century see once more a stiffened outline (Plate 31).

During the ninth century the petrifying tendency had seized the soft fleshliness more and more. This process of artistic hardening prepared the consolidated vigour of form in the tenth century. The latter equally does justice to the matter of stone and to that of flesh. At the beginning of the century it is unfolded in grandeur and dignity, while in the hands of the next generation it becomes weakened through the enjoyment of its own existence, whereas toward the middle of the century an added emphasis vitalizes it and enhances its own inherent strength beyond its limits. Stone and flesh are heaving into majestic roundness (Plate 28) until finally the urging power relaxes, and the reaction sets in by forcing the stone into a stiffness of appearance, more rigid than ever.

The single motifs, up to the middle of the tenth century, did not undergo much change, except that the details of jewelry were more delicately chiselled. Toward the middle of the century, the *kīrttimukha* device occupies the top of the stele (Plate 28) which formerly used to be decorated by a lotus flower if at all, or by different devices. Hairdress and crown have changed too; the chignon of the goddesses is placed further down the head; the pyramid of the *kirīṭamukuṭa* has grown more elaborate (Plate 28); and the gandharvas now wear a pointed *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. The plaits of hair of the *jaṭāmukuṭa* now sometimes are horizontal, sometimes matted vertically and horizontally, while in some other instances they consist of single loops.

The beginning of the eleventh century takes over from the tenth century the broad vision, yet it makes it somewhat shallow and thin, and is not far from elegance and mannerisms. In Plate 31 a stiffening of the legs may be traced. They seem to have abdicated all elasticity, even though placed in a posture suggestive of movement and in this way from below they seem to communicate the stiffness of stone to the body of the deity. In this manner, every image contains the rigidity of the stone in the columns of the legs, while the upper portion of the body is invested with blossoming flesh whereas the round and fleshy face is made the receptacle of an expression suggestively spiritual.

The solemn grandeur which characterized the tenth century gives way to a conscious gracefulness by the middle of the eleventh. The bodily type has become slender and its significance too has narrowed down (Plates 32, 33, 34, 52). At the same time, however, accessories are made more

and more independent. The ornaments of the human figures and the motifs on the slab compared with the image itself, have an equal share in the effect of the stele, but frequently they surpass it by their spontaneous liveliness (Plates 32, 50). Soon they are on the way to become sumptuous and overladen; soon also the selfsame energy breaks through the postures and the limbs of the accompanying figures, while leaving that of the main deity untouched. An over-exaggerated and bent posture scarcely seems able to contain all the exuberance (Plates 50, 51), and the decorative devices in the second half of the century reach a voluptuousness hitherto unknown. The motifs as well as their technical treatment date back to the Gupta period. The motif of the scroll is cut obliquely, with deep shade in its hollows, into one surface, which in its turn rises perpendicularly from another surface (Plate 32), that of the ground, and is set into contrast with the dark shade that covers the latter (cf. later Plate 37). Feathers of the tails of the kinnaras, and the curly breadth of the *kīrttimukha* mask consist of the same motif and fill the throne-slab. The stele of Sarasvatī shows the juxtaposition, typical of the eleventh century, of bodies modelled elegantly, yet in a stereotyped manner, and of a richly decorated slab.

The relative slightness and gracefulness of the sculptures of the eleventh century toward the end seem to become burdened by heaviness (Plates 44, 56). Once more a ponderous bodily type replaces the slender figure, yet despite the stereotyped rendering, it retains a vague loveliness. Independence of ornaments, the flexibility of the accompanying figures, and the richness of the slab keep on increasing. But this wealth is that of matter; it is not the visualized equivalent of a great force. It must be stated, therefore, that the eleventh century most spontaneously expresses itself in the rendering of the decoration, which plays about, round iconographic conventions. The facial type, too, is enriched by a novel note, full of sensitiveness and pliability. The cut of the eyes of all the faces, whether egg-shaped, moon-shaped, or in the shape of a betel leaf, up to then had remained the same, varied only by iconographic prescriptions. Thus the images of Sūrya (Plates 1 and 5) have open and round eyes, whereas some other images are beautified by eyes long and with eyelids lowered, slightly modelled in oblique cut, and sharply set against the narrow slit of the bulging eye-apple (Plates 18, 24,30, etc.). The eyebrows hitherto had been rounded bow-like (Plates 14, 17, 20, etc.); or else they sharply rose from the root of the nose to the temples (Plates 3, 18, etc.). But from now onwards these feeler-like brows become doubly curved, bending once more toward their outer ends (Plate 32). The upper eyelid, too, now is accentuated by an S-like curve drooping over the iris (Plates 31, 33) more emphatically than before (Plates 9,

17, etc.), a mannerism of the Eastern school suggestive of moist glances. The lips always full, whether lying horizontally (Plates 14, 21), or raised in a triangle (Plates 8, 3), are now once more bordered by a narrow ridgeline, a peculiar convention, in vogue already in the ninth century (Plates 31, 9), and to be traced back to the Kuṣāṇa period. Corresponding with these ridges, the folds of the garments are treated (Plate 33). They are no longer incised as single or parallel lines, but are set as thin ridges against the modelling of the body.[26] This sensitive independence of the ridge-like line achieves its noblest results toward the end of the century, in the tenderness of the hem of the robe and the double curve of the feeler-brows of the Buddha image. Similarly, also the ornaments are further differentiated (Plate 56). A necklace, for example, is dissolved into single pendants or flowers.

Toward the middle of the century the goddesses wear a flat and high chignon, either on the crown of the head or at the side and more backwards. At times the chignon on the crown of the head is quite flat or else in the shape of a gable (Plate 33). But the latest fashion is a chignon of the shape of a mango or of a Phrygian cap, that either rests on the shoulder or projects from the back of the head (Plates 32, 50). The *kirīṭamukuṭa* now becomes cone shaped (Plate 52), while the very high *jaṭāmukuṭa* has plaits of hair undulating or intersecting in circles and crowned by a lotus flower. The gandharvas wear pointed *karaṇḍamukuṭas* with *purītas*, or 'Phrygian' caps.

The trend of the sculptures at the end of the eleventh century is retained at the beginning of the twelfth century. The relief now generally occupies three planes (Plates 37, 42, 45, 54). The composition keeps on growing denser and denser on account of the multitude and heaviness of the accompanying details (Plate 37). By the middle of the century, however, a wave of creativeness, conspicuous by a spontaneous power of modelling, seems to be carried along by its own fullness (Plates 38, 47, 48). The high-relief of Gaṅgā,[27] sculptured almost in the round, achieves a maximum of sumptuousness. The modelling, plump and tough and rippling, nevertheless yields a sharp and precise outline. But after this last climax there follows a final stagnation. Torpor seizes the sculpture of the Senas. Ornaments and folds, no longer artistically connected with the modelled body, rush over the image (Plates 39, 40, 41, 46, 53, 55). The movements of the accompanying figures, while exaggerated, are stiffened and so are the facial features. They are pointed, rigid, and drawn into length somehow. The architectonic threefold division of the back slab becomes effaced by a crowded disorder of clumsy scrolls. The volume grows more and more insipid and petrified. After the invasion of Islam, the little there was left of creative form died out, too.

Yet in spite of its lateness, the art of the Senas, which occupies the end of the eleventh and the twelfth century, represents the most significant phase of late eastern Indian sculpture. Its worldly exuberance lends an unexpected actuality to the religious theme. A stone inscription dating from the time of Vijayasena, found along with remarkable sculptures in the tank of Deopara in North Bengal, well evokes the attitude embodied in the sculptures. In the thirty-first verse of this memorial inscription, the poet Umāpatidhara describes the consecration of an image of Śiva:

> Instead of the elephant hide he gave (to the god) manifold garment of silk; instead of the enormous snake, he twisted round his breast a big chain of pearls; instead of ashes, he smeared his skin with sandalpaste; into his hands he placed a chain of sapphires instead of one made of seeds; the snakes he replaced by emeralds, the human bones by lovely ornaments of pearls. He decorated him so as to be agreeable to the wishes of him, who carries the skull at the time of the destruction of the world.

In the *Vallāla Carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, a story written in the sixteenth century but dealing with the Sena period, a sentence occurs: 'When waving the *caurīs* while fanning, they discovered their armpits and looked as if their hands were in a dance.' Similar in their mood are many Sena reliefs. The movement of the figures carries the entire charm. Strong bends are employed up to the last possibilities, until they seem to break in angles. But even in these figures, apparently so replete with movement, it is not of a transitory nature, but expresses a permanent attitude, exuberant in its tension.

It is possible that the lavishness of Sena sculpture was promoted by that of the Kannaḍa country from where the dynasty came. A direct connection between southern and eastern Indian art may be seen in those colossal images that were found in the Sunderbands recently (cf. one head in possession of Mr. P. Tagore, Calcutta). But the animation of the Sena images boldly contrasts with the inert and overladen heaviness of Hoysala sculpture. Its grace and sensuousness belong to eastern India.

The pliability of the body increases in the course of the artistic development. The standing posture, in the ninth century, was upright, or the weight was placed on one side only (Plates 1 and 6) and in exceptional masterpieces (Avalokiteśvara, Nālandā) it was of the slightest *tribhaṅga*. This subtle threefold flexion and balance was taken up in the tenth century. The eleventh century gave greater amplitude to it until in the twelfth century the sway became extended to its utmost limits. In this manner the evolution from the slight to the overemphasized flexion keeps equal pace with the ever-increasing richness and

liveliness of the ornamentation. It indicates the changing outlook of generations. The positions, on the other hand, of arms and legs, untouched by this evolution, throughout the centuries, by the sameness of their flexions and angles remain exponents of hierarchy, meditation, and grace. A singular exception to this is the attitude of sitting '*ardhaparyaṅka*,' a pose of ease, which, in the tenth century becomes spread out into the surface, wider than usual (Plate 20). The treatment of the limbs themselves, of feet, arms, and hands, remains the same almost throughout the centuries. The degree of sensitiveness given to the fingers, slenderness or plumpness of limbs, depends upon the individual achievement of the workman. The legs, it is true, in the beginning of the ninth century, with carefully modelled knees (Plates 9, 10), give an impression of greater elasticity than those carved toward the end of the century and, later on, when they grow more and more into the likeness of columns, decorated by an incised round line, where the stiffly stretched knee has to be imagined (Plate 21). Exceptions (Plate 24) must be ascribed to a slow adoption or to an anticipation of the leading tradition.

Just as it is true generally that the treatment of arms and legs depends upon the quality of the work and not upon its age, the treatment of hems and ends of garments, too, remains unchanged up to the end of the eleventh century. It is left to the single craftsman, to make the hem of the garment straight, to place it in large undulations, to show it frizzled or to make it plain or folded. From the end of the eleventh century, however, a frizzly hem is favoured. This is especially noticeable in the treatment of the *uttarīya*. Up to the end of the eleventh century, this shawl swayed in one great curve across the chest, or else it formed one undulation there (Plates 28, 29). But afterwards it becomes bordered by small waves, and the ends of the 'drapery' are arranged in single plastic and parallel folds, of which the ends form a rounded zigzag. But by the middle of the twelfth century the *uttarīya* not only is frizzly, but its hem is frequently bordered with a narrow flounce. Even the loincloth at times shows such flounces (Plate 46). Fluttering scarves in small undulations now accompany the figure on either side (Plates 39, 46, 53, 55).

The increased linear movement of the drapery and the profusion of ornaments no longer are connected organically with the figures. In a petty way they bustle over the body (Plates 40, 41, 53). But whereas ornaments and accessories exaggerated to the utmost, and having become almost independent, degenerate into an effete scribble, the postures of some of the minor figures become replete with spontaneous movement (Plates 41, 46, Gandharvas and attendants respectively). An elementary experience, against all iconographic prescriptions, full of vigour and freshness, sets in at last, just before the final

stagnation and only to be suffocated soon by the invasion of Islam. The facial type, too, of some female figures becomes individualized; not, however, by a portrait-like treatment, but by a closer approach to the actual type of women of the country, to which the artist belonged, than to an abstract scheme (Plates 39, 46, the companion figures). Even to the present day the round face with high cheekbones, a childlike chubby type, with some Mongolian admixture frequently can be met with among the women of Bengal.

Hairdress and crowns have still grown higher and more elaborate even than in the eleventh century. The mango-like 'Phrygian' chignon has slipped down the back of the head and towers above it, or rests on the shoulder (Plate 42). The pyramidal *kirīṭamukuṭa* is now very high and has an *āmalaka* on its top (Plate 37, cf. Plate 52). The *jaṭāmukuṭa* shows the accustomed types of carefully intertwined plaits (Plates 42, 45, 53, 54), a lotus bud on top, and flowers stuck into the loops of hair, but it is also embellished loose locks, curling capriciously and coquettishly. This way of dressing the hair has its origin in an ascetic habit, but is by no means inferior to any wig worn in the Rococo. The Gandharvas (Plate 39), as before, wear pointed *karaṇḍamukuṭas*, sometimes also a 'Phrygian' chignon covered by a veil (Plate 42) as that on the head of Pārvatī.

The worldly trend, that by the middle of the twelfth century had found its expression in an enhancement of movement, in the frivolous exuberance of jewelry, garments, and fashions of wearing the hair, may be noticed to some extent in the facial expression, too. Although under the doubly curved feeler-like brows the lotus-eyes remain unchanged, the voluptuous and curly lips, triangular generally in outline and smiling, transform the general expression; in the first half of the century it had been that of meditation, of listening to the depth of one's own being, whereas afterwards the smile becomes covered with the dew of contemplative enjoyment.

The art of the Senas culminates in the sculptures that were found in the tank of Deopara in North Bengal. It has to be assumed that an especially gifted artist who justifies the fame of the school of Varendra, to which Tāranātha refers, was at work there with his pupils. But at present it is impossible to point to certain centres of art with an outspoken tradition of their own. The reason is that to the vast material already known, many novel finds are constantly adding new information—the recent excavations at Paharpur for instance, or the find of sixty-five metal images at Jhewari, Chittagong, of which the bulk belongs to the tenth century and is peculiar through its 'Burmese' features, whereas other earlier 'bronzes' recall the style of Sarnath and of Nālandā; the individual craftsmen moreover just as the individual sculptures migrated from their centres to different destinations.

Some images, as the stelae of Viṣṇu and of Sūrya (Plate 52) have exceptional features, such as the angularity of the linear composition; but it is impossible at present to decide whether this is a local variety or a peculiarity belonging to a tradition of which examples may be found later on in other districts.

The sculpture of the Pāla and Sena period does not belong to the greatest moments of Indian art. Its merit lies in the local and chronological continuity of a large number of preserved images. A summing up of its entire evolution may be found in the oscillation between fleshly and abstract form, so that even the abstraction has a sensuous basis. From generation to generation, this process continues, safeguarded by a carefully followed tradition.

The first generation of the ninth century lends softly sensuous bodies to its deities. During the second generation, these stiffen, and during the third become still more severe and abstract, until at the beginning of the tenth century a new reality is given to the stiffened mass, the abstract treatment of which is replaced by a livelier form. With this transformation, the next two generations are engaged. The evolution in the ninth century leads from the reality of the flesh to that of abstraction. The tenth century achieves a ponderous, sensuous grandeur. The eleventh century in its turn works in a downward direction; it values cool regularity over the sensuous wealth of form, but in its second and third generation the sensuous perception grows strong once more, and celebrates its final triumph in the twelfth century. But for a short time only, for at the end of the century there are clear signs of the approaching end, with its inevitable rigidity.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Rūpam* (1920), p. 100.

[2] J. C. French, *The Art of the Pāla Empire of Bengal* (London, 1928) does justice in the early period of Pāla art, cf. fig. 1 with pl. 5, a work of the eighth century.

[3] R. D. Banerji, 'The Pālas of Bengal', *Memoirs of the ASB* 5, no. 8 (1915): 47-112.

[4] Cf. R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā* (in Bengali), and R. C. Kata, *Handbook, Sri Pratap Singh Museum* (Srinagar), p. 72.

[5] The most significant sculptures that are inscribed are reproduced in Plates 7, 11, 19 and in R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, 1st ed., passim. For other dated inscriptions see M. M. Chakravarti, 'Pāla Inscriptions in the Indian Museum,' *JASB* (1908); D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 88, pl. II; Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 61, 65, 77, 103, and 105; 'Bangiya Sahitya Parisad Patrika,' *Bengal District Gazetteer* 15 (1916): 13; and French, *Art*, Plates 2, 9, 10, 11, 20, 27, and pp. 11-5.

[6] G. A. Grierson, 'Gleanings from the Bhakta Mālā,' *JRAS* (1908), p. 627.

[7] Vajrayāna, the ruling form of Buddhism at the period under discussion, emphasizes in *Śūnya, Nirātmā*, the female principle, united with whom the Bodhisattva rests in eternal bliss. Cf. B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Oxford University Press, London, 1924), p. 16.

[8] Cf. also D. C. Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal* (Calcutta, 1917), p. 221; and D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature* (Calcutta, 1911), p. 63.

[9] For instance, Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 123, 82.

[10] D. C. Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 246, 267.

[11] Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 8; D. C. Sen, *Ballads of Eastern Bengal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1923-32); and Sen, *Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 246.

[12] Sen, *Folk Literature*, p. 67.

[13] I am indebted to the Office of the Director, Geological Survey of India, for the analysis.

[14] In several instances the earlier images were made of different varieties of stone, cf. Plate 3, and N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museums* (Dacca, 1929), p. xix.

[15] *Aṣṭa-dhātu* images sometimes were gilded, cf. 'The Viṣṇu Image from Gomilla,' *Rūpam* (1928), pp. 33, 34, 26; and the *Chauddagrām Sarvvānī.*

[16] The Rangpur Bronzes do not contain gold or silver. Cf. Annual Report, *ASI*, 1911-12. D. B. Spooner, 'Viṣṇu Images from Rangpur, Found near Dacca,' now in the Calcutta Museum (R D. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*), and S. Kumar, 'A Note on the Bengal School of Artists,' *JASB*, n.s. 12 (1916): 23-28.

[17] Cf. Stella Kramrisch, 'Grundzüge der indischen Kunst' (Hellerau bei Dresden, 1924), Plate 47. Terracotta plaques and figures were found in Nālandā and in eastern Bengal, but the large terracotta reliefs from Paharpur, with their lively and careless treatment, form a group by themselves.

[18] Stella Kramrisch, 'The Viṣṇudharmottaram,' *The Calcutta Review*, 3rd ser., 10 (1924): 15.

[19] In 1922 in the possession of Raj Pandit Radha Krishna Bahadur of Mathurā; Bhattasali, *Iconography*, pp. xxi, 273-74.

[20] Kramrisch, 'Viṣṇudharmottaram,' p. 41.

[21] The difference becomes clear in the case of the kneeling figures of devotees with their more momentous movements. This difference, however, is especially marked when the ritualistic stone sculptures are compared with decorative reliefs, made of terracotta and fixed into the walls of the *vihāra* at Paharpur, where the single figures with the full freedom of motion run and hover about, enjoy themselves, and cut grimaces.

[22] See French, *Art*, Plates 6, 7. Cf. also Tārā from Sukhavāspur, Bhattasali, *Iconography*, Plate 20.

[23] See French, *Art*, Plates 10, 15. The Sūrya at Caṇḍimuḍa, Bhattasali, *Iconography*, Plate 59, and the Lokanātha from Sylhet, Plate 4, belong to this period and maintain the same high standard. The Viṣṇu from Lakṣmaṇakāti, *ibid.*, Plate 32, belongs to the end of this century.

[24] French, *Art*, Plate 18, is of the tenth century; Plate 8 illustrates a sculpture that belongs neither to the art of the Pāla tradition nor to the eighth century.

[25] The robe of the Buddha images (*saṅghāṭī*) makes use of the same convention in order to indicate folds. In some later instances, cf. Bhattasali, *Iconography*, Plate 14, of the twelfth and eleventh centuries respectively, some goddesses wear either a short bodice (*colī*) or a longer jacket-like and tightly fitting bodice. They are marked by their hemlines only and by the pattern, if any, of the cloth.

[26] This treatment, too, is met with in the early ninth century. Cf. Plate 4.

[27] Stella Kramrisch, 'Notes on Bengal Sculpture,' *The Modern Review* 33 (January, 1923) : 62.

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* After *Exploring India's Sacred Art* (1983)

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MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE (DECCAN AND THE SOUTH)

INTRODUCTORY

THE name Vākāṭaka which occurs in an inscription at Amarāvatī gives the clue to understand the movement of the Vākāṭakas from the Krishna valley to the Deccan where they later ruled over a large empire. This gives us also a clue to understand the inspiration that the Vākāṭakas drew from the early art of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus from the Krishna valley. The scene of the Buddha overcoming Māra, one of the finest sculptures of the Vākāṭaka period at Ajantā, is a development on the mode of representation of the same theme at Ghaṇṭaśālā, which can be assigned to the time of the Ikṣvākus. The presence of Māra (Plate 1) at Ajantā more as the sweet Makaraketana (the 'makara'-bannered) is an innovation absent in earlier sculptures. The other motifs individually studied are also revealing. The figure of a dwarf with head on stomach occurring in the fourth period of Sātavāhana sculpture at Amarāvatī and again at Ghaṇṭaśālā in the time of the Ikṣvākus, is repeated in the Vākāṭaka sculpture at Ajantā, and thence the motif is borrowed by the Western Cālukya sculptors who have introduced it in the rows of dwarfish figures in the Bādāmī caves. The motif occurs again nearer its original source at Mahābalipuram in the 7th century A.D. and continues for a couple of centuries more. In the earliest Cola monuments, it is still a vital factor. This motif has migrated from the South through the Vākāṭaka realm to the region of the Guptas, as we find it occurring at Sarnath. More interesting is the fact that it has crossed the seas and found a place among the lovely carvings adorning the Javanese monuments which are contemporary with the Pallava ones that they so closely resemble in style and modelling.

Some of the terracottas found at Pondicherry which exhibit great grace in modelling approach, are the best of the lithic sculpture of the Pallava period. These are the only known examples of this category of clay work of the early Pallavas. Two fine large images of the Buddha and some others like Siṁhanāda and Tārā from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam should be assigned to the 5th-6th centuries A. D. They are later than the metal images of the Buddha found at Amarāvatī,

Buddhām and other places in the Krishna region belonging to the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. But they represent the best of metal work of the early Pallavas, probably that of Siṁhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahendravarman.

EARLY WESTERN CĀLUKYA

The earliest sculpture of the Western Cālukyas is from the Lāḍ Khān temple, the temple at Aihole and the caves at Bādāmī, which are all inspired by the glorious Vākāṭaka traditions noticed in the earliest caves at Ellorā, Auraṅgābād and Elephanta. The panels of Brahmā (Plate 2), Śiva and Viṣṇu with attendants at Aihole remind us of the best of Vākāṭaka work, including the dance scene at Auraṅgābād cave 7, the Saptasvara musical form of Śiva from Parel. (Plate 3) The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking doorways, represent only a continuation of the earlier Vākāṭaka tradition. The *pūrṇaghaṭa* filled with lotus decorative pattern suggestive of fecundity flowing out of the mouth on either side of the pot is an earlier motif occurring in Sātavāhana art which survived in later sculpture. The early motif of *makara* that develops floriated hind quarters along with similar bovine and buffalo motifs, even in the Ajantā paintings, is similarly carved in the Cālukya cave of Bādāmī in the 6th century A. D. The figure of Varāha rescuing Pṛthvī, already famous in the magnificent Gupta sculpture at Udayagiri (Plate 4), has been an inspiration for the carver at Bādāmī. When Narasiṁhavarman sacked Pulakeśī's capital, it is very likely that he carried away workmen from here, or the impressions of this cave were deeply imprinted in the minds of his own craftsmen who later carved the lovely Varāha panels at Mahābalipuram with the result that they closely resemble the Cālukya carving. Similarly, the Trivikrama panel at Bādāmī is repeated at Mahābalipuram. The head on stomach of Gaṇa, found in early sculpture of successive early dynasties, is repeated at Bādāmī and at Mahābalipuram. The long *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread), often *muktā-yajñopavīta* composed of pearls, which occurs in late Sātavāhana sculptures, thickens and runs over the right arm in early Cālukya sculpture at Bādāmī, and similarly in early Pallava sculpture also. However, the Pallava sculptor draws his inspiration in this as well as in the motif of the horned *dvārapālaka* more directly from that of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The figures are massive and decorative detail is greater here than in the simpler Pallava work. The drapery, tassels, waist cord and loops are sufficiently massive here. At Bādāmī as at Mahābalipuram, the *kirīṭa* of Viṣṇu is almost cylindrical. The matted hairs of *ṛṣis* are equally simple. But the bracket figures from the cave temples at Bādāmī are the precursors of the later Western Cālukya, Hoysala and Kākatīya bracket figures which are unknown in Pallava sculpture though rows of Gaṇas and geese are common to both.

ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA

The Śālaṅkāyanas, fervent worshippers of the Sun-god as Citrarathaswāmī, ruled from Veṅgī in the 4th-5th centuries A. D. They were responsible for a temple to this deity, ruins of which can be seen at Pedavegi near Elūru. A monumental image of Gaṇeśa, though badly mutilated, is one of the very few antiquarian remains of the Śālaṅkāyana period. Judging from the shapely couchant bull on the seals of their copperplates, we can understand how beautiful should have been the workmanship of the Śālaṅkāyana works of art.

VIṢṆUKUṆḌIN

The relationship of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins with the Vākāṭakas and their devotion to the Lord of Śrīparvata, the deity adorned by Prabhāvatī Gupta, the queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II and mother of Pravarasena II, are both significant when considering any influences in sculpture from Ajantā. It is to be recalled that the Vākāṭakas are mentioned very early at Amarāvatī, and hence were not totally new to the Krishna valley. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin relationship thus appears quite a natural event. It is therefore not surprising that some motifs occur in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory which are identical with those familiar in the Krishna valley, as the contact remained unruptured. Though excavation into living rock to produce rock-cut caves is as old as the 2nd-3rd centuries B. C., and among the earliest known caves are the Barābar cave near Gaya, the early Western Indian caves, the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in Orissa and the Guntupalli cave near Bezwāḍa, it cannot be asserted that the last mentioned monument, so near Mogalrājapuram, Uṇḍavalli and Akkannamādanna caves, gave the immediate inspiration for the excavation of these caves. It is rather the later ones from Central India like the Udayagiri cave, with the *dvārapāla* that appears to have been the model. But considering the type of pillars and long cell series in tiers in the caves at Uṇḍavalli, there appears to exist an abundant influence of the early Orissan caves as well. The sculpture in Mogalrājapuram cave is exceedingly good though much of it is weathered. The carved panels on the pillars of cave 4 are very fine specimens of work, as also the heads in the *caitya* windows at the top of the facade. The animals in a row above are full of life, the elephant with its expanded trunk and the lion with its double-looped tail in action. The curious animal in this group, half human and half animal, is reminiscent of similar figures from the Amarāvatī rail. The horned *dvārapāla* with the *yajñopavīta* running over the right arm and with heavy club, at once reminds us of similar Pallava figures occurring in almost identical cave temples in the Tamil country. Above the row of animals is a dancing figure of Śiva. In the truly southern style, we find even at Mahābalipuram, on the *Dharmarājaratha*,

Śiva dancing on *Apasmāra*, a feature repeated in later bronzes. It is not beside the Nandin as in Western Cālukya or Orissan sculpture or on the Nandin as in Pāla sculpture. Śiva has here however a number of arms holding weapons, similar to the dancing deity in the Bādāmī cave. There is thus here this northern element commingling with the southern tradition of trampling *Apasmāra*. Though badly mutilated, the figure is a magnificent one and a fine example of the blend of northern and southern elements. It is a figure from which some elements alone have been incorporated in the Pallava monument which became the parent of all later figures of this type. Yet another cave at Mogalrājapuram contains smaller *dvārapāla* figures of fine workmanship.

The caves at Uṇḍavalli, on the other bank of the Krishna, are also important monuments of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The lion with double-looped tail, repeated in the seals of the monarchs of this family, is represented here on a pillar, as also the *pūrṇakalasa* or vase which also occurs at Mogalrājapuram. It may be recalled that Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil attributes the lion and vase coins to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. In the Uṇḍavalli cave the carvings on the pillars are all very important as the precursors of some of the famous panels of Pallava sculpture in Mahābalipuram. The seated lions from the top of the storeyed caves at Uṇḍavalli are reminiscent of similar lion guardians of the gateway of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* and the predecessors of the lions guarding the entrance of the Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple. In fact, the lion doorways, *siṁhadvāras* as they are called, appear to have been a favourite with the sculptors from Andhra and Kaliṅga. The motif of Varāha lifting up Pṛthvī, famous in both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms in the Gupta period at Udayagiri, Eran and other places, has travelled south; the former type is found at Bādāmī, and its contemporary is the carving on one of the pillars of the Uṇḍavalli cave, though the Pallava panel at Mahābalipuram is a more faithful copy of the Western Cālukya carving. Narasiṁha's figure occurs at Bādāmī, Uṇḍavalli and in some of the early Pallava caves. Trivikrama (Plate 5) has a representation in almost identical form in the early Western Cālukya cave at Bādāmī, in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin cave at Uṇḍavalli and in the Pallava caves at Mahābalipuram. Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhana, so beautifully represented at Mahābalipuram, has its earlier representation at Uṇḍavalli. Here, some of the figures like the *gopīs*, carrying pots arranged one over the other in a pile on the head, are found in almost identical manner at Mahābalipuram, though the scene is expanded in this later sculpture. It is interesting to compare this theme with the sculpture from Bādāmī and the later panels from Ellorā. The Liṅgodbhava is depicted at Uṇḍavalli in a manner quite

different from that found in later South Indian representations, and reminds us of slightly later Western Indian and Orissan types. The Gajendramokṣa panel here is undoubtedly inspired by the famous Gupta panel (Plate 6) from Deogarh whose fame should have travelled through the Vākāṭaka domain.

EASTERN CĀLUKYA

In the 7th century, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana began the Eastern Cālukya line, and some of his descendants built temples worthy of their power, embellished with magnificent sculptures. Their temples at Biccavolu, including their huge monolithic Gaṇeśa in the field, are a lasting testimony to their aesthetic appreciation. A *dvārapālaka*, from one of their lost and forgotten temples at Bezwāḍa (Plate 7), bears an inscription on the back, in letters of the 7th century A. D. It is here recorded that the court sculptor of the Vegi king carved it. His companion, also probably by the same sculptor, is a noble figure full of life and energy. Bells decorating the long *yajñopavīta*, lion-headed clasps on belt and armlet, thick stout cord wound and going around the waist, beautiful ringlets of hair and an exuberance of ornamental detail, are characteristics of early Eastern Cālukya art. The Gaṇeśas of the early Eastern Cālukya sculptors have only a single pair of arms, a natural elephant head without a crown, and are colossal in size.

Eastern Cālukya sculpture, more developed than in the earliest stage, is best represented in the temples at Biccavolu. The Gaṇeśa (Plate 8) figures are peculiar and are developed from the earlier type. Naṭeśa dancing is more akin to the northern type of Narteśvara than to the Naṭarāja of the Tamil country. He has only four arms unlike the northern figures but he carries the *triśūla* which is absent in southern representations. The *catura* mode of dance is the favourite one here as in Bādāmī or Mukhaliṅgam or Bengal, and not the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose as in South Indian representations. Śiva's *jaṭā* is also more akin to the Gupta-Vākāṭaka type from the Deccan. The figures from the Biccavolu temples bear a strong family resemblance to the earlier Western Cālukya work from Bādāmī, whence the sculptors draw their inspiration, but local influence has modified their work considerably.

The later phase of the Eastern Cālukya art is characterized by a certain amount of formalism which is in contrast with the simpler and more effective and artistic earlier work. As the inspiration and ideals are the same as for early Cālukya sculpture the same style continues but the inevitable changes that time wrought in the Western Cālukya territory may also be observed here. Sculpture in a few temples of later date in and about Rājamahendravarman, in Gurzāla,

Mācharla and a number of places in Guntur and Krishna districts represent late Cālukya sculpture. In the temple of Siṁhacalam in the Visakhapatnam district some of the work is late Cālukya.

PALLAVA

The Pallavas were ruling from the 3rd century onwards as seen from their earliest prākṛt charters, and their kingdom included a part of the Krishna valley. Viṣṇugopa, the early Pallava king, mentioned as the ruler of Kāñcī in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, is given in the Pallava genealogy in the Vāyalūr inscription. The early monarchs of this line had indeed a large empire, but very little of their art has yet been made available for our study. The Bhairavakoṇḍa cave temples in Nellore district closely resemble the early Pallava cave temples in the Tamil country, and have to be assigned to the 6th century, when the Pallava king Siṁhavarman II or Siṁhaviṣṇu, possibly the latter, ruled. The lion pillars in this case appear to bear some relationship to the name of the king, and it is to be remembered that lion pillars occur again during the time of Narasiṁhavarman I and Narasiṁha II, alias Rājasiṁha, though later they became a common type and ceased to be of any special significance.

The cave temples at Bhairavakoṇḍa are guarded by *dvārapālakas* with a single pair of arms, some of them horned, and carved in a style suggesting great affinities to the *dvārapālakas* in the early caves of Mahendravarman I at Dalavānūr, Maṇḍagapaṭṭu and other places, while both agree in features like the peculiar head-gear horns, arrangement of hair in large mass extending on either side of the face to rest on the shoulders, ornaments, waist-band treatment, heavy club and general bearing. The Bhairavakoṇḍa figures suggest slightly earlier and more primitive workmanship, but as already pointed out by Jouveau Dubreuil, there has been artistic vandalism at Bhairavakoṇḍa and the lion pillar, lion-headed *caitya* windows, in fact quite an amount of earlier work has been ruined by later sculptors who have tried to improve the existing carving. Between temples No. 1 and 2, are letters in early Pallava Grantha resembling those of Mahendravarman's time, giving the line *śrībrahmeśvara-viṣṇu* which we can understand in the light of Mahendravarman's inscription at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu. At this place, the *dvārapālas* flanking the rock-cut cave, as in other early Pallava monuments of Mahendravarman's time, are massive but human, with a single pair of arms, heavy looped girdles, wearing a peculiar headdress, sometimes adorned with horns, and stand, with their hands resting on heavy clubs and on their waist, or raised in an attitude of assurance or wonder. The thick *yajñopavīta*, often shown running over the right arm in early Pallava figures, is exactly as in Western Cālukya and Viṣṇukuṇḍin figures as

already pointed out. The peculiar cylindrical crown of Viṣṇu that has its counterpart in Bādāmī cave carving, the heavy drapery and thick waist-cord with prominent loops and tassels, and the natural way of carrying their weapons instead of as in later sculptures, are all special features of this early period. Indeed, the earliest sculpture of the Pallavas that is lost to us has to be understood only by a study of the monuments of Mahendravarman and his son, the earliest surviving rulers of the Pallavas. It is clear from Mahendravarman's Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription—*etad aniṣṭakam adrumam aloham aṣudham vicitracittena nirmāpitam nṛpeṇa brahmeśvaraviṣṇulakṣitāyatanam*—there were earlier temples of perishable material, and Mahendravarman takes pride in introducing this new kind of cave temple, excavated in the living rock or carved as a monolith. The caves at Tiruchirapalli, Tirukalukunram, Kīlmāvilaṅgai and many other places contain typical specimens of early Pallava sculptural work.

The rock-cut *ratha*, the famous Arjuna penance group (Plate 9), the Varāhas, Gajalakṣmī (Plate 10), Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu (Plate 11), Mahiṣamardinī (Plate 12) and other panels as also the carving depicting Kṛṣṇa raising mount Govardhana, with a host of cowherds, milk-maids, cows and bulls (Plate 13) standing around him, are among the masterpieces of Pallava art of the 7th century A. D. at Mahābalipuram.

The Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, with a wealth of iconographic sculpture of great aesthetic quality, in style more advanced than at Mahābalipuram, illustrates the aesthetic appreciation of Rājasiṁha and his art-minded queen Raṅgapatākā. Unlike as in the earlier phase of Pallava art, where the sculptures are simpler, heavier and more primitive, in the later phase carvings exhibit greater detail of workmanship, lighter anatomy and more developed artistic finish. The sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl, Airāvateśvara, Mukteśvara, Mātaṅgeśvara and other temples at Kāñcīpuram are fine examples of this work. The Vīraṭṭāneśvara temple at Tiruttani has good examples of late Pallava work of the time of Aparājita, the last phase of Pallava art. The Pallava sculptures from Satyamaṅgalam are also fine examples of this phase of work. In all these, the noticeable features are that the form of the figure is more slender, the face more elongated, the loops and *yajñopavītas* slightly less heavy, the latter with fine clasp and ribbon-shaped fastening. The *kirīṭa* of Viṣṇu continues to be cylindrical, and weapons like the conch and discus, held on edge, have rather elongated flames, and appear above the hands, indicated in a position to carry them. The civilization of the time, life in the city, battles, horse sacrifice, coronation, election of the king, consecration of the temple and many other incidents, graphically represented in the sculptured panels on the

inner walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple, are excellent specimens for the study of the art of the period.

Iconography of this period of Pallava history is rich, and the different forms of *mūrtis* make a very interesting study. Among the noteworthy are Śiva in *ālīḍhanṛtta* pose, Ardhanārīśvara on bull, Dakṣiṇāmūrti wearing *ardhayogapaṭṭa* and others. Though there can be nothing that can approach the grouping of figures in the earlier Pallava art at Mahābalipuram, the groups arranged by the late Pallava sculptors are nearly as pleasing.

The late Pallava sculptures at Kāveripākkam represent a fusion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa elements in Pallava art. That the Rāṣṭrakūṭas invaded this territory in the 9th century and that their influence prevailed is known from inscriptions. The names of the Pallava queen Revā and her son Dantivarman, probably named after his maternal grandfather Danti of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, suggest the relationship that brought about the external influence in art. The peculiar lotus and lily garland *yajñopavīta*, lion-headed clasp for armlet and girdle, occurrence of a central loop, elaborate pearl decoration in the ornaments and other features are special introductions enhancing the beauty of the simpler Pallava sculpture. The *dvārapālakas* (Plate 14) and Brahmā from Kāveripākkam are exquisite examples of this late Pallava art influenced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa style.

EARLY PĀṆḌYA

The sculptured cave temple at Tirumalaipuram in Tirunelveli district discovered by Jouveau Dubreuil is an interesting and excellent example of early Pāṇḍyan work. The Paṇḍya cave temple is in style exactly like the early Pallava ones, the corbels and shafts of pillars and pilasters, the plan and other arrangements, being Pallava parallels in Pāṇḍyan country. The carved panels in the cave temple are equally interesting. The figures bear the same anatomy as those of early Pallava workmanship, the same heavy form, double chain, well rounded limbs, thick waist-cord loops, ribbon-shaped *yajñopavīta* sometimes running over the right arm, sparse ornamentation and so forth. All these features may be observed in the figures of Brahmā, Dancing Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Gaṇeśa figure is also very natural like the Pallava representations of the deity, the elephant-head so shaped as to closely resemble that of the animal without any trace of stylization so characteristic of later sculpture. In the arrangement of the matted hair of Śiva or the crown of Viṣṇu, in the mode of holding weapons and the peculiar characteristics of the weapons themselves, the heavy drapery and tassels, early Pallava and Pāṇḍyan sculptures show close similarity. If the form of Naṭeśa on the Dharmarājaratha at Mahābalipuram, like the figure on the

facade of the cave at Mogalrājapuram, has contributed to the beautiful concept of this magnificent dancing figure, so characteristic of early Cola work, the Pāṇḍyan figure from Tirumalaipuram has also contributed in no small measure its quota towards it. The *dvārapālakas*' figures in this cave are equally interesting and come close to similar figures in Pallava caves.

At Kalugumalai there is a magnificent monolithic temple of about the 9th century wherein are to be found some of the most beautiful carvings of early medieval South India. The Gaṇas, Nandis, Śiva, Pārvatī, and other figures of deities, conceived and executed by the sculptors with great taste, discrimination and restraint, are excellent specimens of Pāṇḍyan work. Very close to this monolithic temple, there are carvings on a boulder which include a striking representation of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha flanked by Padmāvatī and Yakṣa. (Plate 15)

In another cave at Tirupparaṅkunram near Madurai, there are early carvings which have been plastered over and ruined, though, fortunately, one large panel of dancing Śiva with Devī watching the dance, in the company of the Gaṇas and Nandi (Plate 16), is perfectly well preserved, and is a great masterpiece of early Pāṇḍyan art. There are similar other caves at Pillaiyārpaṭṭi and other places which have all fine examples of this phase of Pāṇḍyan art.

EARLY CERA

Among the earliest Cera monuments is the rock-cut cave of Kaviyūr near Tiruvallara in the former Travancore State. The architectural features of this rock cave recall the early Pallava ones at Māmandūr, Pallāvaram, Sīyamaṅgalam, Mahendravāḍi, Tiruchirapalli, etc. The *dvārapālakas* in this cave are like similar early Pallava figures, particularly the one to the left of the entrance that is almost similar to the door-keeper similarly guarding the entrance in the Tiruchirapalli cave. He leans heavily on the huge club which is entwined by a cobra.

A further step in the development of sculpture in the Cera country can be seen in the figures carved in relief on either side of the entrance of the Viliñjam cave, ten miles south of Trivandrum. The dancing figure of Śiva and Devī beside him are typical of eighth-century work, and resemble late Pallava carving of contemporary date in the area around South and North Arcot and Chingleput districts. The tiaras of the god and the goddess, the facial features and the general contour of the figures are all very characteristic of sculpture of the eighth century A. D. A stone image of Viṣṇu at Kurathiyāra (Darśanaṁkoppu) is characteristic of sculpture corresponding to the latest phase of Pallava art bordering on early Cola work in the 8th century A. D. The heavy tassels and

loops, though present, show a tendency to ornateness. The fan-like arrangement of folds of one end of the under-garment to the left, immediately above the waist-cord, the thick broad sacred thread with ornamental knob with a single strand lost under the tassels and garment and appearing again just near the right ankle, the hands in *kartarīmukha* with weapons just placed above the two fingers, the discus on edge—all these are noteworthy characteristics. Of the same date is the *dvārapālaka* unearthed at Viliñjam, and represents the usual door-keeper with a single pair of arms, one of which is in the attitude of wonder, the other suggesting defiance. The bells on the sacred thread and the central tassel of the under-garment and a certain richness of decoration suggests some Cālukya influence as well. But in the main the type is akin to that of early Cola. The decorative element in this figure and in that of the Viṣṇu already mentioned forms the precursor of that elaborated ornamentation that forms such a characteristic feature of later Kerala art as seen in wooden carvings and paintings. Caryatid dwarfs under *gomukha* gargoyles called *oruntāṅgi*, like the ones from some early temples in Cochin as from Peruvanam, recall similar figure under the gargoyle in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr, representing excellent early Cola work. A broken Viṣṇu in late Pallava style found at Talakkaṭ near Iriñjālakkuḍu in Cochin, the Buddha images from Bharaṇikkāni, Murudūrkulaṅgarai, and Jaina figures cut on the face of the rock at Chitaral in Travancore, are fine examples of early Cola art.

COLA

The earliest Cola temples, rather small structures, represent the first phase of Cola art. The sculpture of the earlier phase shows great skill in the arrangement of the general disposition of figures, a grace in the contours of the limbs, flexions and pleasing poses and a certain naturalness, all of which add charm to the work. The figures are more slender and the anatomy lighter as in the latest phase of Pallava art; the figures are definitely taller and ornamentation more delicate and intricate, though restrained. The faces are yet elongated in the earlier phase though the features are even more pleasing than in later Pallava figures, and the somewhat rounder face that is so characteristic of Cola figures in general appears towards the end of the 10th century. The filigreed crown or sacred thread, necklet, fine lion-headed clasp of waist zone, lovely bunch of fan-like folds of edge of garment to the left above the waist zone, the folds and tassels of garment loops less heavy than in earlier figures, decorative patterns on garments occurring sometimes, all these are very characteristic of the earliest phase of Cola art, and they continue even during the Titanic age, the time of the

Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr and the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple. This grand style of the Cola monarchs Rājarāja and Rājendra represents the peak of this art.

The slender tall figures from the niches all around the small but beautiful early shrines in the Nāgeśvaraswāmī temple, the lovely *Dvārapālakas* in the Śiva temple at Kīlaiyūr near Tirukkovilūr, the beautiful sculptures adorning the Kuraṅganātheśvara temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr in the Tiruchirapalli district, the fine carvings from the Aivar and Mūvar temples in the former Pudukkoṭṭai State, are all fine examples of early Cola work. Some Rāṣṭrakūṭa influence is found in the fine early Cola sculpture from Kāveripākkam in North Arcot district and this blend of Tamil and Canarese elements of art is very interesting. The beautiful Rāma group from Vaḍakkuppaṇayūr consisting of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān (Plate 17), the Viṣṇu with Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī from Peruntoṭṭam (Plate 18), Naṭeśa and Somaskanda from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Plate 19), all in the Madras Museum, are among the most beautiful examples of bronze images of the early Cola school. The Somaskanda bronze in Tiruvālūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple and the Tripurāntaka and Naṭeśa images from the Bṛhadīśvara temple, the Gajāntaka from Nallūr are excellent examples of bronzes in addition to those already mentioned. The lovely carvings of Naṭeśa, Liṅgodbhava etc. from the outer niches of the sanctum of the Bṛhadīśvara temple and panels like Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti from Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram (Plate 20) are typical examples of the Titanic aspect of the Cola sculptor's art.

The Titanic art of South India is Cola art of the 11th century. The beginner of this new style in art was Rājarāja the great, and the most famous edifice raised by him is the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr. The temple ranks with any of the noblest in India, and if something to remind one of the glory of the pyramids in Egypt were required in India, it is to be found in this temple built by Rājarāja and the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple of Rājendra. These temples and the one from Tribhuvanam of the same age have huge pyramidal *vimāna* towers over the sanctum sanctorum. The huge *dvārapālakas* arranged on all the sides of these pyramidal structures are excellent specimens of early Cola art showing the Titanic nature of the conception and the equally noble execution by the early Cola sculptor. These peculiar *dvārapālakas*, the hugest of their kind in South India, have *triśūlas* on their head and carry the emblems of Śiva including a huge *gadā-cum-kuṭhāra* on which they rest one of their legs. Their eyebrows are arched and eyes bulge out. At the corners of the mouth are two

prominent teeth. One of the hands is in *tarjanī* and an upper hand is in *vismaya.* This *vismaya hasta* suggesting wonder is a peculiar characteristic of some late Pallava and most early Cola sculptures representing *dvārapālakas.* The *kīrtimukha* on the waist zone and sometimes on the armlets is also characteristic. The *triśūla* over the head of these massive *dvārapālakas,* as we find at the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr, Tribhuvanam and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram, is specially characteristic of sculptures of this period just like the horns of the *dvārapālakas* of the Pallava period earlier. Such massive figures are also found on either side of the entrance of the main shrine itself inside, and other good examples are from temples of the same date like that of Śiva from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras. The huge sculptures adorning the niches around the central shrine in the Bṛhadīśvara and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temples are excellent specimens of early Cola workmanship. Candraśekhara, Gaṅgādhara, Ardhanārīśvara, Liṅgodbhava and other beautiful forms from the Bṛhadīśvara temple niches at Tañjāvūr, Tāṇḍavagaṇapati, Gaṅgādhara, Naṭeśa, Madanāntaka and Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti similarly from Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram are among the masterpieces of this Titanic work. The huge images of Aghora, Kālī and other deities in the small perambulatory passage of the Bṛhadīśvara shrine should not be omitted from this list.

If there is a power and massiveness almost masculine about the Bṛhadīśvara temple and its sculptures erected by Rājarāja, the Great, the same massiveness is given a greater grace, a soft elegance, and a certain feminine touch which linger about the exquisite sculptures adorning the edifice itself at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram, a permanent glory to the great conqueror and ruler Rājendracola. The Tāṇḍavagaṇapati, showing beautiful flexions, with a natural elephant's head, chubby little limbs, is a dainty piece of sculpture. The Naṭarāja in one of the niches, though unfortunately broken, is an excellent specimen of the kind in stone. In the panel of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti the future of early Cola art is easily given a fore-taste, as some of the features, so characteristic of late Cola sculpture, appear here rather indistinctly for the first time. But the art on the whole of the 11th century is still full of the vitality and grace of early Cola art. Fine sculptures like Brahmā from Tiruvāḍi, the huge Kaṅkālamūrti from Dārāsuram, Gajāntaka from the same place and a host of other very lovely sculptures from the niches of the Dārāsuram temple are excellent examples of work of this period. To the same time belong the lovely sculptures like Āliṅganacandraśekharamūrti from the Mayūranātha temple at Māyavaram and some of the sculptures from Tiruvālūr like the elegantly carved dancing figures forming the decoration of the *gopuram* basements. Śarabhamūrti from Dārāsuram is also a masterpiece.

In the niches of the *gopura* and around the Chidambaram temple are fine examples of Cola sculpture, slightly later in date, but nevertheless equally beautiful like the earlier ones. Vṛṣavāhana, Kalyāṇasundara, Vīṇādhara, Tripurāntaka are some of the lovely sculptures from this temple. From the iconographic point of view, the sculptures from Chidambaram are as important as those from Dārāsuram. The *gopura* of the Chidambaram temple is rich with sculptures depicting all the modes of dance described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and as the heyday of dance in South India was in the Cola period, this important series of sculptures gives the most vivid picture and an explanation of the difficult *hastas*, *karaṇas*, *sthānas* which constitute important factors in *Nāṭya*. When we remember that one of the Cola kings, Rājarāja III, witnessed the song dance *agamāṅga* performance of female dancers at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and that the architect of the temple which was built during the time of Rājendra Cola I was the renowned Ravi, whose title appended to his name suggests his great popularity at the Cola court, obviously on account of his great skill vividly described, it is easy to understand the patronage that fine arts received at the hands of the Cola monarchs.

The portrait of Gaṇḍarāditya caused to be carved by his pious and noble queen Śembiyan-mā-devī in the Konerirājapuram temple, the figure of Rājarāja at the entrance to the Ekāmreśvara shrine in Kāñcīpuram, Śola-mā-devī, a portrait bronze at Kālahasti, and several other early bronzes showing Cola kings in devotional attitude, represent the activity of the Cola sculptor in the field of portrait sculpture. The numerous representations of Appar, Sundarar, Māṇikkavācakar and Tirujñānasambandar, though not strictly contemporary portraits, have yet the element of portraiture in them, and those of this period are among the best.

The sculpture from Paṭṭīśvaram, which represents slightly later workmanship, has all the features of later Cola art. From the middle of the 11th century onwards the weapons are almost invariably carried in the two upraised fingers of the *kartarīmukhahasta*, and the *śaṅkha* and *cakra* of Viṣṇu and Durgā show flames, the *cakra* itself tending to face forward. The *kirīṭa* of Viṣṇu, which in earlier sculptures is more cylindrical, becomes rather conical. The *yajñopavīta*, which in early sculptures was broad, sinuous and ribbon-shaped now separates into three strands of nearly equal thickness, to produce a symmetrical appearance. The *bhṛṅgipāda*, a tiny bell on the right foot of Śiva, appears during the period. In the sculptures of Paṭṭīśvaram and of later date all these features may be noticed. Bhikṣāṭanamūrti from Vuluvūr, Vṛṣavāhana from Vedāraṇyam, Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Kālīyakṛṣṇa from the

Madras Museum among others are good examples of late Cola workmanship, while the earlier phase is represented by such bronzes as the Somaskanda from Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram, Naṭeśa from Kaṇkoduttavanitan, etc.

Mention of a few places cannot exhaust the rich treasures in temples of this period that stud the Tamil districts comprising the Cola territory especially the area of South Arcot, Tañjāvūr and Tiruchirapalli. Kumbakonam, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tiruvalañjuli, Tiruppaṇandāl, Tirucaṅgāṭṭāṅguḍi, Valuvūr are among many places adorned with excellent sculptures of this period.

RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA

The most glorious monument of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is the Kailāsa temple at Elāpura or Ellorā. The conception and execution of this huge temple, by carving into a mountain to produce it without a flaw, is one of the wonders of Indian sculptural skill; and it is no wonder that this achievement is eulogized in the inscriptions of the dynasty. The carved panels in this rock-cut temple of Śiva are fine examples of the sculptor's art of the time and are executed in the Cālukya style. The characteristic features of the earlier Cālukya work like the oval *prabhā*, fine ornamentation etc., are retained but the figures here are definitely slimmer and less heavy than the sculptures of the Bādāmī caves; and the grouping of figures here is more natural. The lifting of Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa (Plate 21), the duel of Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu (Plate 22), Narasiṁha over-powering Hiraṇyakaśipu, Śiva's dance (Plate 23), are all excellent examples of early Rāṣṭrakūṭa art. It is interesting to compare the large elephant most beautifully carved at Ellorā with similar carving near the five *rathas* at Mahābalipuram and the elephants of Eastern Cālukya workmanship from Bezwāḍa, now in the Madras Museum. The high basements of these temples fully decorated with sculptural work are the precursors of similar work in later Cālukya, Hoysala and Kākatīya temples. Examples of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jaina art of the 10th century A. D. may be seen in the earlier of the two series of sculptures from Dānavulapāḍu now preserved in the Madras Museum.

WESTERN GAṄGA

The art of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ is best illustrated in the colossal figure of the Jaina ascetic Gomateśvara or Bāhubali at Śravaṇabelagola set up by one of the Gaṅga generals about the end of the 10th century A. D. The sculpture is in the Cālukya style, finely executed, and the face of the figure with the beautiful ringlets of hair, rounded contour and pleasing countenance is very characteristic of workmanship of the day in the Canarese area. Some Vīrakkal memorial stones of the time like that showing the death of Nītimarga, the Western Gaṅga prince or that erected to commemorate the valiant hound that died after

furiously fighting and killing a boar, both preserved in the Bangalore Museum, have good sculptural work supported by epigraphical evidence of date, and evoke the spirit of study of the art of the day.

NOLAMBA

The seat of the Nolambas was at Hemāvatī, where sculpture profusely adorned their lovely temples. Nolamba sculpture is full of ornamentation and fine decorative work. The style of Cālukya, the oval halos, clouds, canopies, trappings, etc. are very characteristic. The figures have a chubby face, dreamy eyes, full lips, rounded limbs and pearl-decked ornaments, the *yajñopavīta* specially being composed of many strands. The clasp for the *udarabandha*, *kaṭisūtra*, etc. the *nāyakamaṇis* of the necklets and the crest jewels are beautifully worked. The *dhammilla* of women and the *bhramaraka* ringlets kissing their foreheads are worked in the most artistic manner. The temple of Śiva at Hemāvatī contains lovely carvings representing this school of sculpture. Some examples of this work are also in the Nolamba (Plate 24) bay of the Madras Museum.

LATE WESTERN CĀLUKYA

With the restoration of the Western Cālukya line after overcoming the Rāṣṭrakūṭas about the end of the 10th century a new phase begins in the Deccan, under the sway of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The sculptures adorning the temples of the time of these later Western Cālukyas who ruled from Kalyāṇī are different from the earlier Cālukya ones at Bādāmī and Aihole as these are more or less in succession to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ideals. Unlike the earlier Cālukya sculptures from Bādāmī which are nearer the Vākāṭaka tradition, and unlike even the earliest sculptures of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, splendid examples of which come from the Ellorā temple where all the grace of early sculpture is maintained, these carvings of the later Western Cālukyas have greater affinities with the Hoysala and Kākatīya sculptures, specially Hoysala. The floriated canopy over figures, highly intricate, ornamental decoration, squat figures, very chubby limbs etc., as we find in the later Hoysala sculptures, have still a more natural touch in these sculptures that form the early phase of later Cālukya art, whence the former originate. The *bhramaraka* ringlets of hair wherever they are introduced are characteristic. The floriated canopy is not just a canopy above the head as in Hoysala sculptures but meanders creeper-like all around and beside the figure, as in the case of the beautiful bracket figures of the temple of Mallikārjuna at Kuruvaṭṭi. The waist zone, the necklets, armlets,

anklets and bracelets and the *dhammilla* though heavily bejewelled are yet not so clumsily heavy as in the latest phase of Hoysala sculpture. The origin of these bracket figures should be traced to similar ones in the early Cālukya cave temples at Bādāmī. The beautiful decorative element of this period may be seen in the developed form of the *makara* with floriated tail and peculiarly conventionalized body and head. In these Cālukya temples the ceilings are most picturesquely decorated with sculptures representing Śiva dancing in the middle and Dikpālas arranged all around in small and separate panels. The workmanship is elaborate and intricate, perforated windows with beautiful sculptural work representing drummers, flutists, singers and dancers show a development of similar themes with floral decorations from earlier temples as from Paṭṭadakal. The doorways are richly decorated with the forms of Śiva's dance, entwining Nāgas, *dvārapālas*, female figure counterparts of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in earlier temples, and other interesting groups of deities. The raised terrace of the temples tends to grow in height and it is decorated with fine sculptural work. All these may be observed in the Trikūṭeśvara temple from Gaḍag, Tripurāntaka temple from Balagamve, the Mallikārjuna temple from Kuruvaṭṭi, the Siddheśvara temple of Haverī, the Kāśī Viśveśvara temple at Lakkuṇḍi etc. The sculpture from Lakkuṇḍi still preserves the beauty of earlier Cālukya work, as also that from Haverī, Kuruvaṭṭi etc. The entwining Nāga couples, Saptamātṛkās, dancing Śiva, Mahiṣamardinī and other themes are often repeated. The *prabhāvalī* is composed of a group of arches issuing from *makara* mouth from above two pilasters on either side of the deity and is finally crowned by a *siṁhamukha*. The weapons and emblems carried by deities in this period are as highly decorated as the figures themselves and have decorated tail ends which continue in Hoysala sculpture as well.

EASTERN GAṄGA

The sculptural work from Mukhaliṅgam and the neighbourhood illustrates the art of the Eastern Gaṅga workman of this time. The features of the figures closely recall Gupta-Vākāṭaka affinities. The decorative ornamentations in which the pearl is an important factor has a very pleasing effect. The face is rounded and the *dhamilla* and *bhramaraka* ringlets of women are specially worked in beautiful fashion. There are fine groups arranged in panels, and the high basements of temples as well as the niches are richly carved with decorative patterns and groups of figures. Gaṅgā and Yamunā flank the doorways; a beautiful Nāgarāja holds a jewelled pitcher forward, through the mouth of which the water collected in the sanctum flows out; Śiva dancing in

catura pose (Plate 25), with a number of arms as in North Indian representations, suggests the Northern Narteśvara rather than the Southern Naṭarāja as source of inspiration. This art is rich in iconography and decorative ornamentation, which form its chief elements of attraction for its study. The lovely Nāga pairs entwining the pillars at the entrance of the Rājarāṇī temple at Bhuvanesvar and many similar carvings of dryads and nymphs show this delicate art of the Orissan school at its best. The carvings in the temples at Bhuvaneswar, Konarak and Puri are typical of this school.

KĀKATĪYA

The Kākatīyas of Wārangal, though at first feudatories of the Cālukyas, soon became independent and held sway over a dominion which comprised part of the Hyderabad State and many of the Telugu districts to the east. King Gaṇapati was a great builder, a patron of fine art, and was responsible for the great temple in Wārangal fort, the finely carved *toraṇa* lintel of which has attracted the admiration of all lovers of fine art. As the workmanship in the Kākatīya temples closely follows Cālukya traditions, there are many points of similarity between Hoysala and Kākatīya buildings and sculptures. The main arrangement of the temples and decorations is very nearly similar, but there are differences also which are but natural, as each area is marked by its own peculiar idiosyncrasies. The figure carvings in these temples are more elongated, less crowded with ornament, than those in the Hoysala temples. The bracket figures, carved screens and parapets, richly decorated entrances can all be seen here as in the Hoysala temple. The great temple at Pālampeṭ may be taken as a typical example of fine Kākatīya work. Like those of the Hoysala temples the *dvārapālakas* here are fine examples of this art. The terrace of the temple, though not so high as in Hoysala temples, is yet sufficiently elevated and rises on a platform, to afford facility for the visitor to examine the carvings of gods, goddesses, warriors, acrobats, musicians and dancing figures. The figure brackets adorning the pillars show women dancing in different poses and are executed with great skill. The figures, unlike the Hoysala ones, are rather slim, and though ornamentation here is not quite so profuse, the decorative element that is so characteristic of Cālukya art is also no doubt found in abundance here. The floral designs and figures of animals, mythical and real, the lion with looped tail, so common in late Cālukya, Hoysala and Kākatīya sculptures, are all interesting sculptural features. Scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life and from the *Purāṇas* and iconographic representations of deities form the theme of these carvings. In the niches of the temple are Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Durgā as Mahiṣamardinī, Gaṇeśa, etc. At Tripurāntakam in Kurnool district is another

beautiful temple built by the Kākatīyas. The sculptural work here is of a high order, and one of the sculptures from this temple representing Mahiṣamardinī (Plate 26), now in the Madras Museum, is a good example of Kākatīya work.

HOYSALA

The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, who were at first the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas, became independent early in the 12th century. Bittiga Viṣṇuvardhana who was converted by Rāmānuja became a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu and erected temples which are among the most glorious representing Hoysala workmanship. The temples at Belur, Halebid, Somnathpur etc. are but a few of the numerous edifices raised by Hoysala kings in the area of Western Mysore. The terraces of the Hoysala temples are exceedingly high and are fully carved with different iconographic forms of deities, floral designs, scenes from the *Purāṇas*, dancing figures and other themes like cavaliers, elephant-and camel-riders, etc., and animals and birds, real and mythical. The decorative skill of these sculptors is very high, and all available space is used for introducing some new pattern or other. Every figure and scene has a base below and a floriated canopy above. The figures are somewhat short, fat, richly bejewelled, rather dull-looking and heavy. The weapons carried by deities are also decorated with tassels and tails. The crown is generally composed of a number of horizontal patterns with vertical bands. Similar arrangement may be seen in the decoration of bracelets and anklets. Bracket figures from the pillars carved most carefully show dancers, drummers and musicians in different attitudes of music and dance, and they are among the most attractive features of Hoysala temples. Sculpture from the Somnathpur temple is no doubt interesting, but it is from Halebid and Belur that the finest specimens of Hoysala sculpture come. In Nuggihalli, Arsikere, Doḍḍagaḍḍavalli and several other places there are similar temples but the cream of Hoysala art may be observed at Belur and Halebid. One of the earliest temples of the Hoysalas is the beautiful one of Keśava at Belur erected by Viṣṇuvardhana and his queen Sāntalā. This is richly sculptured. Among the three entrances of the central hall or *navaraṅga* (Plates 27a, 27b) leading to the sanctum through the vestibule, the one to the east is specially noteworthy for the fine *makara toraṇa* crowning the gateway and Rati and Manmatha guarding it. On all the three sides of the *navaraṅga* which is a pillared hall there are perforated screens beautifully decorated with sculptural work. Immediately below this a small parapet richly decorated with friezes of elephants and lions, scroll work, delicately carved figures of dancers, etc., runs all the length. Scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are also included in these decorative friezes. Two court scenes carved here are

MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE (DECCAN AND THE SOUTH)

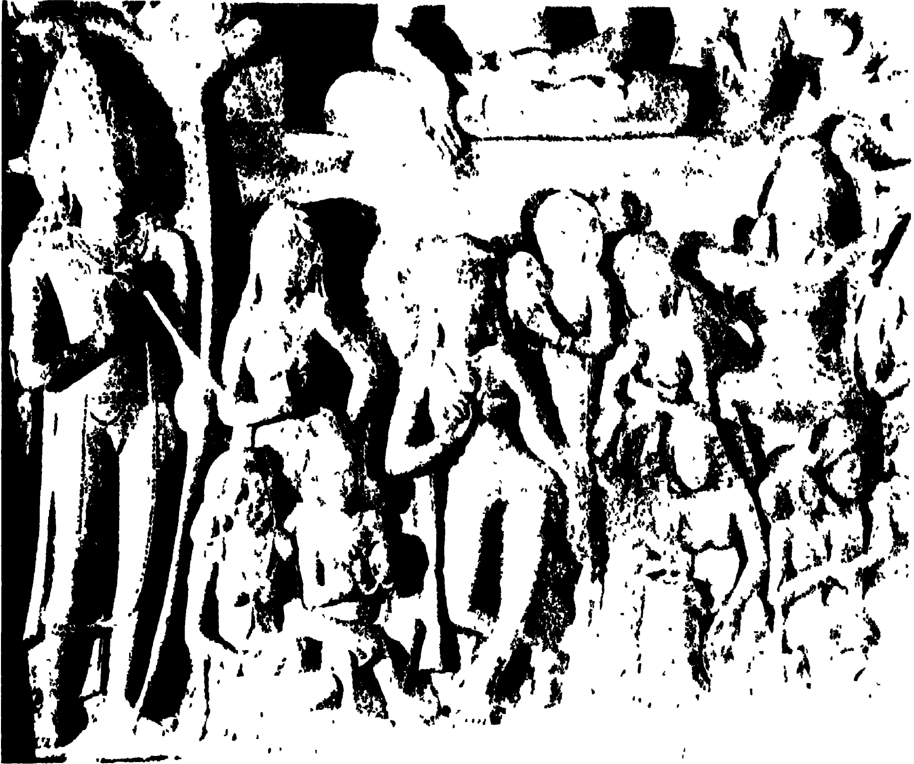


Plate 1 The Temptation of Buddha, Vakaṭaka, Cave XXVI, Ajantā, 5th century A D



Plate 2 Brahmā adored by *ṛṣis*, Aihole, 6th century A. D.



Plate 3 Saptasvaramaya Śiva, Vākāṭaka, Parel, 5th century A. D.



Plate 4 Viṣṇu as the Cosmic Boar, rescues the Goddess Earth, Udayagiri, c. 400 A. D.



Plate 5 Viṣṇu Trivikrama. Bādāmī. c. 578 A. D



Plate 6 Gajendramokṣada. Deogarh. 5th century A. D



Plate 7 *Dvārapālaka* from Bezwāḍa, South India, early eastern Cālukyan sculpture of 7th century A. D.



Plate 8 Gaṇeśa, eastern Cālukya, Biccavolu, Godāvarī, 8th century A. D.

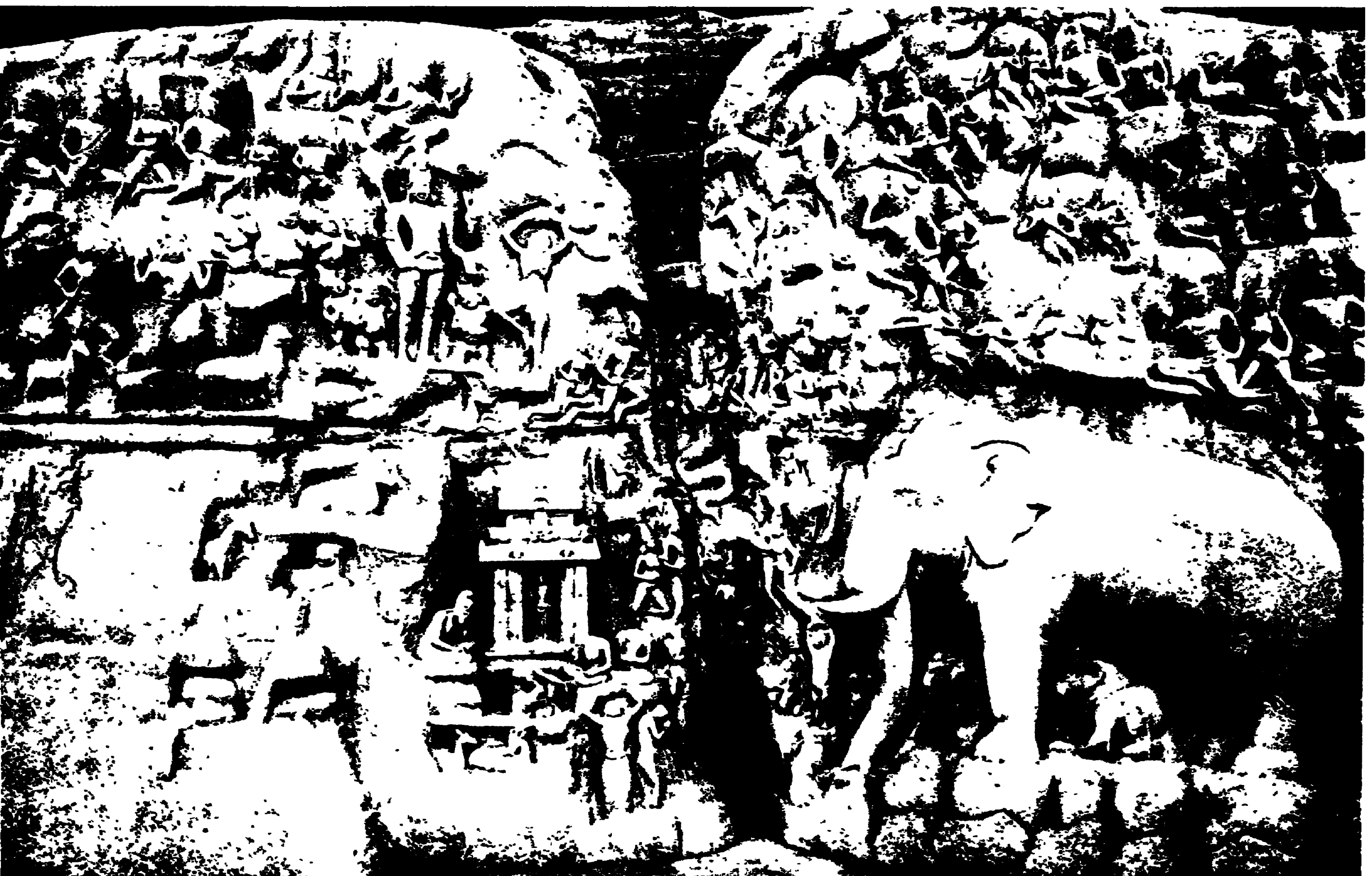


Plate 9 Arjuna's Penance, Pallava, Māmallapuram. 7th century A D



Plate 10 Gajalakṣmī, Māmallapuram, early 7th century A. D.



Plate 11 Viṣṇu Anantaśayin, Māmallapuram, early 7th century A. D.



Plate 12 Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Māmallapuram, early 7th century A. D.



Plate 13 Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief, Māmallapuram, early 7th century A. D



Plate 14 *Dvārapāla*, Kāveripākkam. Hyderabad, 9th century A. D.

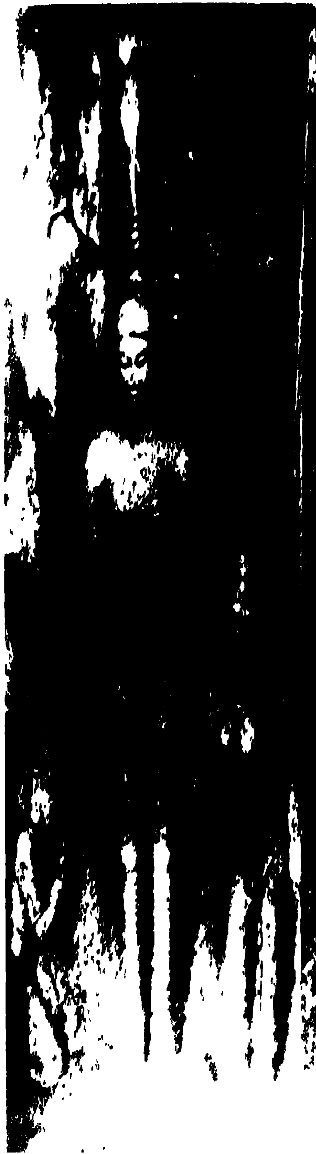


Plate 15 Pārśvanātha, Dharaṇendra Yakṣa and Padmāvatī, carving on boulder, Kalugumalai, *c.* 8th century A. D



Plate 16 Pārvatī, Nandi, Gaṇas and devas watching Śiva's dance, Tirupparaṁkunram, *c.* 8th century A. D.

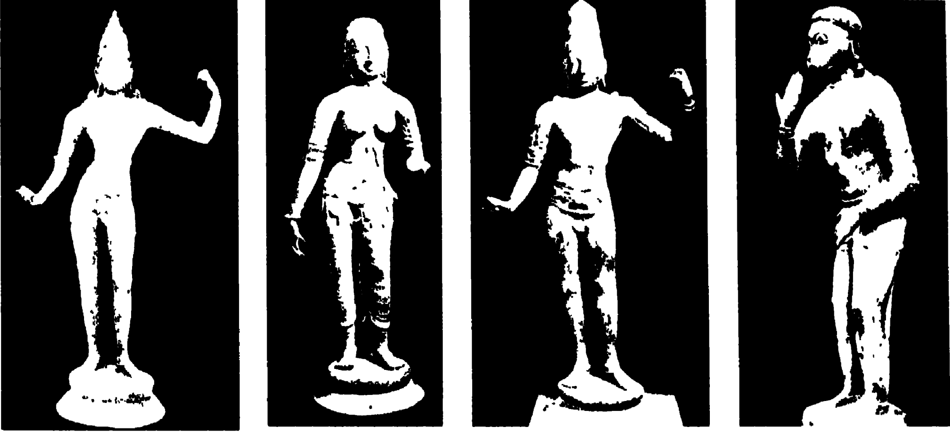


Plate 17 Rama, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Hunumān, Vaḍakkuppanayūr, Tañjavūr Government Museum, Madras, early Cola, *c*. 1000 A. D.

Plate 18 Viṣṇu with consorts, Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr Government Museum, Madras, early Cola, *c*. 1000 A. D



Plate 19 Somaskanda, Pallava-Cola transition, Tiruvālangādu, Government Museum, Madras, 9th century A. D.



Plate 20 Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram, Trichinopoly, early Cola, *c.* 11th century A. D.



Plate 21 Rāvaṇa shaking Kailasa. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kailāsa Temple, Ellora, 8th century A. D.



Plate 22 Jaṭāyu fighting Rāvaṇa, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Ellorā, 8th century A. D.



Plate 23 Dancing Śiva, Rāṣṭrakuṭa, Kailāsa, Ellorā, 8th century A. D



Plate 24 Umāmaheśvara, Nolamba, Anantapur, Madras Government Museum, 9th century A. D.



Plate 25 Śiva dancing in *Catura*. Mukhalingeśvara temple, Kakulam, 9th century A. D.



Plate 26 Kākatīya sculpture, Durgā from Tripurāntakam, Kurnool, 1100-1350 A. D.

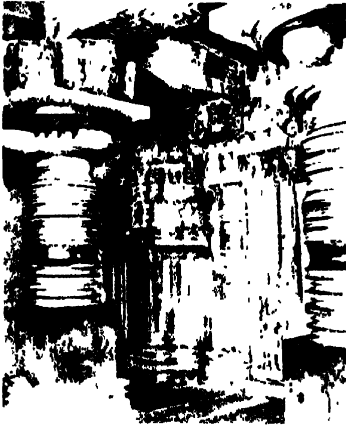


Plate 27(a) Keśava temple, Pillars in the Navarang, Somnathpur, Karnataka, 1268 A. D.

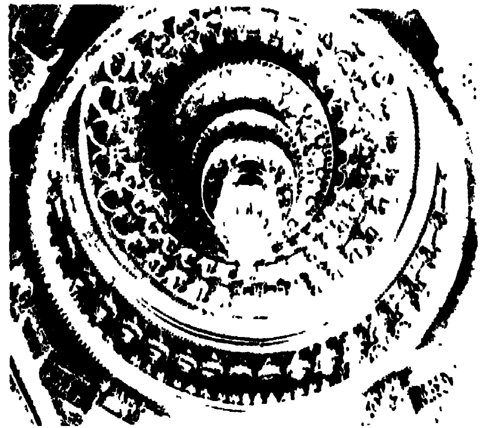


Plate27(b) Keśava temple, ceiling, plantain flower-design, first ceiling of the entrance hall (Navarang), Somnathpur, Karnataka, 1268 A. D.

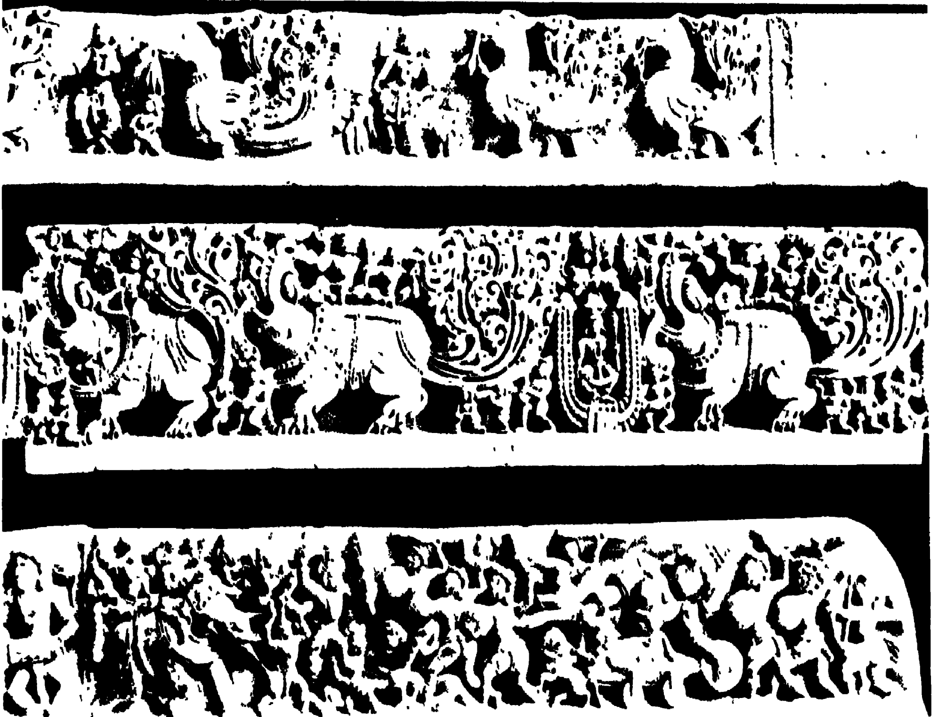


Plate 28 Hoysaleśvara temple, Frieze detail, Halebīd, Karnataka, 13th century A. D.



Plate 29 Stone processional car, Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple, Vijayanagara, 16th century A. D.

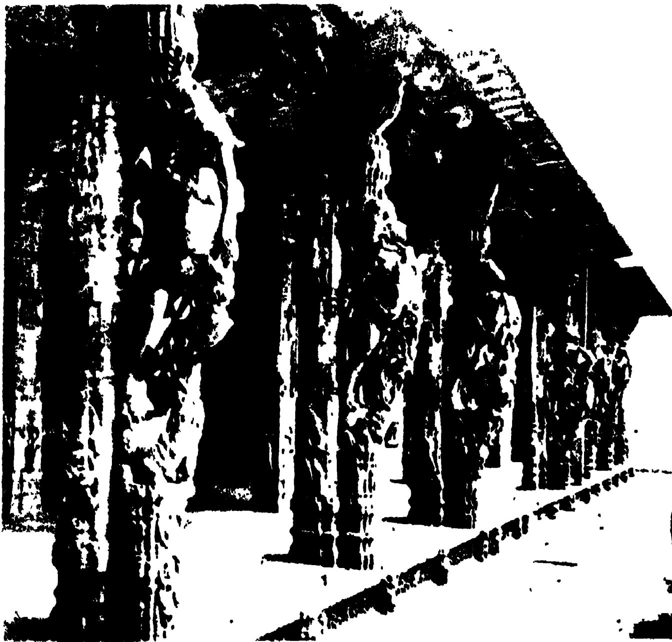


Plate 30 Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa, Jalakaṇṭheśvara temple, Vijayanagara, Vellore, 16th century A. D.

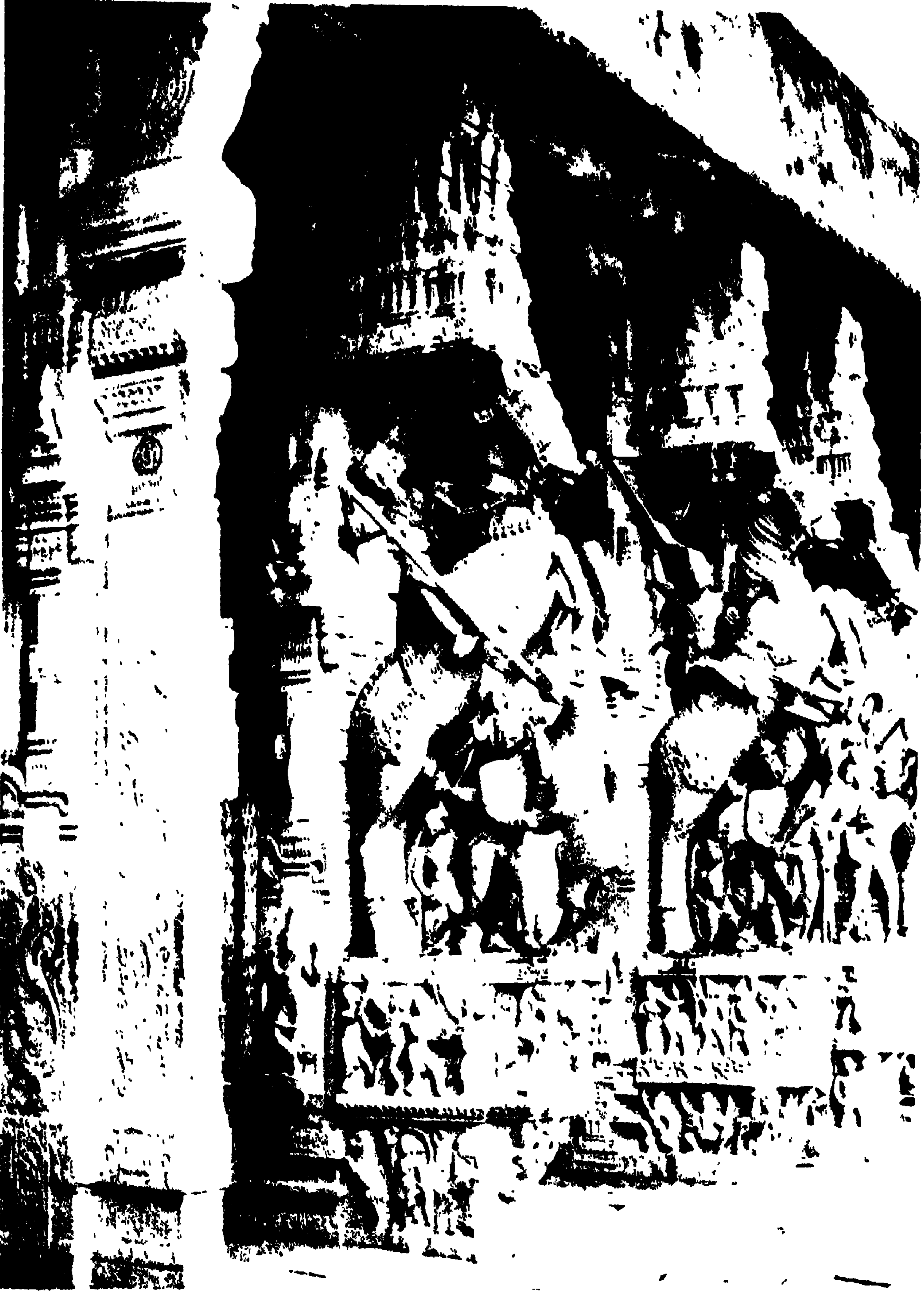


Plate 31 Temple of Viṣṇu, Hall of a Thousand Columns, Śrirangam, Vijayanagara, 16/17th century A. D.

taken to be representations of King Viṣṇuvardhana holding court, as also of Narasiṁha, a later king, who made some additions. The pillars are exceptionally well done. There are some like the Narasiṁha pillar with minute figures elegantly carved to fill the entire space and others like the pillar with a female figure prominent on one side besides many smaller figures that adorn it. The bracket figures known as the *Madanākai* are among the most interesting sculptures from the temple besides those in the niches and pavilions. Some of them are inscribed and give the names of the artists who executed the work. Flower gathering, toilet, use of the mirror, dance, sounding of cymbals, talking to the sportive pet parrot and such other gay scenes representing feminine charm form the theme of these bracket figures. The temple of Doḍḍagaḍḍavalli is another example of early work though the sculptural work here is neither so adequate nor quite so elegant as at Belur. The Somnathpur temple represents later Hoysala work of about the 13th century, the reign of Narasiṁha III. The famous Hoysaleśvara temple (Plate 28) at Halebid, being only slightly later in date to the Keśava temple at Belur, being built by Narasiṁha I about the middle of the 12th century, is an earlier monument. The sculpture at Belur and Halebid ranks among the best of Hoysala work, but that at Somnathpur, though not appreciably inferior, is but an echo of the more Titanic power of the chisel of the Hoysala sculptor as seen in the former two places.

LATE PĀṆḌYA

The finest examples of the late Pāṇḍyan work are to be sought in the *maṇḍapa* of about the 13th century in the Mīnākṣī temple leading up to her shrine at Madurai. At first sight the sculptures in this *maṇḍapa* may be taken to be almost like the Nāyaka ones, but a little examination and careful study will show that these two essentially differ in detail. The late Pāṇḍyas began the titanic conception and executed colossal figures to adorn corridors, and the Nāyakas continued this tradition still further. Late Pāṇḍyan sculptures are characterized by their great size, over-powering strength and a certain amount of elegance that is not yet marred appreciably by conventionalization as in later sculpture. The figures are not in any way slim, are sufficiently hefty and are distinctly superior in workmanship to those of the Nāyaka period. Two rows of different deities may be seen in the small corridor that makes up this late Pāṇḍyan gallery in the Mīnākṣī temple. When we remember that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was a very powerful sovereign, it is not improbable that this sculptural addition to the favourite shrine of his capital was executed by him.

VIJAYANAGARA

In the thirties of the 14th century was established on the banks of the Tungabhadra on the site of the present Hampi the famous empire of

Vijayanagara by the brothers Harihara and Bukka. This was the last of the great empires in South India and the Deccan. During the time of the Vijayanagara monarchs, who were great patrons of learning and art, literature and fine arts flourished and there was a glow during this time like the flicker of the flame before it is extinguished, for though there was very great artistic and literary activity in this period, it was just the swan song, as after the collapse of this empire, artistic and literary activity also virtually came to an end in the South.

Vijayanagara art is distributed all over South India and the Deccan, in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese districts. Though in the earlier phase, local influences and traditions determined the style of work, as time advanced it was the ideals and style from the Tamil districts that markedly stamped the work all over the empire in great proportion, smothering local peculiarities of style. This is easily understood by a study of sculpture right in the heart of the empire in the Canarese districts, as the carvings and panels from temples like the Hazāra Rāmaswāmī, Viṭṭhala, Virūpākṣa from Hampi, and by comparing it with the carvings at Vellore, Viriñcipuram or similar temples that abound all over in the Tamil districts.

The earlier phase of Vijayanagara art, specially that from the Canarese districts and from Konkan, shows affinities to the earlier Cālukya mode. Many of the earlier Cālukya peculiarities in style persist, for instance, the peculiar kind of ornamentation, arrangement of drapery and tassel-like tails for weapons carried by deities in peculiar fashion in the hand. The ruined temple on the river bank at Tāḍpatri is a beautiful example of this transitional period of art. Here the sculptures on the tumbled down *gopura*, many of which lie scattered all around and also in the river-bed, are exquisite specimens of work. They show an amount of grace, finish and many of the peculiar characteristics which make the Cālukya style, at the same time with some conventionalization and an admixture of the Tamil style which later became so important in the Vijayanagara period. These sculptures form a contrast to the later sculptures even from the Tamil and Canarese districts where the Tamil style is more pronounced. The sculpture from the temple of Viṣṇu at Tāḍpatri presents a further stage of development in Vijayanagara art. The beautiful monolithic *ratha* carved here vies with the similar one at the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi. The Virūpākṣa temple has beautiful sculptures of this early period. Similarly there are many other temples of which the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam should be specially mentioned. In this temple there is typical sculpture of the 14th-15th centuries. Some of these sculptures, specially the earlier ones like the one representing Bhṛṅgi and a princess with hands joined in worship, both of stone, may be assigned to about

the 14th century and in these two may be observed all the features of earlier Cālukya and contemporary Vijayanagara blended.

Similarly showing the blend of Cālukya and Vijayanagara styles are the sculptures adorning the temple erected in the Vijayanagara period in Bhāṭkal in Kanara like those from Ketapi Nārāyaṇa and Santappa Nāyaka Tirumāl. The *dvārapālakas* at the entrance, the *śurulyālīs* below them, the Gajalakṣmī on the doorway, the carvings and the pillars, the *nāgabandhas*, the panels showing deities all around, all of them show this harmony in the blend of Cālukya and Tamil decorations. It is not different in ornament-loaded late sculpture in the late medieval temples of Kerala as in the Vaḍakkunātha and other temples in Kerala which abound in this area.

By far the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagara empire was Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. He was not only a great statesman, ruler and warrior, but also a great scholar, poet and patron of fine arts. The greatest building activity was in his time and it is surprising how he could erect so many towers that greet the pilgrims as they approach any temple in South India and the Deccan. In fact, like Aśoka, who is reputed to have built 84,000 *stūpas* all over the country, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is believed to have built a huge tower for almost every temple of importance in South India, and *Rāyalagopuram* i.e. the tower built by Rāya is a common term used for the huge entrance towers and the name of Rāya has become a byword in the country.

All these towers that he erected and many *maṇḍapas* and shrines were decorated with fine carvings by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. One of the most famous temples erected by him at Hampi is the Kṛṣṇa temple in which he installed a beautiful image of Bālakṛṣṇa which he got as a war trophy from Udayagiri in the Nellore district after overcoming the Gajapati king. This sculpture represents Bālakṛṣṇa as a chubby little boy seated with a butter ball in his hand. This figure in mutilated condition is preserved in the Madras Museum, but a complete picture of it can be had by a look at the coin of the Bālakṛṣṇa issued by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya with the figure of the deity imprinted on it for distribution on the day of the consecration of the image. The most magnificent temple that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya began in Hampi was the Viṭṭhala, which is fully decorated with fine carvings. The monolithic car is indeed a masterpiece (Plate 29). The figure and decorative carving on the pillars of *maṇḍapas* and the friezes showing cavaliers, dancers, drummers, musicians etc., the elephants near the steps leading to the *maṇḍapas*, the rearing *yālīs* attached to the pillars of the *maṇḍapas* and iconographic forms of deities in the pillar panels of the Viṭṭhala temple are all typical examples of the work at its best during Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's reign.

The huge monolithic statue of Lakṣmīnarasiṁha in Hampi according to an inscription on a stone slab close by gives that it was carved out of a single rock in 1528 A. D. during the reign of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. It is 22 feet high and the details are worked with great care. Though mutilated, it is still a gem of art of the Vijayanagara period. The consort of Narasiṁha is unfortunately almost completely lost. Another monolithic image is Gaṇeśa of similar dimensions and probably of the same date.

The row of carvings on the sides of the throne platform depicting the *Holi* festival, prancing horses, cavaliers, camel-riders, elephants, drummers, musicians, hunters accompanied by hounds etc. are all typical of the art of the age.

The scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* carved on the walls of the Hāzāra Rāmaswāmī temple show the pictorial method of narration which was so popular with the Vijayanagara sculptor. This kind of pictorial representation of the *Purāṇas*, particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, is repeated in all Vijayanagara temples. Fine examples of this may be seen in the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at Penukoṇḍa, a later capital of Vijayanagara monarchs. The *Kirātārjuna* story and some of the stories from the lives of Śiva-*bhaktas* are graphically portrayed in sculptures on the walls of the Śiva temple. Similarly, the exploits of Rāma and the juvenile sports of Kṛṣṇa are presented vividly on the walls of the Viṣṇu temple. Similar carvings representing *Purāṇic* scenes are found in the Vīrabhadra temple at Lepākṣī. Here the *Kirātārjuna* legend, the story of Śiruttoṇḍanayanār, a great Śaiva devotee, the story of *Manunītikaṇḍacola* are all themes of the carvings on the walls. In the temple at Viriñcipuram near Vellore and in the temple at Kālahasti similar series of sculptures abound.

Vijayanagara sculpture is seen at its best in the *Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa* and other pillared halls that were profusely constructed during this period in all the South Indian temples. The *Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa* at Vellore (Plate 30) is on all hands accepted as the most daintily carved pillared hall of this time. The rearing horses and lions and *yālīs* with their riders and the retinue all around as caryatids below the *puṣpabodhikās* or lotus capitals are marvellous examples of sculptural work. The chains composing the reins of the animals are so carved that they move when touched. Other figure carving on the sides of pillars is also of a high artistic order in the same *maṇḍapa*. In the similar pillared hall at Viriñcipuram, which according to tradition, was built by the son of the sculptor of the temple in the Vellore fort, the carving is similar but less striking. Though many temples of the Vijayanagara time boast of similar carving of a high order in the *maṇḍapas*, nothing can equal the workmanship in the Vellore *Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa*, though

the Śrīraṅgam (Plate 31) *maṇḍapa* pillar carvings of rearing animals with riders may be said to approach closely the Vellore ones.

The *Nāṭyamaṇḍapa* in the Vīrabhadra temple at Lepākṣī has indeed very fine sculptural work on its pillars. These are large-sized and very carefully carved. The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are so arranged and the figures so carved that there is presented a picture of Śiva's dance to the accompaniment of music. On one of the pillars Śiva is shown dancing in the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose. On another, Brahmā is shown playing the drum, on yet another, Viṣṇu playing similarly a *mṛdaṅga*. Kālī dances vying with Śiva on another pillar. On a different pillar Śiva is shown as Bhikṣāṭana. These carvings are of life-size and show the capacity of the Vijayanagara sculptor for creating such fine works of art.

In the Varadarāja temple at Kāñcīpuram the *maṇḍapa* which belongs to this period contains very fine carvings on the pillars. Similarly, there is good carving in the *maṇḍapas* at Tirukalukunram, Tiruvettipuram in North Arcot District, and in the Vijayanagara *maṇḍapas* in the temples of Kumbakonam, where they are later additions. The thousand pillared *maṇḍapa* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai has also some fine carvings.

In all these, a very noteworthy feature is the peculiar dress and ornamentation of the period, that is given a strong emphasis in sculpture, unlike in the sculptures of earlier periods. The head-gear, the drapery, the lower and upper garments, the saris, the petticoats, the mode of dressing the hair by men and women, the patterns worked on clothes and varieties of jewels of the Vijayanagara period, can be very well studied from these sculptures. In spite of the conventionalism and lack of grace and naturalism so characteristic of earlier sculptures, there is still an element of fidelity to life bespeaking sympathetic study of the world around by the sculptor.

Though many portrait sculptures were executed in the Pallava and Cola periods—and there are excellent instances of Siṁhaviṣṇu, Mahendravarman, Narasiṁhavarman all with their queens at Mahābalipuram in the Pallava period, the portrait of Gaṇḍarāditya executed by his queen Śembiyan-mā-devī in the Konerirājapuram temple, the portrait of Rājarāja at the Ekāmreśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, Śola-mā-devī, a portrait statue in bronzes at the Kālahasti temple and others in the Cola period—it was in the Vijayanagara period that portrait sculpture received a fillip. Many portrait sculptures were executed during the time of the Vijayanagara monarchs. In fact, the most prolific work in the field of portrait sculpture in South India was undertaken during the time of the Vijayanagara kings and their feudatories, the Nāyakas. All these kings and

chieftains and their queens and ladies were prolific builders, and in every one of their buildings, standing against a pillar or against rows of them, are a number of portrait figures, alone or in groups, of kings and chieftains standing with hands joined in adoration of the deity, whose temples and pillared halls they had embellished, and in whose presence in adoration they presented themselves for ever in those forms of theirs in stone. Sometimes these statues are free standing ones, chiselled in stone and sometimes they are huge ones cast in metal. Of these metal statues, the largest in size in South India, those of the Vijayanagara emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his queens, now in a *maṇḍapa* at the entrance of the temple of Śrī Venkaṭeśvara on the hill at Tirupati, are the finest. Here the bronzes have been prepared with very great care and represent the emperor wearing the elongated crown typical of all Vijayanagara emperors. The queens beside him wear saris, the disposition of which on their body, and folds, including the upper end of the cloth covering their breasts, is very beautifully arranged. Another bronze from the same place representing a successor of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is also a fine example of portrait sculpture, though its standard may not be quite so high as that of the Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya group. It is often questioned how far these sculptures are valuable as true portraits of the persons they represent, when the mode of the time is characterized by conventionalization and the vigour of earlier work is lost. The reply to this should be sought in the numerous representations of a single theme of portrait sculpture and in the fact that all of them agree with one another even in the most minute details. Though conventionalized, the art of the time is full of vitality, and there is as much resemblance between one portrait of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai and another, among the representations of his that abound, as between repeated portraits of the present day and their original. And when it is remembered that the sculpture of Tirumala Nāyaka's time represents a continuation of still better earlier work, it must be granted that the beautiful representations in bronze and stone of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, the latter seen at Chidambaram on one of the *gopuras* he raised, should be faithful. If the many old ivory carvings preserved in the Śrīraṅgam temple museum, all of which were carved by clever ivory workers during the time of King Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai, those representing Tirumala Nāyaka and his queens are compared with one another or those showing the European merchants of the time in their costumes compared with any of the best contemporary portrait statues or paintings from Europe, the high skill of the Nāyaka sculptor, and more emphatically that of his predecessor in the field, the Vijayanagara sculptor, would be evident. The sculptural remains of the Vijayanagara empire do really

justify the great praise bestowed on them by contemporary foreign travellers like Nuniz and Paes.

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20

EARLY JAINA SCULPTURE (300 B.C.-300 A. D.): EAST INDIA

BIHAR

Of all regions, Bihar was the earliest stronghold of Jainism. Many of its villages and towns were graced by the presence of Mahāvīra, the capitals and important towns of three of the east-Indian Mahā-janapadas, namely Vṛji, Magadha and Aṅga, being particularly associated with him. The Vṛjian confederacy comprised eight or nine clans including the Licchavis and the Videhas. Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis, was the native town of Mahāvīra, as he was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the capital. His mother was a sister (according to another tradition daughter) of the Licchavi chief Ceṭaka. Mahāvīra, in the course of his wanderings, spent a large number of rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and its suburb Vāṇijyagrāma, and for six rainy seasons he was at Mithilā, the capital of Videha. Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, was also a favourite *varṣāvāsa* of Mahāvīra: here and in its neighbouring village of Nālandā, he spent as many as fourteen *varṣās* or rainy seasons. According to the Jaina tradition, king Śreṇika-Bimbisāra, who had married Cellanā, a daughter of Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, and his son Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru were devoted to him. Campā, the capital of Aṅga, which was annexed to the Magadhan empire by Bimbisāra, was also a favourite resort of Mahāvīra.

Jainism continued to receive royal patronage in east India even after the death of Mahāvīra. Thus, when Udayabhadra, the successor of Ajātaśatru and a devout Jaina, ascended the throne of Magadha, which by this time had incorporated into itself the Licchavi principality, he built a Jaina shrine in the newly-founded capital of Pāṭaliputra.[1] Later on, the Nandas also were favourably disposed towards Jainism and their ministers were Jainas. According to late Jaina traditions, Candragupta Maurya, who brought to an end the rule of the Nandas, came under the influence of Jainism in his last days and left his capital Pāṭaliputra, along with monk Bhadrabāhu and a large following for the south when a dreadful famine had overtaken Magadha. The famine is said to have lasted for twelve years, at the end of which was convened the first Jaina Council at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon.

Though Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta, took up the cause of Buddhism with great zeal, he did not neglect the Nirgranthas (Jainas) as may be gathered from his seventh Pillar-edict, wherein he says that his Dharma-mahāmātras (officers of piety) were engaged equally among the Saṁgha (Buddhist church), Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas. Among his successors Samprati is stated to have been a devout Jaina ruler, who rendered considerable service to the dissemination of the faith and constructed Jaina edifices.[2]

Though it is certain that the religion was in a flourishing state during this period, one is confronted with an extreme rarity of Jaina monuments and antiquities not only of this period but also of the earlier one in Bihar. Even at Vaiśālī (modern Basarh, District Vaishali), not a single Jaina monument of the early period has been identified so far, though the place was closely associated with Mahāvīra and was reported to have a *stūpa* dedicated to Munisuvrata.[3]

The earliest Jaina monument identified so far at Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir, District Nalanda) is a set of two rock-cut caves, the western one of which is known as Sonbhaṇḍār. On the basis of the palaeography of an inscription on the facade of this cave, which records the dedication of images of Arhats, the caves have generally been ascribed to the third or fourth century A. D.[4] However, as suggested by Saraswati,[5] the caves appear to be earlier than this period. Fit for the residence of Jaina monks, the caves are spacious oblong chambers with an arched ceiling rising from an inconspicuous ledge, the latter projecting above the vertical walls. An early feature of the western cave is the sloping jambs of the door, the opening at the base being wider than that at the top—an irrational imitation of wooden constructions in live rock. This cave, which is larger than the eastern one, is provided with a small squarish window, also with plain sloping sides. There are traces of high polish on the walls. The existence of sockets show the prior existence of door-leaves.

The only early Jaina remains so far discovered at Pāṭaliputra (Patna) are from Lohānipur (Patna). The site yielded two nude stone torsos, the lower portion of a head, a mutilated arm or leg and the plinth of a brick structure (2.68 m. square), on the footing of which was found a worn-out silver punch-marked coin.[6] Unfortunately the discovery was not followed by planned excavation, with the result that we are left in the dark about the remains of one of the earliest Jaina establishments. The fragmentary head and one (Plate 1) of the two torsos, both of sandstone, bear the characteristic Mauryan polish. Evidently, they belonged to the Mauryan times. The head, which is too large for the torso, apparently belonged to another sculpture. The portion above the tip of the nose is not

extant; to judge from the available portion, the face with firm lips was roundish. Though a large portion of the two arms of the polished torso is missing, the figure was apparently in *kāyotsarga*-pose with arms falling along the thighs, a presumption supported not only by the rendering of the extant upper part of the arms and the pose of the body but by the indications of fractures left on the thighs where the palms or wrists touched. The figure no doubt represents a Tīrthaṅkara. The modelling of the torso, which is in the round, is fairly naturalistic, bearing the imprint of a master hand. In sculptural qualities it is on a plane much superior to the other torso (Plate 2) of Lohānipur. The arms of the latter, which also are in *kāyotsarga*-pose, are disproportionately short. Rendered in the tradition of the primitive Yakṣa statues, this torso is probably not earlier than the first century B. C.

The accidental discovery of a hoard of eighteen Jaina bronzes at Chausa (District Bhojpur) opens before us the possibility of the find of early Jaina monuments at the place or in its neighbourhood. Unfortunately, here, too, the discovery has not been followed up by systematic survey and excavation. The hoard[7] includes sixteen images of the Tīrthaṅkaraṣ, an *aśoka*-tree and a *dharma-cakra* (Plate 5) on a post, the last ascribable to the first century A. D.

Among the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, ten are in *kāyotsarga*-pose, while six are seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The group is highly interesting on account of the fact that the images covering a period of nearly four hundred years record the artistic achievements of bronze-casters from the period of experimentation to the culmination in the well-modelled graceful figures of the Gupta period. While two of the seated images are stylistically ascribable to the post-Kuṣāṇa to early Gupta period, the remaining four are of the Gupta period.

The standing images, all robeless, cover a wider period from the pre-Kuṣāṇa to the Gupta period. Some of the figures, with stump-like legs, crude workmanship and disproportionate modelling, are in folk-tradition. These primitive figures appear to be somewhat earlier than Kuṣāṇa. A good Kuṣāṇa example is furnished by the Patna Museum 6530. Characterized by a broad chest, roundish face and open eyes, it is in the tradition of Mathurā. Here, too, no attention has been paid to the modelling of legs. A considerable progress in the proportionate and graceful modelling of different limbs is noticeable in the images produced in the third-fourth centuries A. D. (Plates 3, 4). *Lāñchanas* are depicted in none of the images, so that Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha alone can be identified by the locks of hair and serpent-hoods respectively. In the well-preserved example, the *śrīvatsa*-mark is clear on the chest.

WEST BENGAL

It is not definitely known when Jainism firmly established itself in Bengal. From the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* it is learnt that Mahāvīra received inhospitable treatment during his wanderings in Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍha) consisting of Vajjabhūmi (Vajrabhūmi) and Subbhabhūmi (Suhmabhūmi).[8] From a legend recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* it is generally held that Puṇḍravardhana (in north Bengal) had been a stronghold of Jainism and Ājīvika faith at the time of Aśoka.[9] According to this legend, Aśoka, on finding that a lay-follower of the Nirgrantha of Puṇḍravardhananagara (modern Mahasthangarh, District Bogra, Bangladesh) had drawn a picture showing Buddha at the feet of the Nirgrantha, caused a holocaust of eighteen thousand Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana. That the religion was well-established in a large part of Bengal prior to the redaction of the *Kalpa-sūtra* is proved by the mention in this text of the Tāmraliptikā (known after Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk, District Midnapur), Koṭivarṣīyā (named after Koṭivarṣa, probably Bangarh in District West Dinajpur) and Puṇḍravardhanīyā *śākhās* of a *gaṇa* founded by Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu,[10] who was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. Though the redaction of the text of the *Kalpa-sūtra* in its present form was not earlier than the fifth-sixth centuries A. D., it embodies a good amount of old traditions, as is proved by the Mathurā inscriptions of the first century A. D. and onwards. These inscriptions record the names of several *gaṇas* with their *kulas* and *śākhās* which are enumerated in the *Kalpa-sūtra*. An inscription of the year 62 (A. D. 140) found on the pedestal of a Jaina image from Mathurā mentions a Jina monk with the epithet *Rāraka*, which has been interpreted as a 'native of Rāra,'[11] equated with Rāḍha (western Bengal).[12]

Unfortunately, not a single Jina relic of the period has so far been located in Bengal. The earliest document with Jaina affiliation is the Paharpur (District Rajshahi, Bangladesh) copper-plate of the year 159 of the Gupta era,[13] recording the endowment of lands for the maintenance of the ceremonial worship of Arhats, with sandal-paste, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., by a Brāhmaṇa couple at the *vihāra* Vaṭa-Gohālī. As the *vihāra* is stated to have been presided over by the disciples and the disciples' disciples of the Nirgrantha-śramaṇācārya Guhanandin belonging to the Pañca-stūpa-*nikāya* of Kāśī, it is very likely that it existed at Paharpur even in the fourth century A. D. Whether the nucleus of the Jaina establishment went back earlier is not known.

ORISSA

From early times, Kaliṅga (comprising a large part of Orissa) was a stronghold of Jainism. Mahāvīra is stated to have visited this country. That the

religion had a footing in Kaliṅga as early as the fourth century B. C. is proved by the Hāthī-gumphā (one of the caves of the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar) inscription[14] of Khāravela (first century, according to a less probable view second century, B. C.), the third king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Ceti dynasty of Kaliṅga. In this inscription, which preambles with an invocation of the Arhats and Siddhas, this powerful ruler claims to have brought back to Kaliṅga the Kaliṅga-Jina which had earlier been wrested away by a Nanda king. It is not unlikely that this sacred Kaliṅga-Jina had originally been installed on the Udayagiri hill itself and also was, after its recovery, reinstalled there by Khāravela. This low hill, along with the abutting hill of Khandagiri, was a Jaina centre from a very early period. The prime considerations for the selection of this twin hill for the site of the Jaina establishment were, evidently, their secluded situation ensuring a proper atmosphere for meditation and monastic life and proximity to the populous capital (identified with Sisupalgarh, 10 km. south-east of the hills) of Kaliṅga, where the monks could easily go on their missionary rounds and from where the devotees might come to pay homage to the ascetics and perform worship at the sanctuary.

The Jaina establishment on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills[15] flourished tremendously during the rule of Mahāmeghavāhanas. From the Hāthī-gumphā inscription it is evident that Khāravela, who professed Jainism, championed the cause of the faith with great zeal. In the thirteenth year of his rule, he not only excavated caves for the Jaina ascetics in the Kumārī-parvata (present Udayagiri) but erected on the *prāgbhāra* of the hill, close to the monastic retreats, a costly structure (presumably a shrine) with stones collected from distant quarries and a pillar having cat's-eye gem in its core. Though there are no doubt a good number of monastic caves of the period of Khāravela, due to the lack of inscriptional evidence it is not possible to identify the particular caves excavated at the instance of this king. Other members of the royal family also took active part in the pious donations of caves. Thus, from the dedicatory inscription on the facade of the upper storey (locally called Svargapurī) of Cave 9 (Plates 6 and 7) of the Udayagiri hill, it is known that this storey owed its origin to the piety of the chief queen of Khāravela. Again, two of the cells of the ground floor (locally called Mañcapurī) of this cave were dedicated by Mahārāja Kūdepa (or Vakradeva) and Kumāra (prince) Vaḍukha (Uvaḍukha). Kūdepa appears to have been a successor of Khāravela as the excavation of caves generally started from the top, the upper floor with the dedicatory inscription of Khāravela's queen appearing to be earlier than the ground floor.

EARLY JAINA SCULPTURE (300 B.C.-300 A. D.): EAST INDIA



Plate 1 Torso of a Tīrthankara, Lohānipur, Maurya Period



Plate 2 Torso of a Tīrthankara, Lohānipur, c. 1st century B.C.

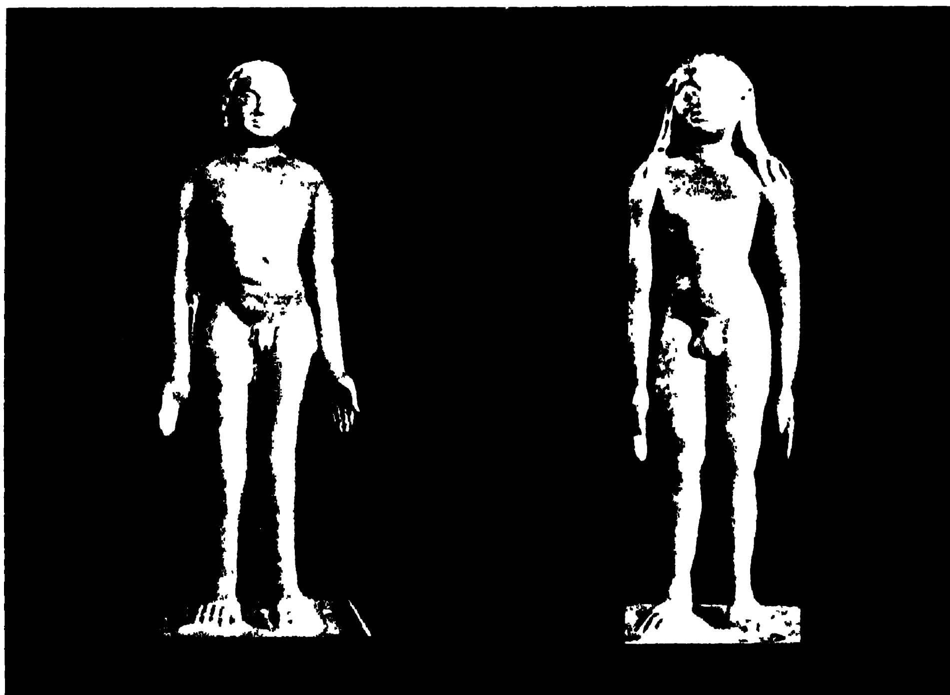


Plate 3 A bronze Tirthankara. Chausa, 3rd/4th century A. D

Plate 4 Bronze Ṛṣabhanātha. Chausa, 3rd/4th century A. D

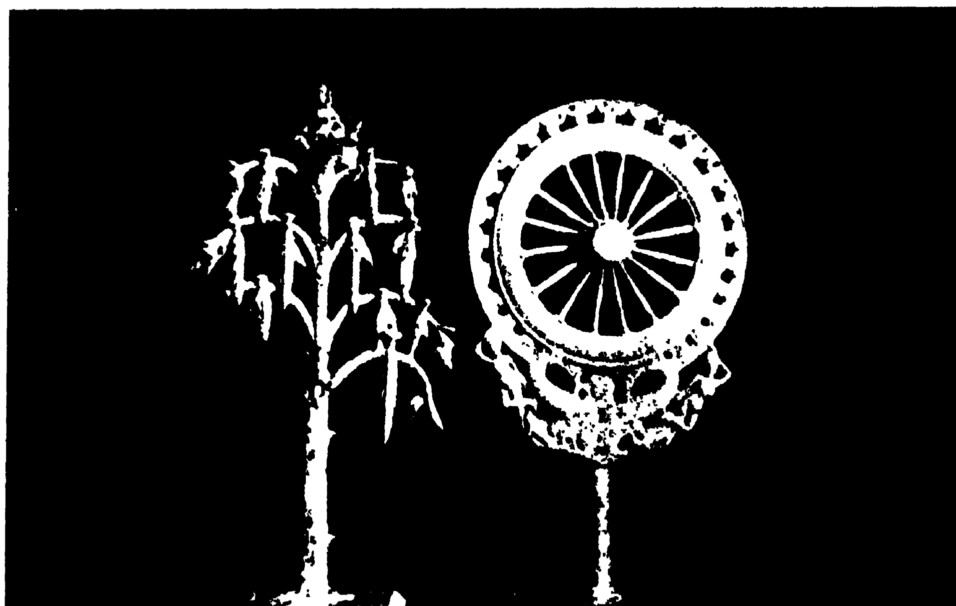


Plate 5 Bronze asoka tree and dharma cakra. Chausa, 1st century A. D

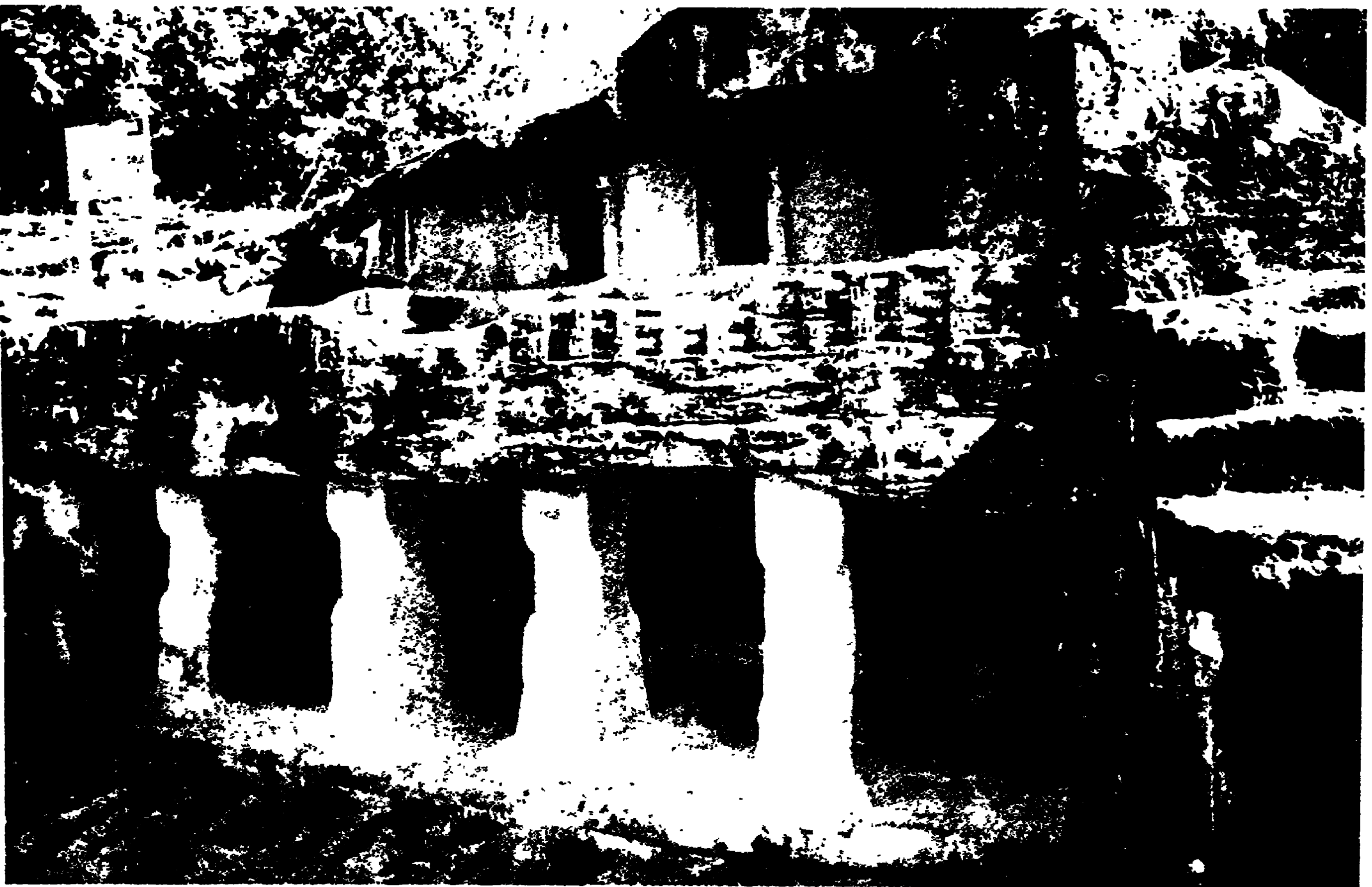


Plate 6 Cave 9, exterior, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 7 Cave 9, lower storey, worship of a cult-object, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 8 Cave 1, exterior, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 9 Cave 3, exterior, Khandagiri, c. 100 B. C.



Plate 10 Cave 3, worship of tree on tympanum, Khandagiri, c. 100 B. C

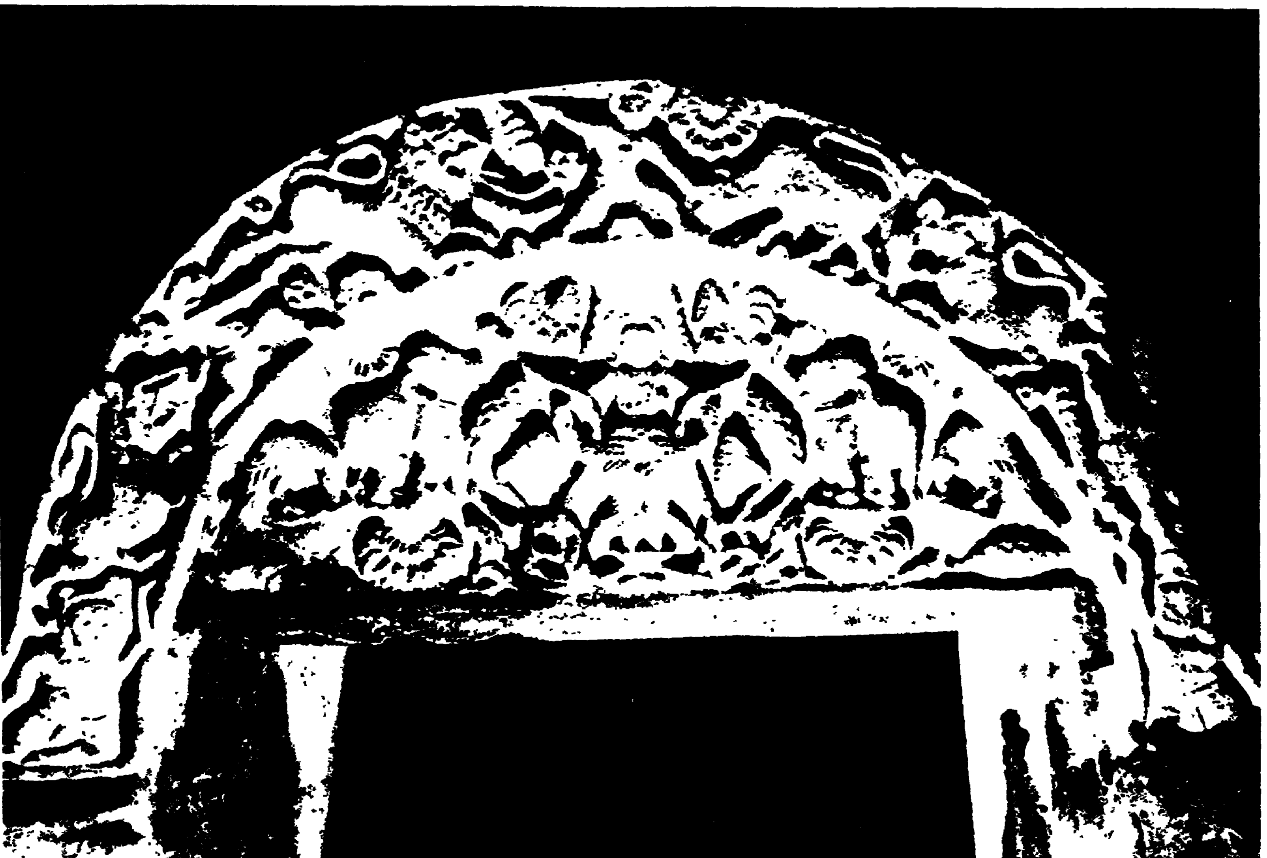


Plate 11 Cave 3. Gajalakṣmī on tympanum, Khandagiri, *c.* 100 B. C.

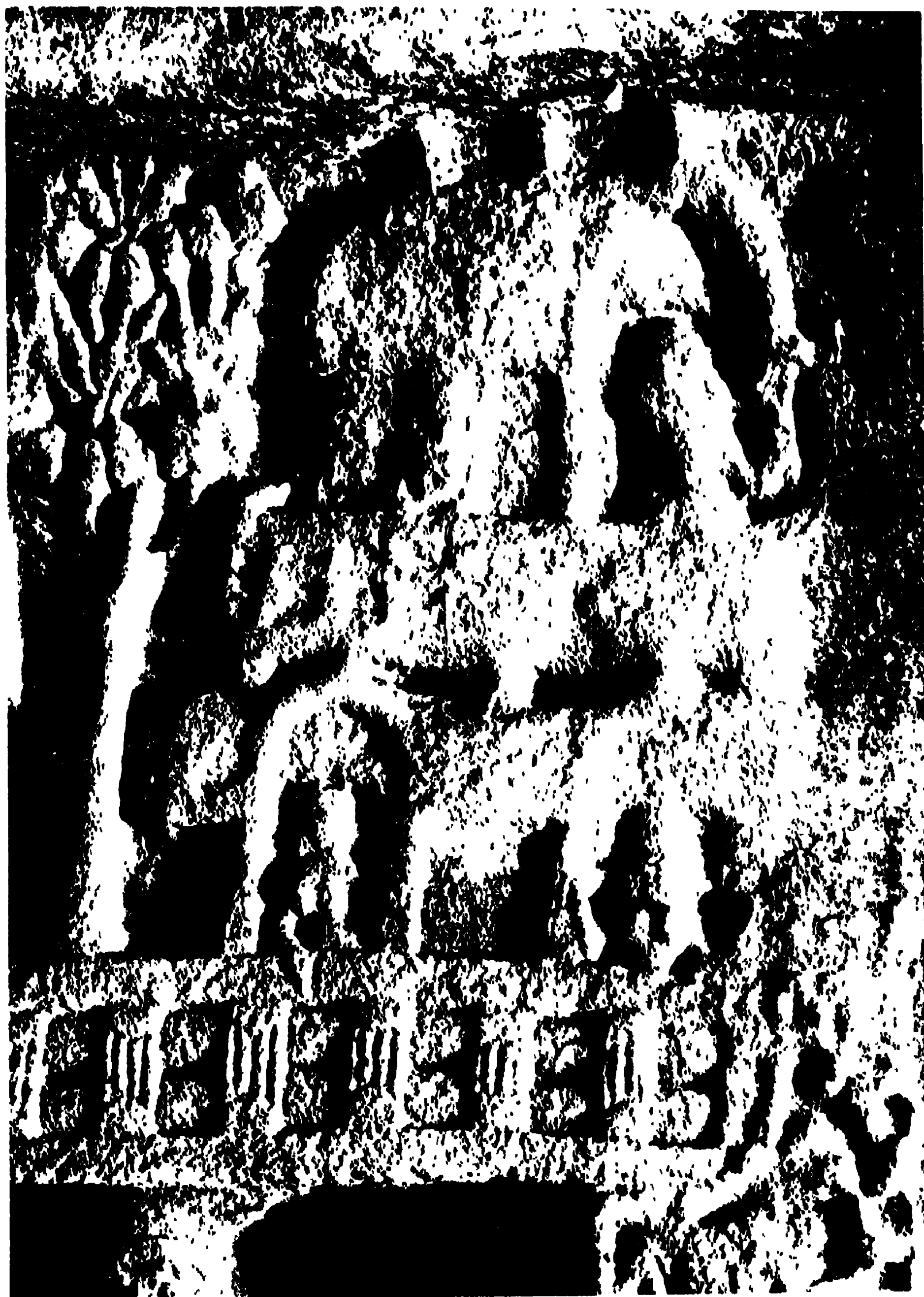


Plate 12 Cave 1, lower storey, main wing, relief of a double-storeyed structure, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 13 Cave 1, lower storey, right wing, a *danseuse* amidst musicians on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 14 Cave 1, lower storey, right wing, frieze on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.

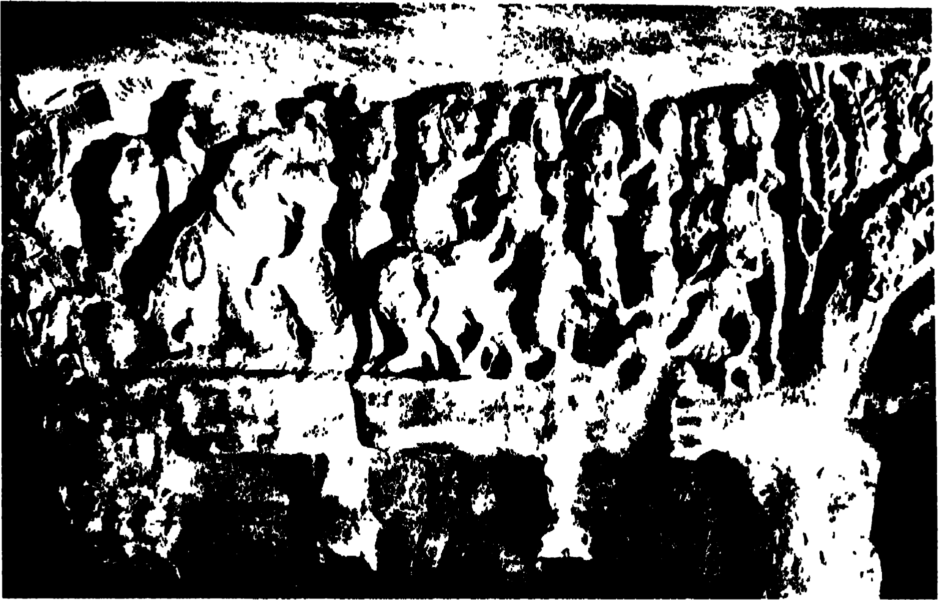


Plate 15 Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 16 Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 17 Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 18 Cave 10, frieze on back wall of verandah, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.

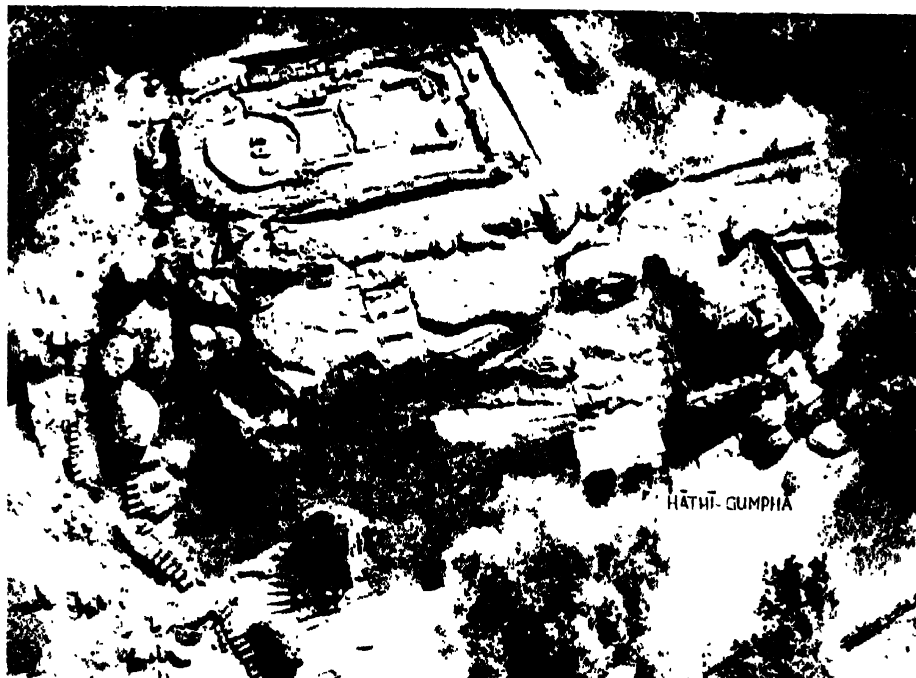


Plate 19 Apsidal shrine on hill top, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 20 Ramp supported by retaining-wall, Udayagiri, 1st century A. D.



Plate 21 Yakṣī. Udayagiri. 1st century B. C.



Plate 22 Yakṣī, back view. Udayagiri. 1st century B. C.

While most of the caves were excavated during the regime of the Mahāmeghavāhanas (first centuries B. C. and A. D.), some might have had an earlier origin. Not a single cave of this period was meant to be a shrine, all of them having been designed as the dwelling-retreats (*vihāras*) of the Jaina recluses. That the cells were planned as dormitories is proved by the sloping rise of the floor at the rear end, extending from one side-wall to the other, to serve the purpose of a running pillow. In much later periods some of these dwelling-cells were converted into shrines with minor alterations and additions of the reliefs of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Not planned with a systematic lay-out (Fig. 1), the monastic retreats were excavated at different heights. The excavators saved both labour and expense by following the configuration of the rock and connecting different units by rock-cut steps wherever necessary. A predilection was towards excavation near the top of the ledge or boulder, probably to relieve the load over the caves, the sandstone of the hill being of a brittle variety.

Meant for the residence of Jaina ascetics, who were noted for their self-mortification, the caves provided little amenities. The height of most of the caves, including the exceptionally large Rāṇī-gumphā (Cave 1, Plate 8) of the Udayagiri hill is too low for a person to stand erect. The remaining ones are only slightly more than the height of a man. Some of the caves are too narrow for a person even to stretch. The door-openings are invariably small, and one has almost to crawl to enter the cells through them. The cells were not provided with niches. The only places where scriptures and articles of bare necessity could be kept are the rock-cut shelves across the side-walls of the verandah. The interior of the cells is austerely plain, but in important instances their facades and the brackets supporting the ceilings of the verandahs are decorated with carvings and sculptures (Plates 17, 18).

A fully-developed monastery presents one or more cells preceded by a common verandah, the latter having a levelled ground for the courtyard in some cases like Caves 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā, Plate 8), 9 (Mañcapurī and Svargapurī, Plate 6) and 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill and Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā, Plates 9 and 10) of the Khandagiri hill. The cells are arrayed on one, two or even three sides of the verandah, the first lay-out being the commonest. What distinguishes the Rāṇī-gumphā is the provision of two small wings of cells fronted by a verandah, at right angles to the main wing, and two small guard-rooms on the ground-floor. The upper storey generally is not perched directly on the lower but recedes back, this arrangement being either to lessen the load or to follow the configuration of the slope of the rock or even to both. The open

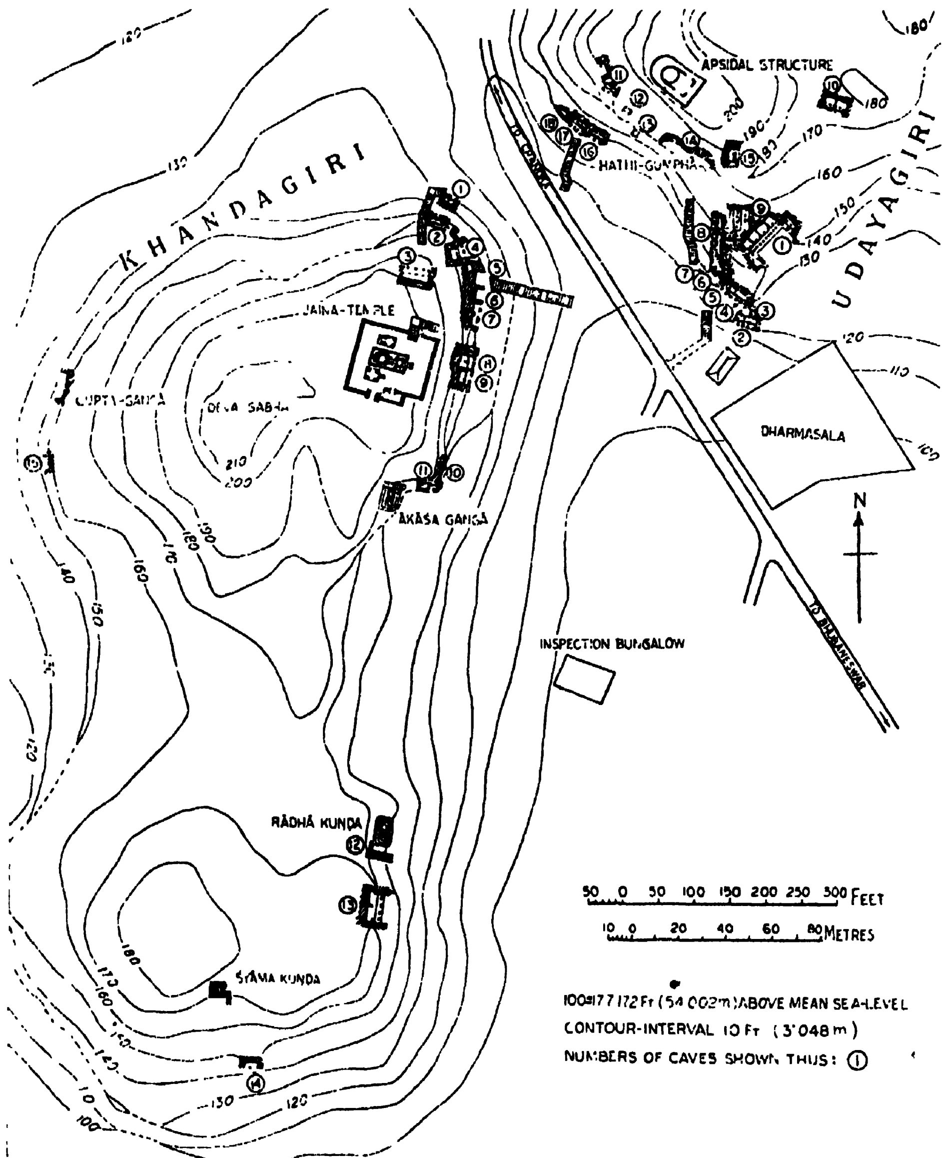


Fig. 1
Udayagiri and Khandagiri: lay-out of the caves

space in front of the Svargapurī is edged by a rock-cut railing (Plate 6), which gives it the appearance of a balcony.

Notwithstanding their being the work of rock-cutters and sculptors and not of masons and engineers required in a true piece of architecture, these rock-cut caves, by their emulating structures of timber, bamboo and thatch, have important place in the history of Jaina architecture. Their importance is further increased by the paucity of extant Jaina buildings of this period. The excavators attempted to copy in live rock structural houses with which they were familiar, with the result that the features peculiar to wooden, tiled and thatched houses were reproduced even if they are irrational and unnecessary for stability. Thus, the ceilings of the cells are in some cases arched and convex like that of a hut; the ceilings of the verandahs supported on brackets and architraves perched on pillars, as in a hut with bamboo and wooden posts, are mostly lower than those of the cells; the floors of the verandahs are at a level lower than those of the cells; the roofs of the verandahs project outward in the form of eaves, the inner sides of the latter being curved as in thatched or wooden huts to break the flow of rain-water; the door-jambs incline inwards making the opening slightly wider at the base than at the top, which is inappropriate in masonry or rock.

The cells are adequately lighted, not only through their opening directly into the verandah or even in the open but also by the profusion of doors, the number of which varies from one to four depending on the size of the cells. In some rare instances there are windows as well. The doors have grooves, cut all around their outer frames, probably to receive movable wooden shutters. Additional holes for hinges, one each at the threshold and the lintel, in a few cases, suggest a single door-leaf. That the walls of the caves were at one time plastered is indicated by patches of shell-lime lingering at places.

The caves can be grouped into two broad categories—one plain without a pillared verandah and the other with a regular pillared verandah. Whether this division has any chronological significance or not cannot be determined, though, on general grounds, some caves of the first category appear to have been earlier than the latter. The former are small, mostly open in front and without any architectural pretension. In a few cases, as in Cave 12 (Bāgh-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill, the roof of the cell projects forward to form a verandah. In most of the caves, which are absolutely open in front, a horizontal chase is seen on the facade. Whether it is meant to divert the rain-water outside the cells or to receive an wooden adjunct is not known. The date of these particular caves is difficult to determine in the absence of inscriptions in them.

The interval of time between the excavations of individual caves of the second category would not appear to be considerable if we examine their

architectural features. Architecturally, these caves form practically one homogeneous group, without evincing any appreciable process of development. They are all characterized by a benched verandah; their pillars are of a uniform pattern, square below and above and octagonal in the middle, the corners of the squares chamfered with the resultant formation of semicircles at the points of transition (Plate 6); they have a similar arrangement of the decoration of the facade of the cells with pilasters, semicircular arches, railings (Plate 14) and sometimes mouldings simulating the barrel-vaulted roofs of structures. None of them bespeaks any different architectonic tradition. On the basis of their architectural features and the palaeography of the inscriptions they bear, they are assignable to the first century B. C. with a probable extension into the next century.

As already noted all the rock-cut caves of the period were meant for the habitation of the Jaina recluses, none being designed as a shrine. Evidently the place of worship on the hills was a structural one. Fortunately a small digging[16] by the author of the uneven, sloping and narrow top of the Udayagiri hill, immediately above the brow of the rock bearing the inscription of Khāravela, yielded the lower portion of a large apsidal structure (Fig. 2; Plate 19), which, no doubt, provided the place of worship.

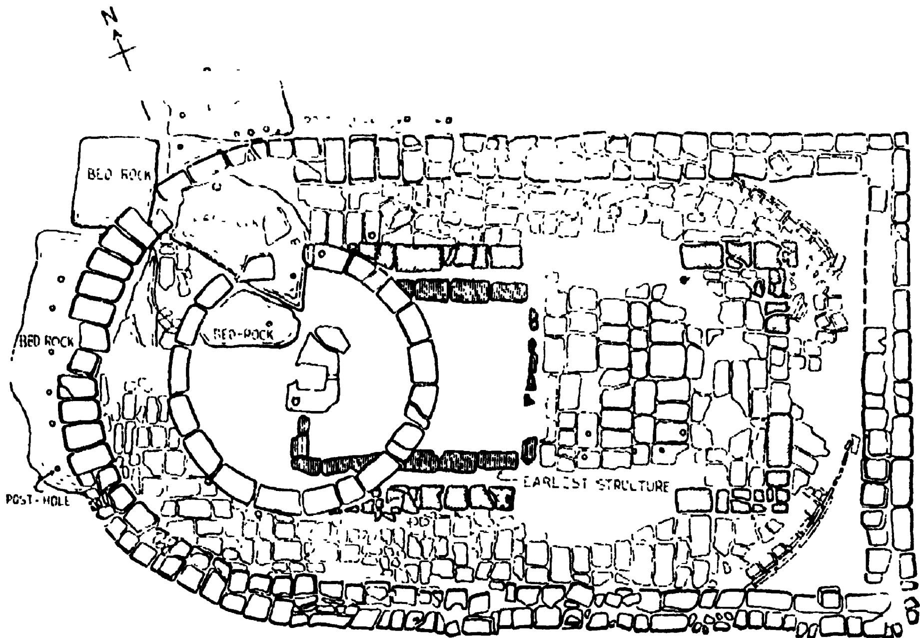


Fig. 2
Udayagiri: apsidal structure on the top of the hill

As excavated, the outer wall of this structure, 23.77 m. in axial length and 14.62 m. in basal width, was made of laterite slabs, the maximum available courses being eight. Within the structure, towards its apse-end was a circular wall, of which only one course of laterite slabs was extant. A large part of the space within the apsidal structure was flagged with laterite slabs, with a filling of lateritic soil underneath; towards the northern end where the sandstone bed-rock rose higher, the rock itself was roughly dressed in a level with the paved surface. From this, it appears that the flagged surface was not intended as the floor which was probably laid slightly higher up so as to cover both the bed-rock and flag-stones. The last were presumably laid with the object of securing a firm level ground above the filling in the depressions of the hill-top.

The outer edges of some of the stones of the circular wall rested on this paving, which, however, was not traceable within the circular wall. The oblong space in front of the circular wall was enclosed by walls, raised on the paved surface within the framework of the apsidal structure, to form a chamber. While the walls of three sides of this chamber ran parallel to the walls of the apsidal structure, a portion of the wall of the circular structure itself formed the back wall of this chamber, there being no other wall on this particular side. The ends of the side-walls of this chamber, with their bevelled edges, joined the circular wall so coherently that the outer plan of the two together became apsidal, the interior plan being analogous to that of the Sudāmā Cave of the Barābar hills (Bihar) and the *caitya-gṛha* at Kondivate (Maharashtra). The lack of proper bonding of the walls of the two at first led the author to think that the oblong chamber, the walls of which abut the circular wall, was later than the circular wall. However, on the analogy of several temples of Bhubaneswar where the walls of the porch abut the front wall of the sanctum without a proper bonding, it is now felt that both the chamber and the circular wall were contemporaneous. In the middle of the three walls of the oblong chamber was an opening, presumably for doors.

As the circular wall had been reduced to a single course when excavated, it is difficult to determine its exact nature and use. However, the plan of the entire complex is so similar to the Buddhist *caitya-gṛhas* with their apse, nave and side-aisles that it is very likely that the circular wall formed the sanctum of the apse and the oblong chamber the hall or nave. On the same analogy the space between their outer wall and the inner edge of the outer apsidal wall could have been used as circumambulatory side-aisles.

The two arc-like buttress-walls of laterite blocks placed on edge in somewhat receding courses, that could be seen near the base within the

framework of the apsidal structure, were presumably erected to sustain the deep depression filling and its overlying flag-stones below the two front corner-walls of the oblong hall, so that the walls of the latter might not sag.

It is not unlikely that there was a barred railing around the structure, for amidst the debris adjoining the terrace in front of the Hāthī-gumphā were found a few fragments of carved sandstone railings.

A rough idea of the elevation of the apsidal structure may be had from the upper part of a relief (Plate 12) on the facade of the ground-floor of Rāṇī-gumphā.

There were several holes at fairly regular intervals in the bed-rock around the outer wall of the apsidal structure. Evidently they held posts. Whether the posts were short to form part of a railing or long to support an architrave (from the top of which projected the eaves) is not known.

In the northern corner of the apsidal structure was a drain cut into the bed-rock and covered with laterite slabs flush with the paving for channelling out water outside.

Partly below the circular structure, and seemingly unconnected with it, was a small oblong chamber, of which one course of laterite slabs is available. It seems to have been the first structure on the site.

In the absence of definite evidence, it is difficult to determine whether the object enshrined in the circular sanctum was a *stūpa*, an auspicious symbol or the image of a Tīrthaṅkara. The third alternative does not recommend itself in view of the total absence of the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in the original reliefs on the caves. On the other hand, we find the worship of the sacred tree (Plate 10) depicted on the facades of Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā) of the Khandagiri hill and Cave 5 (Jayā-Vijayā-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill. Again, on the back wall of Cave 3 of the Khandagiri hill is carved a *nandipada* on a pedestal flanked on either side by three symbols—a triangle-headed one, *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*—all of which are found on the *āyāga-paṭas* of Mathurā. The cult-object (Plate 7) in worship by a royal family depicted on the facade of Cave 9 (Mañcapurī) of Udayagiri is not certainly an image of a Tīrthaṅkara, though it cannot be correctly identified on account of defacement. Over the defaced object (somewhat cylindrical in form), which rests on a high, possibly circular, platform, is perhaps an umbrella.

In the light of these facts and also in view of the circular plan of the sanctum, the object of worship within might have been either a *stūpa* or a sacred emblem on a circular pedestal. A noteworthy feature, though inexplicable for want of evidence, was a fragment of coarse rock, roughly in the centre of the circular

structure, with a squarish scooping with chisel-marks on it. Whether the socket originally contained relics, the base of the post of an umbrella or the tenon of the sacred emblem is now a matter of mere conjecture.

That the object in the circular structure was of high sanctity and attracted pilgrims is proved by the arrangement in front of the Hāthī-gumphā. As already noted, the top of Udayagiri is narrow. In fact, the apsidal structure practically covers the entire top of this particular portion of the hill, the vacant space not being extensive enough to accommodate any large assemblage. To make necessary accommodation for the occasional gathering, an artificial terrace was raised in front of the Hāthī-gumphā with the necessary filling retained by walls running towards Cave 9 and Cave 17. Approach to this terrace was provided by laying an imposing ramp (Plate 20) rising gradually from the foot of the hill and reaching the terrace. Supported on either side by retaining-walls and flagged with laterite slabs, the ramp was wide enough to allow easy passage even to a chariot.

The debris edging the retaining-walls of the terrace near the steps giving access to Cave 17 yielded a few fragments of carved railings and the upper part of a female figure (Plates 21, 22) sculptured in the round, all of sandstone and of the first century B. C.

The apsidal structure is singular on account of its plan which has not so far been noticed in the later temples of Orissa. The plan itself points to its early origin. However, the date of the structure is uncertain but can be guessed from circumstantial evidence. As has been stated above, it is perched on the hill-top, immediately below which, on the brow of a cave (Hāthī-gumphā, Cave 14), is the famous inscription of Khāravela, wherein, among other things, he recounts his activities, including excavation of caves and erection of a certain stone edifice and pillar on the Kumārī hill (present Udayagiri). Architecturally, the Hāthī-gumphā itself is insignificant, being, in fact, only a large natural cavern of irregular shape, enlarged by human hands for some sort of shelter, as shown by chiselling and finishing at the back of side-walls, for occasional assemblages. On the walls are scratched a few names, possibly of pilgrims, some in Gupta characters. The presence of the important record of the mighty ruler on the brow of such an unimportant cave would be fully explained on the assumption that Khāravela himself was responsible for the erection of the apsidal shrine above it.

As already noted, the interiors of the cave are austerely plain. However, the facades of the cells, in several caves, are richly decorated with pilasters with animal-capitals supporting carved arches (Plate 14) above door-openings, the

arches being often connected together by railings (Plates 7 and 14) supported by carved and sculptured brackets (Plates 15, 16, 17 and 18). The spaces above the railings in some caves contain luxuriant reliefs (Plates 7, 13 and 18) depicting scenes, both religious and secular. Some of the friezes have narrative themes (Plates 16 and 18). The tympana below the arches in a few caves, like the Ananta-gumphā, also bear reliefs (Plates 10 and 11). There are again carved and sculptured brackets, which, rising from the pillars, support the ceilings of the verandahs. Some of the pilasters of the verandahs have against them large-sized figures, mostly *dvāra-pālas*, in fairly high relief. The facades of the two guard-rooms of the Rāṇī-gumphā, which received the most exuberant treatment in carvings and sculptured friezes and panels, are also richly carved.

Almost all the decorative patterns used in embellishments are found at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, pointing thereby to one common tradition. This, coupled with the use of some west-Asian motifs like the honeysuckle, merlon and winged animal, which had a wide distribution over a large part of India in this period, precludes the possibility of an independent and isolated development of the art-motifs and tradition. In the patterns themselves also there is hardly anything which is specifically Jaina, for the same motifs are used both by the Buddhists and followers of the Brāhmaṇical faiths.

Although conforming to the common denominator of the art-tradition of Madhyadeśa, the sculptured friezes have a distinct place of their own in early Indian art. The facial features of many of the figures have a provincial look. The workmanship of the reliefs is by no means uniform, but taken as a whole, the execution displays a decided advance on the work of Bhārhut.

The lower storey of the main wing of Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā) has a running frieze which appears to depict the victorious march of a *dig-vijayin* king, starting from his capital, where people gaze at his departure from their houses and his return to the capital after passing through many lands. It is tempting to think that the exploits of Khāravela inspired the theme of this long frieze.[17]

The friezes (Plates 15 and 17) on the facade of the main wing of the upper storey of Cave 1 compare favourably with the reliefs of the gateways of Sāñcī and have practically nothing that would savour of the archaic traits of Bhārhut, like frontality, lack of perspective, rudimentary plastic conception, etc. The reliefs display the artist's appreciable mastery over forms and skill in depicting figures in varied positions—front, back and side. The faces are rendered in full or in three-quarters and half profiles. The poses of the figures are fairly easy and natural, their movement elastic and emotions tolerably well-expressed. The composition is also fairly coherent and effective; the different figures bear

relationship with one another. The reliefs are also mature in depth, displaying a considerable plasticity of form and naturalistic modelling. Slender figures of men and women are marked by a suavity of outline.

The reliefs on the other caves and even those of the lower storey of Cave 1, to a certain extent, are not of this standard. They are relatively crude and inferior in plastic treatment and vivacity. The figures are less elastic, modelling coarse and grouping less coherent. The inequality in artistic attainments becomes palpable when one compares the abduction-scene (Plate 18) in Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) with that (Plate 17) of the upper storey of Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā). The difference may be due to the varied skill of the artists or the interval of time which enabled the artists, improving through experience, to attain mastery in sculptural qualities and compositions, though the interval could not have been appreciable.

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[15] For the Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves, see James Fergusson and James Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India* (London, 1880), pp. 55-94; Rajendralal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II (Calcutta, 1880), pp. 1-46; James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1910), pp. 9-18; Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* (New Delhi, 1960).

[16] (Ed.) A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—a Review* (New Delhi, 1959), pp. 38-40.

[17] Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-2. According to one scholar, the scenes from this frieze would represent Pārśvanātha's wanderings as a Tīrthaṅkara and the honours shown to him. According to the same scholar again, the friezes on the upper storey of Cave 1 and on the front wall of Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) also

represent scenes from the life of Pārśvanātha including his rescue of Prabhāvatī and his subsequent marriage with her (L.S.S.O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers—Puri* (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 256 and 259). However, V. S. Agrawala is inclined to identify two of these scenes with episodes from the tales of Duṣyanta-Śakuntalā and Udayana-Vāsavadattā ('Vāsavadattā and Śakuntalā scenes in the Rāṇī-gumphā cave in Orissa', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIV, 1946, pp. 102-09).

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*After *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. 1 (1974)

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EARLY JAINA SCULPTURE (300 B.C. - 300 A.D.): WEST INDIA

MEDIEVAL Jaina traditions speak of Mahāvīra's visit to west India, especially Bhinmal (Bhillamāla) in south-west Rajasthan or Marwar and Muṇḍasthala (modern Mungthala) near Mount Abu. An inscription dated v.s. 1334 (A. D 1277), recording the consecration of the Mahāvīra temple at Bhinmal by Pūrṇacandra Sūri, says that Mahāvīra had visited Bhillamāla.[1] A later inscription, of v.s. 1426 (A. D. 1369), from the Jaina temple at Mungthala also says that Mahāvīra had visited that place.[2] But Mahāvīra's itinerary seems to have been limited to east India only. He had been to Lāḍha (Rāḍha) in the east where he suffered great hardships at the hands of local primitive population.

Mauryan rule extended westward at least up to Bairat in Rajasthan, Girnār in Gujarat and Sopara in the Deccan as evidenced by Aśoka's edicts at these places, and it is very likely that his grandson Samprati, whose patronage to Jainism is well-attested by early texts like the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* and the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*,[3] did continue to exercise control over these parts. But no relic of Jaina art which can be definitely assigned to the Mauryan or Śuṅga period has been discovered from these regions.

A fragmentary inscription discovered at Barli, Ajmer District, was read as referring to the year 84 after Vīra and to Majhamikā (Madhyamikā), modern Nagari near Chitorgarh.[4] D. C. Sircar has, however, shown that the reading *Vīrāt 84* is not tenable,[5] and hence the Jaina association of this inscription is now discarded.

The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, an early text of the fourth-fifth century A. D., speaks of a Jīvantasvāmin (life-time image of Mahāvīra) at Ujjain.[6] The *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* (*c.* sixth century) also refers to it, and the *Ṭīkā* on this work gives a fuller account of the conversion of Samprati to Jainism by Ārya Suhastin during the *ratha-yātrā* festival (of this image) at Ujjain.[7]

The *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (seventh century) gives an account of the queen of Uddāyaṇa of Vītabhayapattana, in Sindhu-Sauvīra, as worshipping a Jīvantasvāmin sandalwood portrait of Mahāvīra, which was later carried off by Pradyota of Avanti and ultimately continued in worship at Vidiśā.[8] But we have

EARLY JAINA SCULPTURE (300 B.C.-300 A.D.): WEST INDIA



Plate 1 Bronze Pārśvanātha, provenance unknown, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *c.* 1st century B. C.



Plate 2 Bāwā-Pyārā's cave, Junagadh, Gujarat, 100 A.D. to 700 A.D.

no other evidence of Jina worship in Maurya or Śuṅga period in territories west of Avanti-Malwa region.

The first portrait-sculpture of Mahāvīra, made of sandalwood, was thus worshipped by the queen of king Uddāyaṇa of Vītabhayapattana. This was carried away by Pradyota of Avanti and installed for worship later at Vidiśā. But Pradyota took away the original only after depositing a copy of it in Vītabhayapattana. A further interesting account of these statues is given by the great scholiast and monk Hemacandrācārya in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*, which shows that the original image of Vidiśā later came to be worshipped as Bhaillasvāmin,[9] while the copy at Vītabhayapattana was buried in a sandstorm along with the city itself. Uddāyaṇa had installed it in a temple and donated gifts for its worship by issuing royal charters.[10] According to Hemacandra, Kumārapāla, the Cālukyan king whose rule extended up to Sind in the west, Jalor and parts of Rajasthan in the north and over almost the whole of modern Gujarat, sent special officers to the site of the capital of Sauvīrā, and they dug out the wooden statue along with the charter issued by Uddāyaṇa. Hemacandra further says that these were brought to Patan and the image was installed in a new shrine by Kumārapāla,[11] whose leanings towards and patronage of Jainism are well-known.

If this contemporary account is true, and it is difficult to believe that a person of the stature of Hemacandra would have cared to fabricate it or narrate from hearsy, then we have to admit that even during the life-time of Mahāvīra Jaina art and Jina worship had spread not only in Malwa-Avanti region but also westward as far as Sindhu-Sauvīra. According to the Jaina canonical text *Bhagavatī-sūtra* (13.6.191), Mahāvīra had gone to Vītabhayapattana to ordain king Uddāyaṇa who wanted to pay a visit to Mahāvīra.[12]

A very old bronze of Pārśvanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga*-pose, with the right hand and a part of the snake-hoods overhead mutilated, exists in the collections of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Plate 1).[13] Its pedestal is missing, and unfortunately there is no record of its original findspot. It bears close affinity in style with a terracotta figurine from Mohenjodaro.[14] The limbs are long and slim and can also be compared with those of the Mohenjodaro dancing girl.[15] The modelling of the torso, especially of the belly and abdomen, closely allied to the highly-polished torso of a Jina image from Lohānipur, now in the Patna Museum (see previous article of Debala Mitra, Plate 1), and the Harappa red stone torso. Thus the bronze is modelled in the Indus style which seems to have continued down to the Mauryan age. The physiognomy is peculiar, also comparable with that of the Mohenjodaro bronze dancing girl and

a few Mauryan and early Śuṅga mother-goddess terracottas from Mathurā, Hathras and other sites. It is difficult to assign a correct age or provenance to the bronze in the absence of any record, but the stylistic comparisons cited here clearly show that it cannot be later than *c.* 100 B. C. and may be even earlier.

The bronze, cast in *cire perdue*, is very light in weight. It is not unlikely that it was obtained for the Bombay Museum from some part of western India—Sind, Rajasthan, Gujarat or Kutch.[16]

According to the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, it was difficult for Jaina monks to obtain alms (according to the prescribed rules) in the south beyond Pratiṣṭhānapura, and it was Samprati who ordered that such facilities should be provided so that Jaina monks could travel farther south to propagate the doctrines of Jainism. One hears of Jaina followers at Śūrpāraka, and Vajrasena, pupil of Ārya Vajra (traditional date *c.* 57 B. C. to A. D. 50), gave initiation to some monk-disciplines at Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara, near Bombay).[17] Out of these four disciples started the four ancient *kulas* (schools, orders) of Jaina monks, namely, Nāgendra, Candra, Vidyādhara and Nivṛtti. Also Ārya Samudra and Ārya Maṅgu had been to Śūrpāraka.[18] However, no early Jaina images of this age have yet been discovered in western India or the Deccan.[19]

That the Jainas were very active in west India during the early centuries of the Christian era is proved by the accounts of Ārya Khapuṭa of Broach,[20] and Ārya Pādalipta[21] and Nāgārjuna in Saurashtra (near Palitana) and Valabhī (also in Saurashtra) respectively.[22] Ārya Nāgārjuna was the head of the first Valabhī Council in the early fourth century A. D. Ācārya Mallavādī, the great Jaina logician and author of the *Dvādaśāra-Nayacakra*, defeated the Buddhists in a dispute at Valabhī in early fourth century.[23] Ārya Vajra, the teacher of Ārya Vajrasena, referred to above, is reported to have visited the Ābhīra country,[24] Dakṣiṇāpatha[25] and even Śrīmāla[26] (modern Bhinmal in Marwar).

At Junagadh near Girnār is a group of about twenty monastic rock-cut cells, known as caves of Bāwā-Pyārā's Maṭh and described by Burgess.[27] Arranged in three lines, these caves have a very early form of *caitya*-window ornament over Cave B (Plate 2). Cave F of Burgess is a primitive cell, flat-roofed, originally with four pillars, the back being like a semicircular apse. Cave K in this group has two cells with carvings of the auspicious pot-and-foliage (*maṅgala-kalasa*) and other symbols like the *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *bhadrāsana*, *mīna-yugala*, etc. (Fig. 1), found on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭas*. These symbols could not conclusively establish the Jaina character of these dwellings, since there seems to have been an unfinished (perhaps later) attempt to add these symbols in front of one cell. But the discovery of a mutilated inscribed slab (buried in front of Cell I) of the time of the grandson of Jayadāman (Rudrasena,

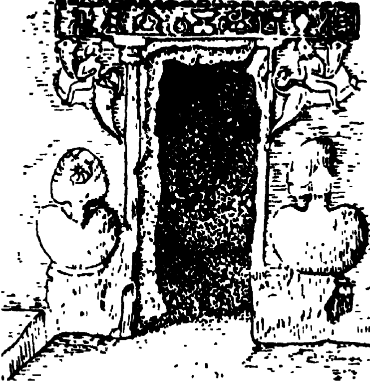


Fig. 1
Junagadh: Bāwā-Pyārā's caves, entrance to Cave K. (After Burgess)

the son of Rudradāman),[28] referring to those who had obtained *kevala-jñāna* and conquered age shows that at least in the second century A. D. the caves were in the hands of the Jainas.[29] The absence of any definite Buddhist symbols is significant. It would not be wrong to suppose that the Jainas had a monastic establishment near Girnār.

According to the Digambara tradition given by Vīrasenācārya, the author of the *Dhavalā* commentary, some time after six hundred and eighty years of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, i.e., towards the end of the first century A. D. or in the second century A. D., a great Jaina monk Ācārya Dharasena taught scriptures to Puṣpadanta Bhūtabali in the Candraśālā cave near Girinagara (Girnār).[30] This is identified by Hiralal Jain with the caves of Bāwā-Pyārā's Maṭh.[31] Vīrasena wrote his commentary on the *sūtras* composed by Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali after studying scriptures from Dharasena. In view of the inscription referred to above, and in view of this Digambara tradition, the Jaina association of the caves seems obvious. The *Soraṭṭhiya-sāhā* (*śākhā*) of Māṇava-gaṇa starting from Sthavira Ṛṣigupta, mentioned in the *Kalpa-Sūtra-Sthavirāvalī*, would further suggest that already in *c.* second-first centuries B. C. there existed a group of Jaina monks in Saurashtra.

Regarding Jaina art in the north-west, Marshall suggested that the *stūpa* at Sirkap (Block F), Taxila, might have been a Jaina *stūpa*,[32] since a double-headed eagle in a niche in its basement reminded him of a similar motif on the *stūpa*-relief on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭa* set up by Vasu, the daughter of Loṇaśobhikā.[33] But the total absence of any other Jaina relic in the whole of this extensively-excavated site cannot be overlooked. Jaina traditions do speak of only a *dharma-cakra* set up by Bāhubali, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, in Uttarāpatha.[34] The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* and the *Paumacariya* do not mention the account of origin of the *dharma-cakra* at Takṣaśilā given by Haribhadra in his *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* on the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*.[35] Besides, Digambara sources do not refer to this incident and associate Bāhubali with Potanapura and not Takṣaśilā. The Jaina association of the Sirkap *stūpa* is, therefore, not certain.[36]

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1907-08, p. 35.

[2] Munirāja Śrī-Jayantavijaya, *Arbudācala Pradakṣiṇā Jaina-lekha-sandoha* (Bhavnagar, 1947), V, inscription 48.

[3] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, III, *gāthās* 3277-3289, pp. 917-21; *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*, section 5, *gāthā* 2154, and *Cūrṇi*, p. 362; *Sthavirāvalī-caritra* or *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra, XI, 55-110.

[4] R. R. Halder in *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, 1921, p. 229; G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (Ajmer, 1918), pp. 2-3; K. P. Jayaswal in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVI, 1930, pp. 67-8.

[5] D. C. Sircar, 'Barli fragmentary stone inscription', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, pp. 34-8.

[6] (Eds.) Muni Caturvijaya and Puṇyavijaya, *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* (Bhavnagar, 1930), *khaṇḍa* I, part I, p. 61. The image at Ujjain is also referred to in the *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (Ratlam, 1923), II, p. 157. For the Jīvantasvāmin image, see U. P. Shah, 'A unique Jaina image of Jīvantasvāmi', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, I, 1951-52, pp. 72-9, and 'Sidelights on the life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra', *ibid*., pp. 358-68.

[7] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, III, *gāthā* 3277, pp. 917 ff. The *Kalpa-Cūrṇi*, still in MSS. (earlier than the *Ṭīkā* on *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*), also describes this, see quotation in Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 'Vīra-nīrvāṇa-saṁvat aur Jaina kālagaṇanā', *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (Hindi journal), Benaras, X, 1930.

[8] *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 397-401, commenting on *Āv.-Niryukti, gāthā* 774. Also see *Āv.-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, Surat, 1916, I, part 2, pp. 296-300; *Āv.-Niryukti*, I, pp. 156 f.; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life as Depicted in the Jaina Canons* (Bombay, 1947), p. 349; Shah, *op. cit.*

[9] *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita, parvan* 10, *sarga* 11, especially verses 604 ff.

[10] *Ibid., sarga* 11, verses 623 ff.

[11] *Ibid., parvan* 10, *sarga* 12, verses 36-93.

[12] Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 309; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, II, p. 314, and IV, pp. 1073 f.; *Bhāṣya, gāthās* 912-13.

[13] U. P. Shah, 'An early bronze of Pārśvanātha', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 3, 1952-53, pp. 63-5 and plates.

[14] John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), III, pl. XCV, 26 and 27; Mackay, *Further Excavation at*

Mohenjo-daro (New Delhi, 1938), II, pl. LXXXII, 6, 10, 11 and pl. LXXV, 1, 21.

[15] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XCIV, 6-8. For some terracottas comparable with this bronze, see D. H. Gordon, 'Early terracottas', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XI, 1943.

[16] Moti Chandra and Gorakshakar suggest a second century A. D. date and a north-Indian provenance [see the chapter on the 'Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay' in the volume III of *Jaina Art and Architecture* edited by A. Ghosh, Bharatiya Jnanpith.]. The author of the present article says, in personal correspondence, that because of the affinity with the Indus art, the bronze in question could have come from a west-Indian site -- perhaps in Sind -and could have been obtained for the Museum by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India who had extensively explored the west-Indian sites. He adds that Professor V. S. Agrawala was especially intrigued by the absence of the *śrīvatsa*-mark, which is found on the chest of all north-Indian Jina figures.—A. Ghosh

[17] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, pp. 917-21; cf. *Paṭṭāvalī-samuccaya*, (ed.) Muni Darśanavijaya (Viramgam, 1933), *Kalpa-Sūtra-Sthavirāvalī*, p. 8; *ibid.*, *Guruparvakrama* of Guṇaratnasūri, p. 26; *ibid.*, *Śrī-Tapāgaccha-Paṭṭāvalī*, pp. 47-8.

[18] J. C. Jain, *Bhārata ke Prācīna Jaina Tīrtha* (Hindi), p. 65; *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 6, 239 ff. The *Tapāgaccha-Paṭṭāvalī* of Mahopādhyāya Śrī-Dharmasāgaragaṇī, *Paṭṭāvalī-samuccaya*, I, p. 46, says: *Śrī-Virāt tri-pañcāśad-adhika-catuḥ-śata-varṣātikrame 453 Bhṛgukacche Āryā-Khapuṭā-cārya iti paṭṭāvalyām/Prabhavāka-carite tu catur-aśītyadhika-catuḥ-śata 484-- varṣe Ārya-Khapuṭācāryaḥ/sapta-ṣaṣṭy-adhika-catuḥ-śata 467 varṣe Arya-Maṅguḥ.*

[19] Sankalia has recently published an inscription from a cave at Pala, about 12 km. from Kamshet in Pune District, which he reads: (1) *namo Arihantanaṁ Phaguna* (2) *da bhadanta Indarakhitena lenaṁ* (3) *kārāpitam podi ca sahā ca kahe sahā*. He suggests that the cave is a Jaina one. He assigns the inscription to *c.* second century B. C. H. D. Sankalia in *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati journal), Baroda, VII, 4, pp. 419 ff. and plate. It is well-known that the term *arhat* was used commonly by both Buddhists and Jainas at the early stage. It is difficult to say when the term came to be exclusively used by the Jainas. Because of the definite Buddhist association of Karla and other caves in this area, one cannot be too sure that the inscription is of Jaina origin but that possibility cannot be completely ruled out. It must be remembered that some time before the Gupta period, and by the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, the term *arhat* or *arihanta* gradually came to be reserved for Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

[20] *Av. Nir.* with *Cūrṇi*, p. 542; *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*, 10, p. 101; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, 4, 5115 ff. Also see note above.

[21] *Āv. Cū.*, p. 554; *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*, 497 f.

[22] Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-18.

[23] Muni Jambūvijayaji, *Dvādaśāra-Nayacakra*, introduction.

[24] *Āv. Cū.*, pp. 396-97.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

[26] *Āv. Ṭīkā*, p. 390a. Ārya Vaira (Vajra) is possibly the same as Ācārya-ratna Muni Vairadeva of the Sonbhaṇḍār cave inscription at Rajgir, as shown by U. P. Shah in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXIX, 1953, pp. 410-12. [Others have doubted this identification, see previous article of Devala Mitra. The writer of the present article says in personal correspondence that in all known Digambara and Śvetāmbara literature or *Paṭṭāvalīs* there are only two monks--Ācārya Vajra and his pupil Vajrasena (in Prakrit Vaira and Vairasena) who could have been referred to in the Sonbhaṇḍār inscription; the identification suggested by him is therefore highly probable. About the date of the caves, he draws attention to S. K. Saraswati's views.—A. Ghosh.]

[27] Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kacch*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, II (London, 1876), pp. 139 ff. H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1941), pp. 47-53.

[28] A. M. Ghatge in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Eds.) R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Bombay, 1960), p. 418, suggests that he was Damayasada or Rudrasiṁha I.

[29] Burgess, *op. cit.*; Sankalia, *op. cit.*

[30] *Teṇa iv Soraṭṭha-visaya-Girininayara paṭṭaṇa-candaguhā-ṭhieṇa aṭṭhaṁga-mahā-nimitta-pāraneṇa gantha-vocchedo hoḥadi tti jāda-bhayena pavayaṇa-vacchaleṇa dakkhiṇāvahāiriyāṇaṁ mahimāe miliyāṇaṁ leho pesido. Dhavalā-Ṭīkā.*

[31] Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharma kā Yoga-dāna* (Hindi) (Bhopal, 1962), pp. 41-2, 75-6, 309-10.

[32] John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. (Delhi, 1936), plate XIII, p. 88; Motichandra, 'Kuch Jaina anuśrutiyān aur purātattva' (Hindi), *Prem'i Abhinandana Grantha*, pp. 229-49.

[33] J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, pp. 184 f.; V. S. Agrawala in *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 69-70, has revised the earlier reading of the inscription.

[34] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* V, *gāṣha* 5824, gives the catchword *cakra*, which the commentator explains as *Uttarāpathe Dharma-cakram.*

[35] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* with commentary of Haribhadra, I, 332, and pp. 144 ff. In this account Ṛṣabhanātha is reported to have gone from Takṣaśilā to Bahali-aḍambilla and preached to the people of Bahali and to the Yonakas and Pahlagas. The verses in this account suggest that Takṣaśilā was probably included in the province of Balkh-Bactria (Bahali) in the age of the origin of this account.

[36] For a fuller discussion, see U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Banaras, 1955), p. 10 and note; U. P. Shah, 'Bāhubali—a unique bronze in the Museum', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 5, 1953-54, pp. 32-9, Plates V and VI.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

* After *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol.1 (1974)

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HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

ICONOGRAPHY is the science of 'icons'—a word coming from the Greek word 'eikon', which stands for a figure representing a deity through any means or agency intended for worship. The subject covers discussions about making of icons, their consecration, if intended for worship, and allied topics. As per Hindu concept, icon worship is the easiest way to appease the Almighty and finally seek way for self-realization. Traces of icon worship are found from the Vedic times, and archaeological evidences are there to show that it had been current in proto-historic period (*c*. 2800-2200 B.C.). It has been well accepted that all the gods, goddesses, demigods etc. are manifestations of one and the same Supreme, hence worship of any of them leads to the same goal.

The schools of the Buddhist and Jaina philosophy, at large, did not propound the existence of God as such. It is a different matter that in due course the Buddha and the Tīrthaṅkaras were themselves raised to that status; and a large pantheon of male and female divinities was introduced. The Brāhmaṇic schools, accepting authenticity of the Vedas did believe in the omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent Supreme, that is Brahma, indescribable and beyond the reach of mind and speech. Its existence and identity with every being, including one's own self, have been described as a matter of realization (*anubhava*) only. At the same time this type of self-realization has been regarded as extremely difficult for an ordinary human being, and, therefore, as an initial stage the doctrine of *bhakti*, that is meditating and worshipping the Supreme in different visible shapes such as symbols like the magical diagrams (*yantra*, *maṇḍala*), visible emblems like the sun, fire, sacred rivers, mountains, trees, animals, etc. and mainly the human forms with immense powers to grant boons and suppress various trouble-causing elements, and unfathomable compassion for all, was well accepted. This is called *saguṇopāsanā*, or worshipping the Supreme in material form. Firm belief in *saguṇopāsanā* ultimately leading to self-realization is the root cause of Image Worship. This being within easy approach of common people desirous of unending prosperity and release from all sorts of troubles and bondages was embraced by the followers of the heterodox schools as well.

In the initial stage the images of gods and goddesses were conceived very much similar to human beings. No specific mounts were assigned to them, and appearance of consorts also was not deemed necessary. However, a few exceptions like Śiva were there. By the end of *c*. fourth century and onwards with appearance of the enlarged versions of the epics and the Purāṇas, different sectarian works, thoughts and traditions, the system of modelling the icons underwent a change. For establishing the supernatural powers, functionary qualities and the all-pervading aspect of the deity concerned, depiction of multiheaded, multihanded and even multilegged icons with several emblems, attributes, mounts, associated divinities, etc. came into vogue. These changes and innovations had specific purposes behind them. A few examples would make the point clear.

Brahmā is responsible for all-round creation, and the root cause of this lies hidden in *yajña* or sacrifice; at the same time Brahmā refrains from fighting with anybody. Befitting these aspects he is shown with four faces and sacrificial ladles in hands. Viṣṇu is responsible for maintenance, which requires the promotion of love, beauty and pleasure along with qualities to control, govern and punish. Melodious, but at times terror-causing conch, fragrant lotus, and weapons like club, discus, sword, etc. serve the desired purpose. Śiva is destroyer, but in turn also the carrier of the 'seed' (*bīja*). These aspects are well indicated by his benevolent (*saumya*), malevolent (*ugra*) forms with erect genital organ (*ūrdhvaliṅga*) and also by the attributes he carries like a water vessel, trident, battle axe, blazing fire, kettledrum, etc. Gaurī or Pārvatī is the goddess practising penance, and so she carries a rosary and water vessel; on the other hand Durgā is the martial goddess on lion with several weapons, bell, noose and even a severed head in hands. Sarasvatī is the goddess of pure knowledge. This aspect is well indicated by her mount goose and the objects she carries, namely a manuscript and a rosary suggesting constant revision and repetition. Her playing on *vīṇā* stands for deep and harmonious concentration. Similarly, the running posture of Vāyu with fluttering garment in hands, a purse in the hand of Kubera, the god of wealth, or balancing of heavy club on shoulder by Hanumān, go to suggest the functionary aspects of the respective deities.

Detailed discussion of this topic is beyond our present limits, but suffice would it be to show that various attributes, mounts, consorts, associated divinities, etc. in the composition of the icons carry some context, specific meanings or purposes behind them.

Images are generally made of stone, metals, wood or clay; even the paintings on wall, cloth, metal sheets, paper etc. serve the same purpose. In every case the sculptor or artist is required to be very careful in following all the rules prescribed

for image-making regarding medium, height, physical features, attributes, mounts (*vāhana*) and subordinate figures.

DESCRIPTION OF VARIOUS ICONS: GAṆAPATI

Among all the gods the elephant headed deity Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, responsible for warding off hindrances and evils, commands countrywide worship in the beginning of every ritual. Let us start our discussions with this god.

He is the younger son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Siddhi and Buddhi are his two wives, and he takes a rat as his mount. An elephant head with single tusk, loose elongated belly and short stature are his main features. Usually he carries a battle-axe, goad, noose and bowl full of sweet balls (*modaka*) in his hands, but with his other forms his emblems and mounts get changed.

Mention of Gaṇapati in literature is traceable to a much earlier period, but in plastic art his earliest images have been reported from Saṅkīsa and Mathurā (U.P.) datable to 3rd-4th centuries A. D. By *c.* 7th century his multi-armed figures carrying different attributes came in vogue. Furthermore his images with five trunks also became popular (Fig. 1). In his other forms like Heramba and Mayūreśvara, a lion and a peacock appear as his mounts. In some cases Gaṇapati is seen as perfect elephant (Gaja-Vināyaka) standing enface.



Fig. 1
Gaṇeśa, multiheaded with five trunks, *c.* 16th century A.D. (once in the Sampurnananda Sanskrit University Museum, Varanasi; now lost)

Dancing Gaṇeśa: Images of this type gained popularity roughly from *c.* 8th century A.D. These are seen with two, four, six, eight or even sixteen hands with various attributes. The god with anklets and jingling bells on feet is seen accompanied by attendants with drums etc.

Gaṇeśa with his consort: In this form the god is seen seated embracing his consort. Both of his wives are rarely there. In the Tāntric form called Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati both the god and his consort are naked engaged in amorous activities.

Yakṣa-Vināyaka: A very interesting but comparatively much later image under this name at Varanasi (U.P.) with five trunks

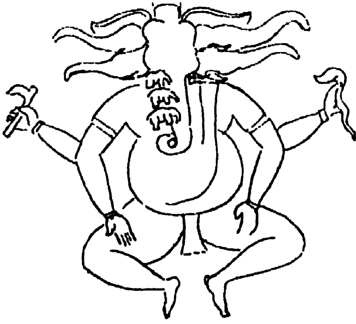


Fig. 2
Yakṣa-Vināyaka, *c* 17th century A.D. Varanasi

further shows miniature figures of three elephants clinched to the tusk (Fig. 2). This is supported by his name Daṁṣṭrālagna-dvipaghaṭaḥ, that is 'one having tusk with assembly of elephants', appearing in the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*.

BRAHMĀ

Brahmā being responsible for creation is called 'Grandfather' (*Pitāmaha*). *Brāhmaṇa* in appearance he is closely related with the four Vedas, their study, sacrifices, sages and the *brāhmaṇas* in general. In later phases of history his worship went into oblivion, but he has always been honoured as a member of the basic Trinity, that is Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, responsible for maintenance and Śiva, the destroyer.

Somewhat bulky body, four faces—the central one sometimes being bearded, four hands carrying sacrificial ladles, rosary and water jar are the main features of his images. A goose is his mount and the name of his consort is Sāvitrī. Sometimes Gāyatrī too has been mentioned as his wife.

A beautiful figure of Brahmā from Mirpurkhas (Sindh) shows him with four faces and two arms only. This is datable to *c*. 6th century. Brahmā's images with four faces and four arms are common, but in some cases only three faces are visible. Some medieval sculptures depict him seated in embrace with his wife. Besides his independent figures, Brahmā is seen in the following cases:

—Figures showing the Trinity;

—Attached to the *liṅga* shaft along with Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, etc.;

—Performing marriage sacrifice in the Kalyāṇasundara figures of Śiva;

—Seated on lotus in the figures of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu;

—Syncretistic images like Hari—Hara—Sūrya—Pitāmaha;

—With Śiva or Viṣṇu in the composition of Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava images.

Images of Brahmā have been reported from South India also. One beautiful figure hailing from Bādāmī (Karnataka) shows him seated on lotus with rosary, sacrificial ladles and water jar, normal left hand being in protection imparting pose. The goose is on his right and the seven sages offering prayers on the left. It is believed that the worship of Brahmā went into oblivion from *c*. 10th century onwards.

VIṢṆU

Viṣṇu, the god responsible for maintenance, finds mention in the Vedic literature, but in later Vedic and subsequent periods becomes more and more important. Apart from his images, votive pillars, footprints and *śālagrāma* stones—fossils from the river Gaṇḍakī, are treated as symbolic objects for his worship.

In the sphere of sculptural art the image from Malhar (Bilaspur, M.P.) datable to *c*. 3rd-2nd centuries B. C. seems to represent the starting phase. During the Kuṣāṇa age (*c*.1st-3rd centuries A. D.) Viṣṇu images specially from Mathurā (U.P.) region have been reported in pretty large number. Made of the spotted red sandstone most of them are small in size and carved in the round (Figs. 3 & 4). Barring a few exceptions they are four armed and carry mace, wheel and conch clock-wise. The normal right hand is seen raised to the shoulder in *abhaya* (imparting protection) pose. In a few cases the conch has been replaced by a water pot. Associated deities are conspicuously absent.



Fig. 3
Reverse view of Viṣṇu figure, Kuṣāṇa period, Isapur, Mathurā, GMM. 15.956



Fig. 4
Reverse view of Viṣṇu figure, Kuṣāṇa period, Mathurā, GMM. 29. 2002

In the Gupta period (*c*. 4th-6th centuries A. D.), Viṣṇu images (Plate 1, Fig. 5) underwent significant changes such as:

— sophisticated delineation;

— suspended extra hands;

— limited but fine ornaments including a crown, pearl sacred thread and knee-reaching *vanamālā*;

— appearance of the emblems mace (*gadā*), wheel (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*) in human form called *āyudha-puruṣa*. In a few cases a rosary (*akṣa-mālā*) and citrus like fruit (*citraphala*) also appear in hands, but lotus (*padma*) is absent.

In subsequent periods Viṣṇu icons in North India (Plate 2) evinced several new features along with various regional trends. These can be briefly enlisted as:



Fig. 5
Viṣṇu, Gupta period, NM. 70.1



Fig. 6
Viṣṇu, c. 10th/11th century A. D.
South India

Carving in bold relief;

— Presence of lotus;

— Profuse and heavy ornaments including anklets (*nūpura*) on feet;

— Increase in number of subordinate and associated figures such as Brahmā and Śiva in the upper corners of the back-slab (*rathikā*), ten incarnations, celestial beings carrying garlands (*mālā-vidyādhara*), Lakṣmī, Garuḍa, *āyudha-puruṣas* flanking the main figure, serpents, devotees etc. in the lower field;

— Lotus below the feet of the god;

— Appearance of Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī as consorts of Viṣṇu in art of Eastern India.

Viṣṇu in South India (Fig. 6): Apart from the Saṅgama literature (*c.* 300 B. C.-200 A. D.), Viṣṇu as Tirumala finds mention in works datable to *c.* 2nd century A. D. An inscription from Nagārjunakoṇḍa (A.P.) assignable to *c.* 278 A. D. refers to

a wooden image of eight armed Viṣṇu. A stone slab from Koṇḍamotu (A.P., 3rd-4th centuries) bears clear representations of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa (Vāsudeva), Narasiṁha, Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha. Viṣṇu worship got further impetus during the times of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins (*c.* 440-631 A. D.). Aihole (Karnataka) was another centre of Vaiṣṇavism during 6th-7th centuries. The chief characteristics of Viṣṇu images of this and subsequent ages are the following:

1) Figures of all the three types, standing, sitting and reclining are found.
2) High cylindrical crown, pearl sacred thread, rings on fingers and toes, upraised extra hands, bands running round the stomach and heavy ornaments are some noticeable features seen in stone and metal figures.
3) The wheel and conch are held in upraised hands, but the mace is not always there.
4) The *āyudha-puruṣas* are absent in later periods, so are the subordinate figures in independent images, but they are there in other forms like *Varāha*, *Śeṣaśāyī*, etc. as per need.
5) Popular forms of Viṣṇu are Śrīnivāsa or Veṅkaṭeśa, Raṅganātha, Narasiṁha, Varāha, Viṭṭhala or Pāṇḍuraṅga etc. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are of course in plenty.

SOME SPECIFIC VAIṢṆAVA ICONS

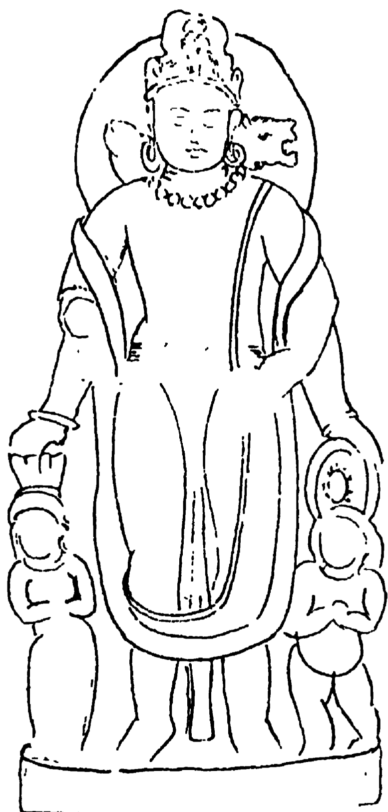
CATURVYŪHA VIṢṆU (Fig. 7): A unique figure from Mathurā (GMM. 14.392-95) datable to the Kuṣāṇa age shows all the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu, namely Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha in one and the same image.



Fig. 7
Caturvyūha Viṣṇu, Kuṣāṇa period, Mathurā, GMM. 14.392-95

VAIKUṆṬHA (Figs. 8, 9, 10): Viṣṇu with lateral faces of a lion and boar and sometimes also a demonic face at the back is called Vaikuṇṭha. According to the Khajuraho inscription of king Yaśovarman (*c.* 954 A. D.) Viṣṇu had assumed this form to kill three demons. Vaikuṇṭha images remained popular in North India, specially in Kashmir.

VIŚVARŪPA: This can be described as the developed form of *Vaikuṇṭha*. It is a multiheaded and multiarmed figure with a large number of surrounding deities. Being closely related with the description in the eleventh *adhyāya* of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, some images



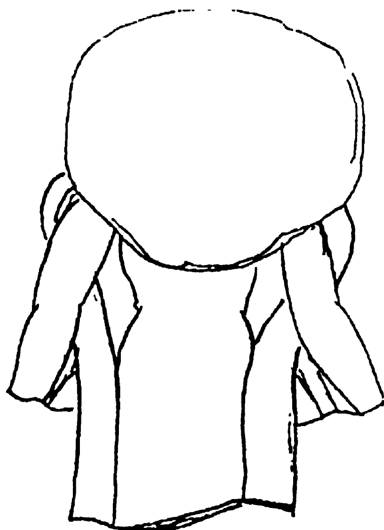


Fig. 9
Reverse view of GMM. D. 28

Fig. 8
Vaikuṇṭha, Gupta period,
Khānnī Mathurā, GMM. D. 28



Fig. 10
Vaikuṇṭha, Gupta period, Mathurā, GMM. 34. 2480

of Viśvarūpa, datable to *c.* 7th-8th centuries A. D. (e.g. SML H. 124) actually show the miniature figure of Arjuna in the composition.

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA Viṣṇu is often seen seated on Garuḍa either alone or with his consort Lakṣmī. This type is called Kari-varada, when associated with the episode of Gajendra-mokṣa.

ŚEṢAŚĀYĪ Viṣṇu reclining on the cosmic serpent Śeṣa, Lakṣmī shampooing his feet and Brahmā seated on a full blown lotus uprising from Viṣṇu's navel is termed as Śeṣaśāyī or Ananta-śayana. This type starts from 5th century A. D. and remains popular throughout the country.

HARI-HARA It is a syncretistic form showing Śiva on right and Viṣṇu on left in one and the same image with their respective emblems (Plate 3). The type, basically aiming at advocating unity of the two gods, remained popular from early centuries of the Christian era. In other syncretistic forms Viṣṇu is seen with Śiva, Sūrya and Brahmā.

PĀNDURANGA, VITTHALA This two-armed god, a form of Kṛṣṇa, is seen standing with both of his hands resting on hips, at the same time carrying a conch and a lotus. This is the chief deity of the Vārakarī sect of Maharashtra with Paṇḍharapura as the main centre.

HAYAGRĪVA Viṣṇu assumed this horse-headed form to recover the Vedas from the demons. He came to be closely associated with styles of reciting the Vedas. A Hayagrīva image datable to the Kuṣāṇa period has been reported from Mathurā, but by and large the form enjoys wide popularity in South India.

JAGANNĀTHA Jagannātha, the presiding deity at Puri in Orissa is again a form of Kṛṣṇa worshipped along with his elder brother Baladeva and sister Subhadrā. Iconography of all the three images, which are made of wood only, is very peculiar and resembles tribal gods.

INCARNATIONS OF VIṢṆU. It is believed that when need arises, Viṣṇu gets himself incarnated for protection of the noble, destruction of the wicked and the establishment of righteous law. The number of his incarnations (*avatāra*) varies between 4 to 39, but the usual standard number is 10. These are briefly discussed below:

(1 & 2) FISH (MATSYA) AND TORTOISE (KŪRMA): Viṣṇu assumed the form of a fish to deal with the demon Śaṅkha, and became a tortoise to render firm support to mount Mandarācala in course of churning of the ocean (*samudra-manthana*). Free standing figures of these two incarnations are generally not met with, but they do appear in the group of all the ten.

(3) BOAR (VARĀHA): The credit of killing the demon Hiraṇyākṣa and bringing up the earth (Pṛthvī) submerged in waters goes to the Varāha incarnation. In his full fledged boar form he is equated with sacrifice and called Yajña-varāha, while his anthropomorphic form is known as Nṛ-varāha with the goddess Pṛthvī clenched to his tusk and supported on his elbow. In his animal form Varāha is found in North India only. Nṛ-varāha of the Kuṣāṇa period is known from Mathurā (GMM. 65.15) and has been current throughout India down to late medieval period.

(4) NARASIṀHA Viṣṇu became Man-lion to save his devotee Prahlāda and kill Hiraṇyakaśipu. In his earliest representation from Koṇḍamotu (A. P.) he is seen as a seated lion with two human hands holding a mace and a wheel, but in subsequent ages only his Man-lion form remained in vogue. He is generally seen seated busy in tearing the belly of the overpowering demon. Sometimes he is alone or seated with Lakṣmī in an embrace. In South India Narasiṁha is worshipped in many more forms.



Fig. 11
Vāmana-Viṣṇu, 8th/9th century A.D.; Manawā, Sītāpur, U. P.
SML.H.127

(5) VĀMANA / TRIVIKRAMA Under the pretext of begging three steps of land and subsequently getting himself changed in gigantic Trivikrama form the dwarf Viṣṇu (Vāmana-Viṣṇu) entrapped the pious and liberal demon chief Bali. In sculptures this *avatāra* is depicted either as a short statured four armed Viṣṇu with heavy built body (Fig. 11), or as the great Trivikrama with his leg raised busy in measuring the entire earth and upper regions.

(6) PARAŚURĀMA. By birth Paraśurāma was a *brāhmaṇa* but by action a chivalrous warrior, who not only killed powerful Kārtavīrya but also caused a great slaughter of the Kṣatriyas. His chief weapon was a battle-axe (*paraśu*). In sculptures he appears as a sage with this weapon in hand.

(7) RĀMA The famous hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and fatal enemy of Rāvaṇa is known since early times, but in sculptures his free standing images with bow and arrow appear after *c.* 5th century A. D. Panels

showing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are of course datable to earlier periods. Rāma is profusely seen in medieval sculptures either standing alone or with his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmaṇa or seated on throne. His attendant Hanumān is often seen with him. Four armed images of Rāma with bow and arrow along with other attributes are rarely seen.

(8) KṚṢṆA· Another popular *avatāra* of the Viṣṇu is Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, a personality of versatile genius. His images of early centuries from Mathurā show him as four armed Viṣṇu, but his most popular forms like a child creeping with a sweet-ball or lump of butter in hand, or a flute player standing either alone or with the cowherd girl Rādhā, chronologically figure much later. Curiously enough panels showing different episodes of his early life (*Kṛṣṇa-līlā*) are traceable right from Kuṣāṇa period and continue in later ages.

BALARĀMA / SAṄKARṢAṆA. Sometimes believing Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Deity (Bhagavān), his elder brother Balarāma or Saṅkarṣaṇa is described as the eighth *avatāra* and so carved in sculptures also. Others hold him to be the serpent Śeṣa in original form. He is seen as either two or four armed carrying a pestle (*mūsala*), plough and a wine flask. His normal right hand often appears raised above with the palm open. A single earring in the left ear and a serpent canopy over his head are his other distinct features. His earliest image from Mathurā is datable to *c.* 2nd century B. C. (SML.G215) (Plate 4)

(9) BUDDHA The pontiff of the heterodox faith, that is Buddhism, has also been accepted as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu; but as per brāhmaṇical tradition his chief task was only to mislead the demons from the right path and thus cause them to invite their own end. That is why worship of his image was taboo. Of course in Eastern art he does appear among the incarnations carved on the back-slab of Viṣṇu images. In many other parts of the country Buddha has been replaced by Jagannātha or Pāṇḍuraṅga.

(10) KALKI· This is the future incarnation destined to appear at the end of the present age, that is *Kaliyuga*. He has been conceived as a horse rider with a sword in hand.

ŚIVA

Śiva or Mahādeva is perhaps the most popular god possessing a dual personality. As Sadāśiva he is protector, benevolent and partly associated with creation as well, while as Rudra, Aghora and Mahākāla, he, residing in crematories, smearing ashes and presenting inauspicious look, causes utter destruction. His images reveal both these aspects. He commands worship both in image and *liṅga* form, the latter being most common and popular.

LIṄGA · This symbol of Śiva is a phallic shaped, pillar like or mere cylindrical object of stone, metal or clay. The *liṅga* worship has been regarded as more meritorious than image worship. The *liṅgas* of unknown origin are termed as 'self-born' (*svayambhu*) and enjoy higher status than the man-made (*mānuṣa*) *liṅgas*. Similarly cylindrical stones of various sizes from the river Narmada called *bāṇa-liṅgas* are also sacred. Antiquity of *liṅga* worship goes back to the times of Indus / Sarasvati valley culture.

The *liṅgas* are either plain or bare faces or even full figures on one or all the four sides. The plain *liṅgas* may be very small or even a metre or more in height. The circular seat of a *liṅga* with or without the outlet channel is called *Yoni-pīṭha* or *yoni*, which normally faces North. Sometimes a plain *liṅga* is seen divided in three parts, the lowermost being square in shape, the middle one octagonal and the upper one circular. These are known as Brahmābhāga, Viṣṇu-bhāga and Śiva-bhāga respectively. In other cases the entire shaft of the *liṅga* bears series of miniature *liṅgas* carved on it. Presence of the bull Nandi, the mount of Śiva near a *liṅga*, is almost indispensable.

The *liṅga* bearing human faces—one, two or four as if emerging from the shaft is called *mukha-liṅga* (Plate 5). Often one of these is a female face standing for Śiva's consort Pārvatī, while another one looks ferocious representing the Aghora aspect of Śiva. The earliest four faced *liṅga* with half figure of Śiva on its top datable to *c.* 2nd-1st centuries B.C. comes from Bhīṭā (Allahabad, U.P., SML H.4).

Some Kuṣāṇa *liṅgas* from Mathurā show full figure of standing Śiva attached to the shaft. This type in subsequent ages gets evolved and along with Śiva, we have on three sides full figures of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya or even Gaṇapati and Pārvatī. In rare cases the *liṅga* shaft bears four faces along with full figures of the deities.

IMAGES Śiva in his benign (*saumya*) form has matted hair (*jaṭā*) made in a fine knot above, crescent on head, three eyes and two or four arms. He is often ithyphallic (*ūrdhva-liṅga*) and uses the tiger skin and elephant hide as his garments. In North he carries a long trident, but in South he is seen with a battle axe and prancing deer in his upraised hands. Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, is his wife and the bull Nandi his favourite mount. Chief features of his malevolent (*ugra*) form are dishevelled hair, heavy and terrific face, rolling eyes, protruding teeth, long skull garland (*muṇḍa-mālā*) and presence of weapon (*khaṭvāṅga*), trident, begging bowl, bell, etc. in hands as attributes. He is sometimes naked and seen dancing in ecstasy.

The following are some of the noteworthy Śiva icons:

1. Earliest figural representation of Śiva seated cross legged is supposed by

some to be hailing from Indus Valley in the shape of a steatite sealing identified as Paśupati.

2. Śiva, a stout young hunter holding an animal by its hind legs in right hand and a small water jar in the left along with a battle-axe, is seen attached to a big *liṅga* called Paraśurāmeśvara at Gudimallam (A. P.) datable to *c.* 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.
3. Reference to half figure of Śiva on Bhīṭā *liṅga* has already been made.
4. Single headed two armed Śiva attached to a Kuṣāṇa *liṅga* from Mathurā, now in the Philadelphia Museum, USA. A similar contemporary Śiva, but without any headgear, has been carved on the upper part of a corner pillar from Musanagar (Kanpur, U.P.). Here Śiva is being flanked by a lion and a pot-bellied attendant.
5. Adjacent side of the same pillar shows him seated on a throne with three male figures jutting out from his shoulders and neck. A lion is comfortably seen seated below the throne. This is a unique depiction of *Caturvyūha* Śiva. (Fig. 12)
6. Multiheaded four armed Śiva has been reported from the contemporary art in the Gandhāra regions. One of such images shows Śiva carrying trident, rosary, wheel and a small water jar in his hand.



Fig. 12
Caturvyūha Śiva, *c.* 1st-2nd centuries A. D., Musānagar, Kanpur

ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ

Śiva is the only god who appears with his consort Pārvatī right from the Kuṣāṇa times. The couple is seen just standing side by side or embracing each other (GMM. G52). From post-Gupta period onward Pārvatī is seen seated on the left thigh of Śiva, and the couple is in warm embrace. This form, known as Umā-Maheśvara or Āliṅgana-mūrti (Figs. 13, 14, 15), remained popular throughout the country during many centuries and evinced several new types such as:

i) Rāvaṇānugraha—Once Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā, was denied admission to Śiva's place on Kailāsa. So he decided to lift the very mountain, but his effort proved futile, and after praying Śiva only he could save himself from being crushed. Several specimens depicting this theme come from North and South India. (Plate 6)



Fig. 13
Umā-Maheśvara, *c*. 6th century A. D., Gwalior Museum



Fig. 14
Umā-Maheśvara, *c*. 10th century A. D., SML. H. 11

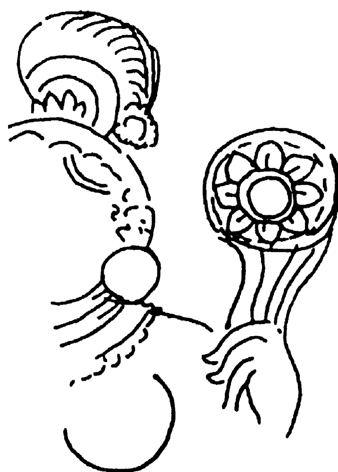


Fig. 15
Pārvatī in a Umā-Maheśvara figure with lotus, *c*. 10th/11th century A. D., SML. H. 156

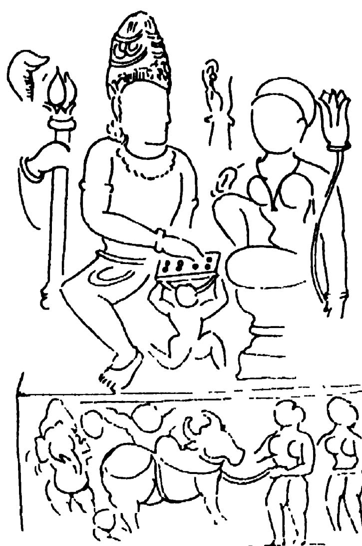


Fig. 16
Dyūtakrīḍā, *c*. 10th/11th century A. D., Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, 312

ii) Dyūtakrīḍā (Fig. 16)—The game of gambling was Śiva's invention. He played this with Pārvatī, but lost every stake. The Durgavati Museum at Jabalpur (M. P.) houses a fine sculpture depicting this subject (Acc. No. 312).

iii) Liṅgārūḍha (Fig. 17)—The couple is often said to have appeared before the devotee from the very *liṅga*, he worshipped. Some such specimens have been reported from North India. (SML. 56.334).



Fig. 17
Liṅgārūḍha-mūrti, *c.* 10th century A. D., Aṣṭabhujā, Mirzapur, SML.56.420

iv) Gaṅgādhara—Some figures of Umā-Maheśvara, specially from Nepal show the river Gaṅgā coming down in full force on Śiva's head. (Plate 7)

v) Kalyāṇasundara—The story of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī has often been related in the Purāṇas and classical works. This has been a favourite theme of sculptors as well from *c.* 7th century onwards. Śiva stands to the left of Pārvatī holding her hand, and Brahmā, seated below, is offering oblations in the fire. Several deities appear in the background.

vi) Ardhanārīśvara—This form showing Śiva occupying the right half and Pārvatī the left half of one and the same image has been current from the Kuṣāṇa times.

vii) Soma-Skanda-mūrti—Highly popular in South India this type shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated separately and the boy Skanda dancing in between them. Some sculptures in North India show baby Skanda in the lap of Pārvatī in Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti itself. (Plate 11)

LAKULĪŚA: The twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva according to the *Liṅga-purāṇa* is Lakulīśa, who with his four disciples propagated Pāśupata faith. His images show him seated as an ithyphallic ascetic with a heavy staff (*lakuṭa*) surrounded by his disciples or even alone.

DAKṢIṆĀMŪRTI Somewhat parallel depiction of Śiva in South India is known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti. He is shown seated in preaching attitude often under a tree facing South.

NAṬARĀJA: Śiva's dance has been variously described in literature and gracefully carved in the sculptures. Allegorically this dance has been associated with:

i) liberating people from the bonds of false knowledge,
ii) entire activities of the world, and
iii) dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*).

According to the South Indian tradition Śiva's dance is said to have taken place at Chidambaram (Tamilnadu). Here the Naṭarāja temple evinces a large number of poses of this dance. In the majority of the Naṭarāja figures Śiva carries kettle-drum and fire with flames in his upraised extra hands, while the normal right is in protection gesture and the normal left has been extended across the chest in dancing pose. Śiva balances his body on one of his legs firmly planted on the back of a demonic dwarf called Apasmāra-puruṣa. His other leg has been thrown across in a sweep. Apart from this normal depiction several other varieties are also known from North India as well. For example, Śiva dancing on the back of his bull has been called Narteśvara or Nṛtteśvara. Besides these, some malevolent forms of Śiva are also noteworthy, such as:

i) Andhakāsura-and Gajāsura-vadha-mūrti (Plate 8)—Śiva put the elephant demon Gajāsura to death and used its hide as his garment. Similarly while subduing the demon Andhaka Śiva got him lifted on the tip of his trident and kept on running and dancing. In North India both the events are shown in one and the same image, but in South these are depicted separately.
ii) Bhairava, Kālabhairava or Kṣetrapāla—The god in this form takes care of law and order and punishes the culprits. His iconographic features are dishevelled hair, sound body built, bulging eyes, terrific look and presence of heavy club and bowl in hand. His mount is a dog. A good number of his images in more than one form are found.
iii) Vīrabhadra (Plate 9)—Śiva is said to have assumed this form to take revenge and destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice, wherein his wife Satī had immolated herself in the sacrificial fire. Vīrabhadra too like Bhairava has terrific look, carries a sword and shield, bow and arrow and puts on wooden footwears on his feet. His images are mostly found in South.

ŚAKTI / DEVĪ

Śakti or Ādi-śakti is the female element or power energy originated from the Supreme Brahma, always playing a dominant role in the process of creation and maintenance, primarily as mother (*mātā*). Naturally therefore the Mother Goddess commanded honour and worship from time immemorial. Her representations have been reported from the days of Indus / Sarasvati valley culture in the shapes of terracotta, bone and metal figurines and even on ring stones assignable to *c.* 3rd century B.C.

Traditionally the Great Mother or Śakti is worshipped in three forms namely Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Durgā associated with Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva respectively. These three goddesses have further multiplied themselves in innumerable forms, types and sub-types including the folk goddesses of local importance.

LAKṢMĪ. She is the goddess of wealth, welfare and prosperity of every sort. Her two important forms are Gajalakṣmī, also called Abhiṣeka-lakṣmī or Śrī and Lakṣmī, Padmā or Mahālakṣmī.

Goddess Śrī is said to have emerged from the ocean during the process of its churning. She was then bathed by the elephants, worshipped by all and subsequently accepted by Viṣṇu as his wife. She has been elsewhere interpreted as the goddess Earth, who after being watered by the elephants, that is heavenly clouds, yields prosperity in the shape of rich crops. In sculptures Gajalakṣmī starts appearing from 2nd century B.C. This goddess had been acceptable to all the three faiths—Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism. That is why she is seen at Bodhagaya, Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Khandagiri (Orissa), etc. Her independent images of subsequent periods are also known. In earlier examples bathing elephants are only two, but later on their number comes to four. Sometimes this goddess adores the door lintels also.

So far Lakṣmī or Padmā is concerned, her images too start appearing from *c.* 2nd century B.C. A Kuṣāṇa figure from Mathurā, now in the National Museum, New Delhi (NM. B. 89) deserves special mention. The goddess stands on full vase with lotuses around pressing her own right breast with left hand. This obviously establishes her motherhood. Full blown lotus always goes with Lakṣmī either as her attribute or as her seat itself. Besides her free standing or sitting figures Lakṣmī is seen with Viṣṇu in more than one forms and also with other deities like the Mātṛkās, Kubera, Gaṇapati, etc.

An owl has been described as mount of Lakṣmī.



Fig. 18
Gajalakṣmī with lion, *c.* 7th century A.D., British Museum, London

MINGLING OF LAKṢMĪ AND PĀRVATĪ. In some sculptures right from *c.* 6th century efforts have been made to blend the two goddesses. Sometimes Gajalakṣmī has been shown with lion by her seat (Fig. 18). The most glaring example is the case of Mahālakṣmī

or Ambā at Kolhapur (Maharashtra). This deity in her four armed form, according to the Viśvakarmā-śāstra, carries a bowl, mace, shield and Bela fruit (*śrī-phala*) and bears a *liṅga* on her head well canopied by a five hooded snake.

SARASVATĪ· Lakṣmī is the *sāttvika* form of Ādi-śakti, while Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning (*vidyā-devī*) is her *rājasa* form. Usually she is four armed with attributes like rosary, manuscript, goad (*aṅkuśa*), harp (*vīṇā*), water vessel, etc. Early texts mention a goose as her vehicle, but sometimes a peacock also appears as her mount. The earliest image of Sarasvatī datable to the Śaka year 54 (132 A. D.) comes from a Jaina establishment at Mathurā (SML. J. 24). It is a two handed figure with rosary in the right hand and a manuscript in the left. Most of the images of Sarasvatī are assignable to the medieval period. Mention must be made of the famous Vāgdevī or Sarasvatī image from Dhar (M.P.) dated in the Vikrama-*saṁvat* 1081 (1024 A. D.) said to have been installed by the King Bhoja Parmāra, a great patron of poets and scholars. The goddess is four armed, but now only the upper right hand with a goad (*aṅkuśa*) is extant. Curiously a lion with a male child on its back appears in the lower left corner. In South Indian art Sarasvatī appears seated cross legged carrying a rosary, goad and noose in three of her hands (Dharwad figure, Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai). In another figure from Kottayam (Kerala) four armed dancing Sarasvatī bears *vīṇā*, goad and parrot in her hands. A rare type from Halebid (Karnataka) shows her with six hands. In Eastern art of *c*. 11th-13th centuries A. D. Sarasvatī with *vīṇā* in normal hands appears on corresponding side of Lakṣmī as consort of Viṣṇu.

DEVĪ, THE CONSORT OF ŚIVA. From early centuries of Christian era no other goddess appears with her husband except Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. So much so that even in his symbolic *liṅga* form the round pedestal (*yonipīṭha*) intended to receive the shaft has been taken as representing Pārvatī. Pārvatī is worshipped in innumerable forms—benevolent, malevolent, Tāntric and even folk. We shall, however, be confining ourselves only to a few.

PĀRVATĪ. Pārvatī, Girijā or Gaurī, who was Satī in previous birth, practised hard penance again to have Śiva as her husband. She was successful and the marriage was performed with great pomp and show. Pārvatī had performed penance amidst five fires (*pañcāgni-sādhana*), which has been well depicted in her icons. The goddess, *tapasvinī* Pārvatī, often four armed, is seen standing with rosary and water vessel in normal hands and miniature Śiva *liṅga* and Gaṇeśa in her upraised extra hands. Two pots with blazing fire are there to her right and left, while the sun as the fifth fire is seen over her head with other planets. An iguana (*godhā*) is seen below her feet, and by its side there are a lion and a deer seated without any feeling of terror or hostility. The earliest figure of *tapasvinī*

Pārvatī assignable to the Kuṣāṇa age comes from Mathurā (GMM. 15.879). In succeeding periods sacrificial ladle and lotus also appear as her attributes. Some images show her standing on left leg only.

Sometimes in the composition of these images the bell-carrying goddess Kauśikī is seen standing or seated near the feet of Pārvatī (Plate 10). Her presence seems to suggest Pārvatī's post-marriage penance to get rid of her dark colour.

A few post-marriage activities of Śiva and Pārvatī can be marked in the following types of sculptures:

1) *Vaivāhika-mūrti*, wherein Śiva stands to the right of Pārvatī, and the couple is engaged in conjugal movements.
2) Couple in warm embrace.
3) Couple playing the game of dice, a form already discussed.
4) Śiva narrating some text to Pārvatī.
5) Śiva entertaining his wife with some musical instrument.
6) Couple with baby Skanda in mother's lap (Fig. 19).

SKANDA-MĀTĀ Skanda or Kārttikeya and Gaṇapati are two sons of Pārvatī. She is rarely seen with Gaṇapati, but the case with Skanda is different. His appearance with his parents has already been discussed. In some sculptures Pārvatī is seen comfortably seated on a high seat with baby Skanda in her lap. In such a sculpture in the Patna Museum (Acc. No. Arch. 6369) she carries a sword and shield and also supports the baby. In some cases the lion is present.

ANNAPŪRṆĀ Pārvatī in her capacity to provide food to all is sometimes seen seated with a ladle (*darvī*) and a pot full to the brim. Annapūrṇā is popular in domestic worship in Maharashtra. It is believed that even Śiva begs and receives food from her.

PĀRVATĪ RECLINING WITH A CHILD. A good number of images hailing from Eastern India, datable to *c*. 10th-13th centuries show a lady reclining on a couch with a child by her side, sometimes sucking her breast. Presence of Skanda, Gaṇeśa, planets, etc. in the composition suggests Śaiva nature of the theme. Fortunately one such piece hailing from Koshamshahar (Bangladesh) bears an inscription, which names the female deity as Gaurī, that is Pārvatī. In spite of this information no definite identification of the depicted thence is yet possible to suggest.

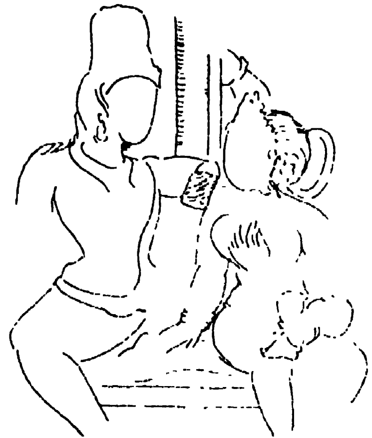


Fig. 19
Umā-Maheśvara with Skanda in lap of Pārvatī, 7th/8th century, Kanauj Museum, 75.5

DURGĀ / JAGADAMBĀ: One of the names of Śiva is Viśvanātha and thus his wife automatically becomes Jagadambā, the Mother of the universe. Accordingly she killed the tyrant demons and saved people. It is said that all the tortured gods assembled at one place and from their energies combined came forth Durgā, variously called Mahāmāyā, Ādi-śakti, Śivā etc. She is Mahiṣāsuramardinī, because she killed the buffalo demon Mahiṣa. The same goddess further emanated from the body of Pārvatī to deal with the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha. Most of the sculptures show the goddess slaying Mahiṣa.

Durgā Mahiṣamardinī starts appearing in sculptures from the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathurā (GMM. 33. 2317). She is seen with two, four (Fig. 20), six or even eight hands busy in controlling the assailant demon. In earlier stages, the demon is in zoomorphic form, subsequently half figure of him is seen emerging from the beheaded buffalo. A trident or long spear is her weapon, though in multihanded forms she carries several others as well. The lion is her mount.



Fig. 20
Durgā, Kaolin terracotta, c. 1st/2nd century A.D., Nagar, Ambar Museum, Rajasthan

In Tamilnadu Durgā is sometimes called Koṟṟavai. In those regions her earliest image, datable to c. 300 A.D., comes from Nagārjunakoṇḍa. Mahiṣamardinī in different forms remains popular both in South and North.

In her benevolent form the demon is absent and the placid goddess is seen standing or seated with her lion (Plate 12). Besides the common figures some unique types of Durgā have also been reported such as: Durgā in chariot drawn by lions, Durgā with Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu on top, her images with heads of either a buffalo or boar, goddess adoring herself with cosmetics or ornaments etc.

Mahākālī, Kālarātri, Cāmuṇḍā (Plate 13) are her malevolent forms. Of them Cāmuṇḍā is more common. It seems that the Mātṛkās of the Kuṣāṇa period came to be represented as Cāmuṇḍā in later ages. This goddess has dishevelled hair, widened mouth, protruding teeth, rolling eyes, terrific look, emaciated body often with a scorpion creeping on stomach and

a corpse serving as her seat. She often licks her own fingers and carries *Khaṭvāṅga*, dagger, battle-axe etc. in her hands.

Besides these there are several other Tāntric forms like Chinnamastā, who holds her own severed head and drinks blood springing from her cut out throat.

SOME MINOR GODDESSES: There are some female divinities connected with child birth and welfare of the children called Mātṛkās, who were very popular in the Kuṣāṇa period. Some of them are Ṣaṣṭhī, Revatī, Jīvantikā, etc. From *c.* 5th century A. D. some others commanded popularity in distinct pockets of the country. One such example is Manasā, the serpent deity of Bengal (Plate 14).

SOME OTHER IMPORTANT DIVINITIES

SKANDA OR KĀRTTIKEYA. He is the elder son of Śiva, but his motherhood goes to Pārvatī, Gaṅgā and six Kṛttikās. He is commander of gods (*deva-senāpati*) and his main achievement is his victory over the demon Tāraka. A lance (*Śakti*) is his main weapon and a peacock is his mount. Being very young in age (Kumāra) he is often seen carrying a cock—his toy—in his hand. In North India, he is unmarried but in the South, Vallī is his wife and so is Devasenā. His six headed form is also known well.

The earliest image of Skanda, coming from Mathurā region bears a dated inscription of the Śaka year 11 (89 A. D.) (GMM. 42.2949). Almost contemporary is his small cast bronze figure from Sonkh (Mathurā). In these cases the god is single headed and has only two arms. His almost contemporary images have been reported from the Gandhāra region also. In one of them Skanda has been depicted with armour on body, more as a warrior.

Skanda as *bālagraha* has been closely related with Kuṣāṇa Mātṛkās, who cause harm to the children, if not properly propitiated. In a number of Mātṛkā plaques of this period he is there with his spear (Plate 15) (GMM. F. 38, F. 39).

In medieval art Skanda is multiheaded and multiarmed carrying several weapons. In his Śāstā form he holds a manuscript in one of his hands (Plate 16).

In South India Skanda is known as Subrahmaṇya and Murukan. Some of the texts there mention as many as forty forms of this deity. Some of the figures show Skanda's marriage with Vallī, while in some other cases he is seen standing with his two wives. We have already referred to Soma-Skanda image which shows him with his parents.

SŪRYA / ĀDITYA: Sūrya, being the basic source of light, life, energy and chief means of measuring time, has always enjoyed the status of superior divinity. He is worshipped either in the form of a disc (*maṇḍala*) as we see him in the sky or in the image form. His earliest representation comes from Bodhagaya (Bihar) datable

HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

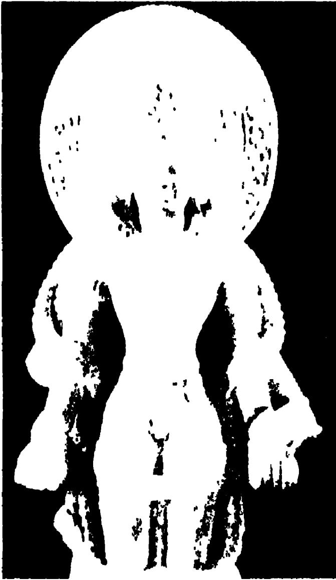


Plate 1 Visnu (SML H 111), Mathura, U. P., c. 5th century A. D.



Plate 2 Visnu (SML O 199), Seor, Sultanpur, U. P., c. 9th/10th century A. D.



Plate 3 Hari Hara (SML H 119), probably Central India, c. 8th century A. D.



Plate 4 Balarama (SML G 215), Janasuti, Mathura, c. 2nd century B.C.



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Plate 9 Virabhadra (SML 60 140) probably South India, c 18th century A D



Plate 8 Andhakāsura-Gajasura-vadha-mūrti (SML H 17), probably Central India, c 10th century A D



Plate 10 Parvati in penance with Kauśikī (SML 60 368), probably Central India c 11th century A D



Plate 12 Placid Durgā (SML. 55. 287), Chandpur, Kanauj, c. 8th century A.D.



Plate 13 Twelve-handed Cāmuṇḍā (Allahabad Museum 403), Gurgi, Rewa, Madhya Pradesh, c. 11th/12th century A.D.



Plate 14 Manasā (SML. O. 263), Śivadvāra, Mirzapur, c. 8th century A.D.



Plate 16 Skanda with a manuscript in hand (SML. H. 186), probably Vindhyan region, c. 10th century A.D.



Plate 15 Skanda with Mātṛkā (SML O. 250), Mathura, c. 1st–3rd centuries A.D.



Plate 17 Sūrya in chariot (SML G 224), Eastern India, c. 11th/12th century A.D.



Plate 19 Garuḍa (SML 59.170), Mathura, c. 6th century A.D.

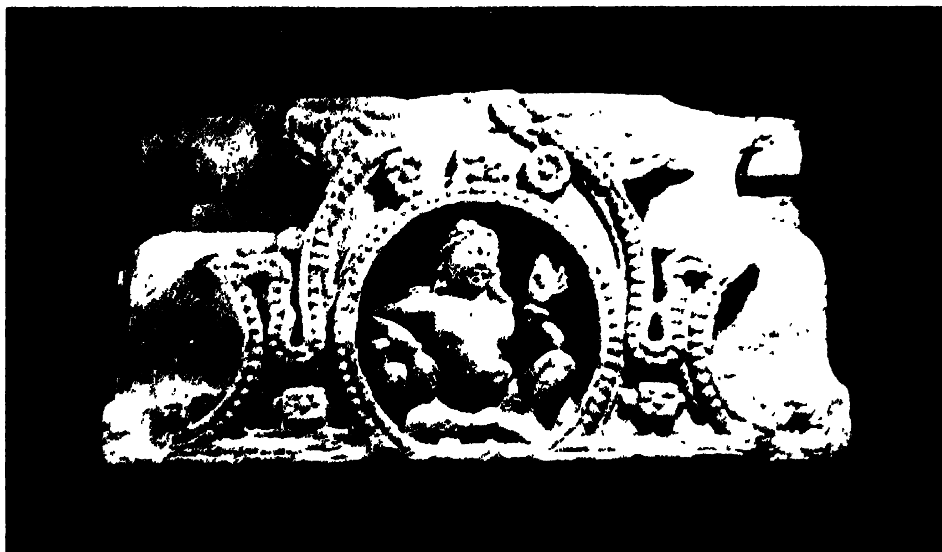


Plate 18 Kubera (SML 55.291), Jagatganj, Varanasi, c. 6th century A.D.

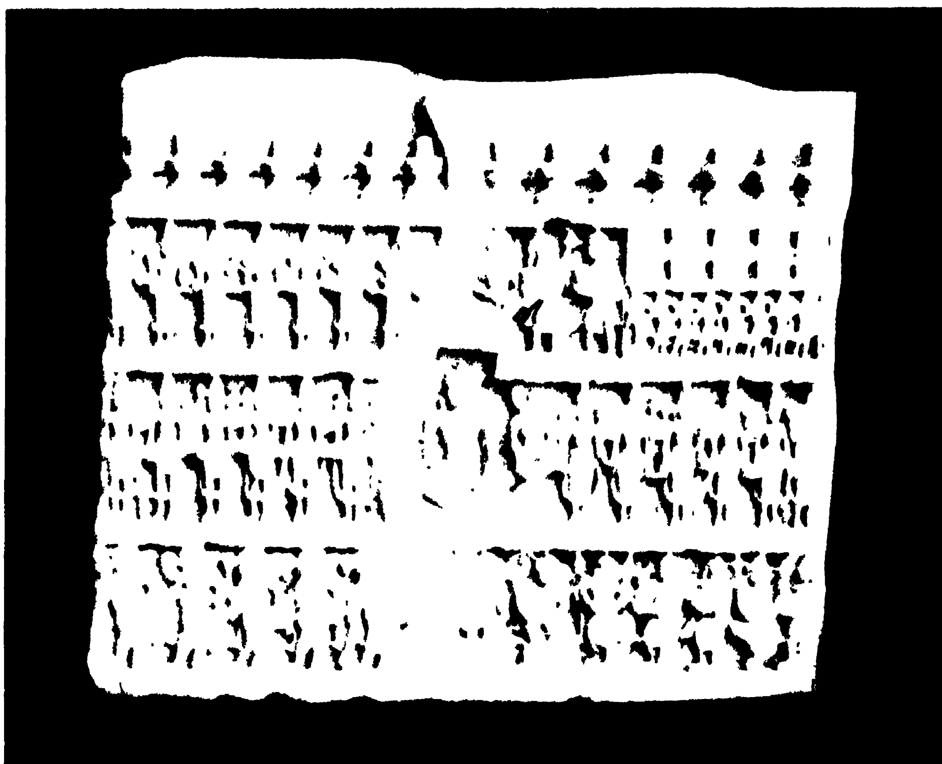


Plate 20 Varanasi patta (Gujari Mahal, Gwalior Museum 285), Central India, c. 11th century

to *c.* 2nd century B.C. Here the god is seen seated in a horse drawn chariot. In the Kuṣāṇa period he is seen in Iranian dress with flat cap, sleeved tunic and high boots carrying a lotus bud and a dagger in respective hands (GMM. 12.269). In subsequent ages the images become more Indianized but the feet always remain covered mostly with high boots in North India, though in South India this practice was not followed.

Sūrya is closely associated with horse drawn chariot, which is said to have only one wheel (Plate 17). The magnificent example is the Sun temple at Konarak (Orissa). Medieval sculptures show Sūrya carrying lotuses in both hands often standing in stylized chariot with his two wives (Rājñī, Rikṣubhā), attendants (Daṇḍa, Piṅgala), arrow shooting women (Ūṣā, Pratyūṣā) and other subordinate figures. Sometimes Sūrya or Āditya has been mentioned in plural. The number is twelve and each of them has been associated with respective month of the year. Some sculptures from Central India show all the twelve Ādityas together.

In syncretistic images Sūrya is seen with Viṣṇu (Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa), Śiva-Brahmā (Hari-Hara-Sūrya-Pitāmaha) and rarely even with Buddha and Lokeśvara.

Sūrya's son is Revanta, who appears in independent sculptures as a hunter on horse back with a parasol over his head.

GRAHAS (PLANETS) Sūrya, Candra, Maṅgala, Budha, Guru or Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu are the nine planets often seen together. Sūrya carries lotuses in hands; Candra, Maṅgala, Budha, Guru and Śukra appear like ascetics with water jars, Śani has his face slightly turned and legs bent or one foot raised. In case of Rāhu only his upper body, demonic face and palms pointing downwards are shown. In Eastern India he is sometimes seen holding the solar disc and crescent in hands. Ketu looks either as a Nāga (serpent) or Nāgī in anthropomorphic form. Sometimes the planets are shown with their respective mounts, namely a horse, rabbit or crocodile, goat or peacock, running dog or tortoise, elephant or goose, a buffalo and an axle with wheels. The mount of Ketu is vague

DIKPĀLAS. The guardians of the cardinal points and their sub-divisions (*diśā* & *upadiśā*) are known as Dikpālas. They are eight in number with distinct iconographic features as detailed below:

i) Indra (*Pūrva*, East)—He was a Vedic god of great importance, but later on he only remained as chief of gods, nymphs, celestial musicians, etc. He resides in Amarāvatī, uses thunderbolt (*vajra*) as his weapon and rides the elephant Airāvata.
ii) Agni (*Āgneya*, South-East)—This is the Fire-god; he uses a goat as his

vehicle and carries sacrificial ladles, pot full of ghee and rosary in his hands. He appears as a *brāhmaṇa* with uprising flames behind.

iii) Yama (*Dakṣiṇa*, South)—As god of Death he punishes the sinners, but is benign towards the pious. He carries a staff (*kāladaṇḍa*), shield and sword and takes a buffalo as his mount.

iv) Nirṛti (*Nairṛta*, South-West)—He is a demon but raised to the status of a Dikpāla. He rides a camel and the sword is one of his attributes.

v) Varuṇa (*Paścima*, West)—He rules over the waters in general. A crocodile is his mount and a noose serves as his attribute.

vi) Vāyu (*Vāyavya*, North-West)—The Wind-god in his early representations is seen running with ends of a fluttering garment in his upraised hands.

vii) Kubera (*Uttara*, North) (Plate 18)—The name of Soma occurs in this connection, but Kubera, the god of Wealth is very much associated with this point. Though a *rākṣasa* he became friend of Śiva, custodian of wealth and lord of the Yakṣas and Guhyakas. In the sculptures he is seen as a fat moneylender carrying a purse and a wine flask in his hands. A mace is also one of his weapons. Kubera is worshipped in association with Mātṛkās, Lakṣmī and Gaṇapati.

viii) Īśāna (*Īśānya*, North-East)—He is none else but Śiva.

SOME MINOR DIVINITIES

HANUMĀN: Often called Monkey-god and known as chief devotee of Rāma he commands wide worship. He is seen standing with mount Droṇācala in one hand and a mace in the other. In another form he stands with folded hands (*namaskāramudrā*). His earliest image is perhaps datable to *c.* 8th century A.D. (SML. 51.87)

GARUḌA: An eagle, the son of Kaśyapa and Vinatā, is the mount of Viṣṇu. In earlier representations he appears as a bird with ears and earrings (Plate 19), but from *c.* 5th century he assumes human form with wings and beak-like nose. Usually he carries a snake in his hands.

YAKṢAS: They are demigods. Once their worship was very popular. The Yakṣas in their benevolent form are handsome, robust and powerful enough to look after the welfare of their devotees. Their images are found from 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. The other type of Yakṣa icons are awe inspiring, have terrific look and often seen physically disproportionate. The Yakṣiṇīs, female counterparts of the Yakṣas, are charming and possess magical powers.

NĀGAS: In sculptures the Nāgas (serpents) are seen either in serpentine forms or as human beings bearing snake-hoods over their heads. The number of these hoods determines their status.

TĪRTHA-PAṬṬAS

These are stone slabs showing group of deities associated with a particular centre of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*). Till now we are in the know of *Prayāga-paṭṭa* in the British Museum, London (Acc. No. 1872-7.1.50) and at least three *Varanasi-paṭṭas* (Plate 20) housed in the Gwalior Museum (Acc. No. 285) and Rani-mahal Collection, Jhansi, U.P. (Acc. Nos. 79/193, 80/157)

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* *Courtesy:* Author

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BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

NUMEROUS standing and seated images of Buddha of the medieval period have been discovered in different parts of India, his independent recumbent figure illustrating his Mahāparinirvāṇa (Plate 1) being extremely rare. Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Master is depicted in medieval Buddhist art in a secondary manner. Many *sthānaka* and *āsana* types of Buddha are extant which contain on their *prabhāvalī* summary representations of seven of the principal miracles; the miracle—and every incident in the life of the Master (Plate 2) is a miracle according to the pious Buddhists—of the great decease is invariably shown on the top centre of the back-slabs of such reliefs. The eight miracles, including that depicted by the main central seated or standing image, were connected with the four principal incidents, Buddha's birth, enlightenment, preaching of the first sermon and great decease, and the four others, such as his taming of Nālagiri, the wild elephant that was set upon him by his cousin Devadatta at Rājagṛha, his descent at Saṅkāsya from the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven after preaching the law there to his departed mother, the acceptance of the honey offered by a monkey at Vaiśālī, and lastly the great miracle, in which he simultaneously multiplied himself in the presence of king Prasenjit of Kośala and a host of his own followers and other Tīrthikas at Śrāvastī. The Eastern Indian School of medieval sculpture contains numerous examples of such standing and seated figures of Gautama, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, alone possesses a large number of such images, mostly hailing from Bihar and Bengal. The central figure in these compositions usually depicts Buddha seated in *baddhapadmāsana* with his hands mostly showing the *bhūsparśa*, indicating that it represents the Master's victory over Māra at Bodhagaya preliminary to his attainment of the enlightenment, the other seven miracles in miniature being shown in well-arranged groups on his either side on the back-slab. The main image with its hands in the *dharmacakramudrā*, illustrating the preaching of the first sermon, is comparatively rare, as is also the standing type with the seven miniatures on the background. The much mutilated figure in the collection of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta (No. $\frac{Ccl}{1}$) is thus of some interest, for it shows Buddha standing in the *samapādasthānaka* attitude on a

double-petalled lotus (*viśvapadma*) below which the Buddhist formula[1] is written in ninth century script, flanked on either side by three parallel rows of two scenes each with that of Mahāparinirvāṇa just on the top. The rarity of such compositions can be accounted for by referring to the artistic sense of symmetry required in the display of the miniatures. In this particular relief, if the central figure is connected with the descent from the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven, then the explanation of the miniature standing Buddha on the right in the middle row is difficult; the one on the left in the same row undoubtedly stands for the taming of Nālagiri, the wild elephant of Rājagṛha, and the Saṅkāsya and Rājagṛha miracles are the only two in which the standing posture is necessary. The birth-scene, of course, would necessitate the showing of Māyā in the same pose, but it is almost invariably carved in the right lowermost corner of the *prabhāvalī* and it does not jar at all with the artistic sense. Many standing Buddha images again, which do not contain these illustrations of the stereotyped set of miracles, fall either under the Devāvatāra or Nālagiri-taming types (Plate 3); the first of the two is more common and is often shown attended on either side by Śakra and Brahmā. Just to emphasize the act of descent, the artists sometimes indicate stairs beneath the feet of the three, thus reminding us of the early Buddhist convention of showing the same scene with three stairs side by side, the middle one having one footmark on its topmost rung and another on its lowermost one.[2] Numerous seated images of Buddha have been found, which can be classified under different groups according to their association with one or other of the miracles, clearly indicated by their different hand-poses and sitting postures. The *Sādhanamālā* describes one iconographic type, named by it as *Vajrāsana* Buddha (Plate 4), in which Buddha is seated in *baddhapadmāsana* on a *viśvapadma* with his hands in the *bhūsparśamudrā*, attended by Avalokiteśvara on the left and Maitreya on the right, the respective iconographic cognizances of the acolytes being a lotus and a bunch of Nāgakeśara flowers.[3] Other *āsana* Buddha figures, which do not contain the seven miracles in miniature in the *prabhāvalī*, show Buddha preaching the first sermon, which event is suggested not only by the *dharmacakramudrā* peculiar to this motif, but also by the presence of a wheel (*dharmacakra*) flanked by two couchant deer on the pedestal (Plate 5). A good many medieval compositions have been found in eastern India which show Buddha seated in a similar manner with his hands in the same *mudrā*, but we do not find the wheel and deer indicative of the locality of Sarnath on the pedestal, in the place of which are shown the Nāga kings, Nanda and Upānanda, on either side of the lotus stalk (Plate 6); figures of miniature seated, standing, and rarely recumbent, Buddhas are gracefully arranged round the central image. These undoubtedly represent the

Great Miracle of Śrāvastī which seems to have been a very favourite theme with the artists of medieval India. A comparatively rare type of seated Buddha depicts him with an alms-bowl placed on his hands (Plate 7), joined over his lap, and a monkey carved on the pedestal or by his side; this is nothing but an illustration of the scene of the monkey's offering honey to Buddha at Vaiśālī. An interesting relief in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, depicting this variety of seated Buddha, contains an additional detail by his side, the monkey climbing a tree for bringing down the honey to be offered to Buddha. The usual sitting posture of these Buddhas is *baddhapadmāsana* or *yogāsana* in which the legs with soles upwards are interlocked on the lotus-seat. But there is another rarer sitting mode in which the legs are shown hanging down the edge of the seat, which is described by many scholars as 'being in European fashion'(Plate 8). Its textual name seems to have been *paryaṅkāsana*, different from *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* in which one leg is tucked up on the seat and the other dangles down. It was at one time the practice to name the Buddha figures shown in this way as those of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future; but this identification cannot be accepted, for the particular sitting posture is often shown in the scene of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī where Gautama Buddha is the principal actor. Moreover, such figures are dressed in monk's robes which would ill fit with Maitreya. But a number of standing and seated Buddhas have been found in northern and eastern India, who, though attired like a monk, wear a jewelled crown (Plate 9) and two short necklaces, no other parts of the body being adorned with ornament. These crowned Buddhas were assumed by some to stand for Ādi-Buddha who appeared late in the pantheon; but this view is hardly tenable, for most of them, if not all, are associated with the incidents in the life-story of Gautama Buddha, and are thus none but so many of his representations.[4] Another point of interest with regard to the standing Buddhas is that miniature figures of seated, and rarely standing, Buddhas are often depicted on the top section of their *prabhāvalī*, and these presumably were meant to represent some of the Dhyānī-Buddhas, whose cult, described above,[5] was further developed during this period.

The cult of the Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas also underwent a great transformation. It has already been said that the special cognizance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future (Plate 10) and thus a Bodhisattva, in the medieval Buddhist art is a bunch of Nāgakeśara flowers placed in one of his hands in place of the earlier nectar-flask. Another distinctive mark of this Bodhisattva is a miniature *stūpa* placed in his crown or by its side. This refers to the *stūpa* of Kāśyapa Buddha in the Kukkuṭapāda-giri near Bodhagaya; on descending to earth from the

Tushita heaven Maitreya would go to it from which Kāśyapa would come out and present to him the garments of a Buddha. Maitreya can hardly be found now represented singly; he is either shown as a well-dressed secular figure in the company of the seven Mānuṣī Buddhas very rarely represented, or as one of the acolytes of *Vajrāsana* Buddha. But several of the Bodhisattvas of a different category, the Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas, were extremely popular iconographic motifs of the medieval age. That Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara (Plate 11) among them should be the most important one can be explained by the fact of his having been the Dhyānī-Bodhisattva of Gautama Buddha, and thus numerous varieties of him have been described in the *sādhanas*; medieval images, more or less corresponding to some of these descriptions, have been found mostly in northern and eastern India. If a careful analysis is made of the iconographic traits of some of them, there is hardly any difficulty in recognizing in a good many of them the Mahāyānistic adaptations of two of the principal Brāhmaṇical cult-icons, viz. Viṣṇu and Śiva. The iconography of the general form of Avalokiteśvara and of a few others of his special ones has some analogy to that of Viṣṇu, and the ideology underlying both these gods, especially relating to their character as gods of preservation and deliverance, is one and the same. But the particular aspect of Śiva, when he appears in the role of a benignant deity and a healer of diseases after proper propitiation, is none the less discernible in certain other forms of this Dhyānī-Bodhisattva; a few others of his less common ones, again, portray in a way the dire and terrific aspect of this Brāhmaṇical deity. One particular variety among the different types of Avalokiteśvara, Hari-Hari-Harivāhanodbhava Lokeśvara (Plate 12), undoubtedly owes its iconographic presentation to sectarian rancour. As many as fifteen variants have been selected from those described in the *Sādhanamālā*, of which five or six at most have been recognized among the numerous Buddhist sculptures of eastern and northern India. These are Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara (Plate 13), Siṁhanāda (Plate 14), Khasarpaṇa (Plate 15) (named after a village in the ancient Khāḍi-*maṇḍala*, modern Twenty-four Parganas, West Bengal), Lokanātha and Nīlakaṇṭha. The others are mostly to be found among sculptures and paintings of the northern countries like Tibet and Nepal and they are usually dated after A. D. 1300. Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara shows a composition with the figure of the four-armed Bodhisattva, its front hands being in the *namaskāra-mudrā* and the back ones holding a rosary and a lotus, and having a smaller male replica of him to his right and another similar but female one to the left; these two are none other than Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, the respective male and female attendants of this variety of

Avalokiteśvara. A very interesting medieval relief depicting it was discovered by Oertel in course of his excavations at Sarnath; it was wrongly identified by him as representing the three jewels of Buddhism, viz. Dharma, Buddha and Saṁgha.[6] The two-armed god *Siṁhanāda* Lokeśvara is described in the texts as three-eyed, seated in the *mahārājalīlā* pose on a roaring lion, wearing a tiger-skin garment but no ornaments, having a miniature figure of Amitābha on the *jaṭāmukuṭa* on his head, with a trident entwined by a white serpent to his right and a sword placed on a lotus flower to his left, the lotus stalk being held by his left hand resting on the seat; the three eyes, the tiger-skin garment, the absence of ornaments, the matted locks, the snake-entwined trident—all these traits definitely associate him with Śiva, and the *Dhāraṇīs* of *Siṁhanāda* refer to him as the healer of diseases. The beautiful sculpture of *Siṁhanāda* Lokeśvara found at Mahoba closely corresponds to the description given above. That the Khasarpaṇa variety of this god was a popular object of worship in eastern India is proved by a number of such images discovered in different parts of Bihar and Bengal. The principal type of this deity depicts him gracefully seated in the *lalitāsana* pose on a *mahāmbuja*, decked in all sorts of ornaments and holding a fully blossomed lotus flower by its stalk in his left hand, the right one being in the *varada* pose. He is almost invariably accompanied by Tārā and Sudhanakumāra to his right and Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva to his left; the five Dhyānī-Buddhas are very often carved on the upper part of the *prabhāvalī* with Amitābha, his spiritual father, placed in the centre. The finely carved image corresponding in most of its details to the above description, found at Vikrampur and now in the Dacca Museum, is a representative specimen of this type of Avalokiteśvara. Many standing images of Avalokiteśvara endowed with four and sometimes with six arms have been found in northern and eastern India; some are in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and a few are in the Patna Museum. These have been usually described as Lokanātha, but the description given of this variety of Avalokiteśvara in the *Sādhanamālā* does not tally with the sculptures. The four-armed figures show *vara*, *akṣamālā*, *bhṛṅgāra* and *padma* in the lower right, upper right, upper left and lower left hands respectively; Sūcīmukha and Hayagrīva to the right and left are the usual attendants in these cases. The six-armed standing figures, on the other hand, have a *vara*, *mātuluṅga*, *akṣamālā* in the right hands, and a *bhṛṅgāra*, *pāśa* and *padma* in the left ones; here both the attending figures are female and very probably represent Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. Standing images of Lokeśvara with more than six arms are, though rare, not unknown; reference may be made to one twelve-armed variety of this god in the

collection of the Indian Museum, its additional hands holding such emblems as *aṅkuśa*, *kartṛ* and a few other indistinct objects.[7] The Lokanātha (Plate 16) aspect of Avalokiteśvara, however, as described in the *Sādhanamālā*, is two-armed, the left hand holding a lotus, the right being in the *varada* pose; one of the *sādhanas* of this deity refers to the *maṇḍala* of eight gods like Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi and others surrounding him. But Lokanātha is generally depicted alone, seated or standing, only occasionally accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva. Nīlakaṇṭha, as described in only one *sādhana*, is similar in appearance to his spiritual father Amitābha; he is not decorated with any ornaments, and has two serpents on his either side; the name and the iconographic traits of this type of Lokeśvara fully show that he is one of the Mahāyānistic adaptations of Śiva. Several other types of Lokeśvara images of the medieval period have been found, which do not conform to the descriptions of any of the varieties given in the *Sādhanamālā*; this fact proves that as in the case of the Brāhmaṇical iconography, our collection of Buddhist iconographic texts is also incomplete, and many must have been irretrievably lost. As regards the medieval images of the other Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas, whose names have been already given, it may be observed that whatever literary importance they might have had in the period, they apparently had no prominence in the hieratic art of the time.

Mañjuśrī (Plate 17) is the general name of another group of interesting Bodhisattvas who, though not strictly belonging to the category of the Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas, occupied an important place in the developed Mahāyāna pantheon. He was comparatively late in making his appearance, and his inclusion in the pantheon could not have been much earlier than the Gupta period. References in medieval Buddhist literature seem to connect him with China and Nepal, and the way in which he is mentioned seems to suggest that there was some historicity behind him, and his human original was perhaps connected in some way or other with the introduction of civilization in Nepal from China. Thus, there was a great deal of difference between Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, the former having an abstract ideological background, while the latter a concrete human base, which was, however, subsequently assumed to stand for and illustrate some abstract qualities like knowledge and wisdom. The *Sādhanamālā* contains a number of *sādhanas* describing as many as fourteen different varieties of this god-concept, some of which were associated with Akṣobhya or Amitābha, while others were either independent or had some association with the group of the five Dhyānī-Buddhas. The usual emblems of Mañjuśrī are a sword (*Prajñā-khaḍga* or the sword of wisdom) and a book (book of knowledge—*prajñā*), the idea being that the god severs the coils of

ignorance with the sword and imparts knowledge from the book; he is thus in a way the Mahāyāna counterpart of Brahmā and Sarasvatī of the Hindu pantheon. A good many extant figures of him, including several variants, have been discovered in different parts of northern and eastern India, and this fact shows that his was a popular cult-image, specially in eastern India. Several of the medieval representations of this god can be identified as Mañjughoṣa and Siddhaikavīra (Plate 18) (emanations of Akṣobhya), Arapacana and Sthiracakra who have no definite association with any of the Dhyānī-Buddhas. These varieties are usually differentiated on the basis of particular sitting and standing postures, hand-poses and the nature of the attendants. Images of Mañjuvara and Arapacana are more numerous; the former is characterized by his lion seat and the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, with the book *Prajñāpāramitā* placed on lotus on his left, while the latter is shown seated in *baddhapadmāsana*, his right hand brandishing a sword and the left with the book placed on his breast, his attendants being Keśinī, Upakeśinī, Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha who are shown as exact miniature replicas of the central figure. That Arapacana form of Mañjuśrī was held in great respect by the Mahāyānists of the medieval period is proved not only by the number of his images discovered in eastern India, but also by a few found in Indonesia. The Javanese sculpture of this form of Mañjuśrī, now in the collection of the Leyden Museum, Holland, is a fine specimen of Indonesian art. Mañjughoṣa, like Mañjuvara, has a roaring lion for his mount, but his other peculiar cognizances are lotus on his left side and *vyākhyānamudrā*. A very fine sculpture of the early medieval period in the collection of the Sarnath Museum, unfortunately much mutilated, corresponds to a great extent to the textual description of Siddhaikavīra, who has a blue lotus in his left hand and *varamudrā* in his right. This form of Mañjuśrī, which is comparatively rare, has some similarity with the usual iconographic type of Lokanātha, a form of Lokeśvara, but the figure of Akṣobhya on the crown of the former discloses his real identity. Sthiracakra is another rare form of this Bodhisattva and is characterized by a sword in his left hand and *varamudrā* in his right. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat sculpture of Mañjuśrī, seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on a double-petalled lotus, probably depicts this variety; it, however, holds the stem of a *nīlotpala* in its left hand, over the blossom of which is placed the sword.

A reference to the images of a few of the numerous varieties of gods and goddesses who were associated with one or other of the Dhyānī-Buddhas will not be out of place here, although the concepts of many of them seem to have been subsequently added. Some of these deities again were textually connected

with more than one Dhyānī-Buddha at the same time, and other images bore on their crown the miniature figures of either one or the other of these meditative Buddhas. Thus, Jambhala and Tārā (especially her form known as Mahācīna Tārā) were emanations of Akṣobhya, but the same god and another variant of the goddess, viz. Khādiravanī Tārā (Plate 19) could also emanate from Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddha respectively. Jambhala and Vajra-Tārā, again, in some of their aspects, were associated with all the five or four of the Dhyānī-Buddhas; in these cases, the miniature figures of the latter are usually shown on the top part of the *prabhāvalī* of these images. Many of these deities of the developed Mahāyāna pantheon again can be shown either from their names or their attributes to have been directly or indirectly derived from various members of the Brāhmaṇic order. Thus the gods like Saptaśatika-Hayagrīva, Heruka, Yamāri and Jambhala, the first an emanation of Amitābha and the last three of Akṣobhya, have their prototypes among the various Brāhmaṇical gods, as their names or iconographic traits show.

Hayagrīva, according to the Purāṇic mythology, was primarily a demon to kill whom Viṣṇu assumed the form of a horse-headed man. The special cognizance of Saptaśatika-Hayagrīva is the scalp of a horse over his head; another aspect of the same god, which is associated with Akṣobhya, is three-faced and eight-armed, and the number of arms as well as the emblems in the hands distinctly connect it with the Hayagrīva incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The fierce god Heruka, whose two-armed varieties have been found in eastern India, is characterized by the dancing pose, a corpse below him, emblems like *vajra* and *kapāla* in his hands, a *khaṭvāṅga* along the left side of his body, ornaments like a garland of skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) and other features which leave no doubt that this particular god-concept was based on the terrific aspect of Śiva. The Dacca Museum image of Heruka, though it shows a double petalled lotus beneath its left leg in place of a corpse (*preta*), corresponds in other respects to the textual description, and is a well-carved specimen of the medieval Buddhist art of eastern India.

Yamāri, as its name indicates, is based on one of the various Saṁhāramūrtis of Śiva, Kālāri or Kālāntaka-mūrti, in which form Śiva punished Kāla or Yama, the god of death, for his audacity in attempting to take the life of Mārkaṇḍeya, a great Śaiva devotee. Some of the iconographic traits of Yamāri, however, are taken from the very god of death whose enemy he is supposed to be, while others are clearly derived from the fierce form of the Hindu god. Like Yama, he has a buffalo for his mount and a mace with a skull painted on it or a *vajra* on its top as his emblem; like Śiva, he wears a tigerskin, snake ornaments, and holds a noose (*pāśa*) in one of his hands.

Jambhala (Plate 20) is undoubtedly a Buddhist counterpart of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, as some of his characteristic traits indicate. Like the latter, he is connected with wealth and treasure; medieval representations of him are known, in which he is shown seated in *lalitāsana* with one of his legs resting on an upturned coin-jar by the side of which are placed seven more jars. The number of the jars, eight, distinctly proves that they stand for eight treasures (*aṣṭanidhi*) of Kubera; like the Brāhmaṇical deity his figure is also pot-bellied, though the bag in his prototype's hand is replaced by a mongoose vomitting jewels. In the Brāhmaṇical mythology, Kubera is associated with Lakṣmī or Śrī, the goddess of fortune who is the presiding deity of the *aṣṭanidhis*,[8] in the Mahāyāna adaptation of him, however, Vasudhārā (another name of the earth goddess, Bhūmi or Pṛthivī) appears as his consort. A good many figures of Jambhala, mostly seated ones, with many of the above-mentioned iconographic traits have been found in different parts of eastern and northern India.

Gaṇapati is another male deity recruited from the Brāhmaṇic faith into developed Mahāyāna pantheon, and he is identical in his medieval iconic forms to his Brāhmaṇical prototype. He is generally depicted as being trampled down under the feet of such goddesses as Aparājitā and Parṇaśavarī (Plate 21). His independent form as one-faced and twelve-armed, dancing on the back of his mount (a rat), is described in a late *sādhana*, but corresponding icons of the medieval period are not known; there is nothing in the texts to show that his face was that of an elephant.

Interesting varieties of goddesses are associated with one or other of the Dhyānī-Buddhas, and they seem to be more numerous than those of the gods. The worship of the female principle was comparatively more prevalent in eastern India in medieval times, and this fact is also emphasized by the large number of images of the Buddhist goddesses discovered there. The cult of Tārā and her various forms was strong in this part of India, and Tārā (Plate 22), a great object of veneration in the Brāhmaṇical Tāntric cult, appears to have been borrowed directly from the developed Mahāyāna pantheon. Mahācīna-Tārā, one of the principal forms of this goddess, however, as her attributive epithet indicates, was an importation from Mahācīna, a land outside India, which has been identified by some scholars with Tibet. Mahācīna-Tārā, also known in Buddhist-Tāntric literature as Ugra-Tārā, is an emanation of Akṣobhya, and she was most probably the original deity from which various other aspects of this goddess were derived. The popularity of Tārā among the Mahāyānists is indicated by the fact that it is the common appellation of many Buddhist goddesses such as Jāṅgulī, Parṇaśavarī, Ekajaṭā and others. She is described in the *sādhanas* as of terrific appearance, four-armed, standing in the

pratyālīḍha pose on a corpse, her right hands holding a sword and a chopper (*kartṛ*), and left ones, a lotus flower and a skull-cup (*kapāla*); a miniature figure of Akṣobhya is within the 'crown of chignon' (*ekajaṭā*) on her head.[9] The iconographic trait of *ekajaṭā* of this goddess gave rise to the concept of another terrific deity of the Mahāyāna cult, Ekajaṭā by name, who was also an emanation of Akṣobhya; several medieval images of her have been found in eastern India.

The most common form of Tārā, however, numbers of whose images have been found in the north and east of India, is the one which is described in the *sādhanas* as Khadiravanī-Tārā, also known as Śyāma-Tārā, an emanation of the Dhyānī-Buddha Amoghasiddha. She is depicted either standing or seated in a graceful pose, her right hand showing the *varada-mudrā*, and the left one holding a lotus with a long stalk; her two attendants are Aśokakāntā Mārīcī on her right and Ekajaṭā on her left. In the extant medieval representations of this variety of Tārā, sometimes curious miniature figures of eight goddesses or eight illustrative scenes are found carved on the *prabhāvalī* on either side of the principal deity. One such image in the collection of the Dacca Museum shows the former feature, and it has been suggested that these miniature goddesses individually stand for each of the syllables of the eight-syllabled Tārā-*mantra* (*Oṁ Tāre tu Tāre Svāhā*).[10] On an image of this goddess, originally hailing from Ratnagiri (Cuttack district, Orissa), we find the other feature which collectively stands for the *aṣṭamahābhayas* (eight great fears) from which she saves her devotees.[11]

Another variety of Tārā, described several times in the *Sādhanamālā*, is the Vajra-Tārā (Plate 23) who is simultaneously an emanation of the groups of five or four Dhyānī-Buddhas. She is four-faced and eight-armed, and is seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* on a double-petalled lotus inside a *maṇḍala* which consists of encircling attendant deities like Puṣpa-, Dhūpa-, Dīpa- and Gandha-Tārās, and Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭī and Vajraghaṇṭā; the *maṇḍala*, in order to be complete, should also contain the figure of Uṣṇīṣavijayā on the top and that of Śumbhā below. It should be noted that the number of the companion goddesses is ten, which exactly corresponds to that of the ten-syllabled *mantra* of the principal goddess, *Oṁ Tāre tu Tāre ture Svāhā*, and it is presumed that the former individually stand for the respective syllables. Another interesting feature worth noting in respect of most of these attendant divinities is the fact that they are nothing but the personifications of the *upacāras* (materials used in ritual worship) and weapons or emblems held by the principal deity in her hands (these roughly correspond to the *āyudhapuruṣas* of the Vaiṣṇavite icons). Vajrasphoṭī and Uṣṇīṣavijayā are, on the other hand, associated, the former with the holy sound that is uttered during the ritualistic

performances, and the latter with the peculiar physical characteristic of the Buddha. Several metal images of the *maṇḍala* of Vajra-Tārā have been found in eastern India; the Indian and Dacca Museum specimens correspond fairly well to the above description.[12]

Reference has already been made to Vasudhārā, the consort of Jambhala, who is also like him either an emanation of Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava; she is the Buddhist counterpart of the Brāhmaṇical Vasudhārā, Pṛthivī, or Bhūdevī, who, as one of the consorts of Viṣṇu, holds a blue lotus in her hand. But Vasudhārā is characterized by *varada-mudrā* in her right hand and an ear of corn in her left, and the latter object fittingly symbolizes her corn-producing capacity (Plate 24). Several stone and metal images of this goddess, both single and in the company of her consort, have been discovered in the north and east of India.

Another Mahāyāna goddess, also emanating from Akṣobhya but, unlike the last-mentioned, one of a terrific character, is Nairātmā who resembles to some extent the Brāhmaṇical Kālī. She is shown dancing vigorously with right leg raised and bent inwards, the left firmly planted on a corpse (*preta*) lying on its back, holding *kartṛ* (short sword) and *kapāla* (skull-cūp) in her two hands; she looks terrible with bare fangs, protruding tongue, a garland of human skulls, and a *khaṭvāṅga* placed along the left side of her body. Her general pose and appearance remind us of those of Heruka discussed above, though their respective emblems are somewhat different. Her images are extremely rare, and the Indian Museum specimen may be regarded as unique.[13]

Parṇaśavarī, another female member of the Mahāyāna pantheon, is of great iconographic interest on account of certain features appertaining to her. She is both an emanation of Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddha, and her iconography is the same in both of her aspects. The *sādhanas* describe her as three-faced and six-armed, her right hands holding *vajra*, *śara* and *paraśu*, her left ones, *parṇapicchikā* (a cluster of leaves), *dhanu* and *tarjanīpāśa* (a noose round the index-finger in the *tarjanīmudrā*); she stands in *pratyālīḍha* pose either on personified representations of various diseases or pestilences or on obstacles personified (Vighnas—the same as Brāhmaṇical *Gaṇeśa*, the remover of obstacles, Vighnāntaka), and is clad in leaf garments. Her *mantras* describe her as a *Piśācī* (ogress) and *sarvamāripraśamanī* (healer of all epidemic diseases). This fact, as well as her very name which associated her with the leaf-clad Śavaras, one of the aboriginal tribes of India, distinctly proves that she was recruited from a non-Aryan cult, as a few of the particular constituents of Durgā, the Brāhmaṇical goddess, were adapted from aboriginal cult deities. Two extant images of Parṇaśavarī found in East Bengal closely follow the



Plate 1 Mahāparinirvāṇa, Dinajpur, West Bengal, 10th century A. D.



Plate 2 Buddha with principal miracles, Bihar 9th century A. D.



Plate 3 Taming of Nālagiri, Bihar, 9th century A. D



Plate 4 Vajrāsana Buddha, Bihar, 11th century A. D.



Plate 5 Buddha preaching the first sermon, Bihar, 10th century A. D.



Plate 6 Buddha with Nanda and Upānanda, Bihar, c. 960-988 A. D.



Plate 7 Buddha with alms-bowl, Bihar, 10th century A. D



Plate 8 Buddha in European fashion, Bihar, 8th century A. D



Plate 9 Buddha adorned with a jewelled crown, Bihar, 12th century A. D



Plate 10 Maitreya, Bihar, 12th century A. D



Plate 11 Padmapani Avalokitesvara, Kurkihar, Bihar, 10th century A. D



Plate 12 Hari-Hari Harivāhanodbhava Lokesvara



Plate 13 Sadaksarī Lokesvara, Satna, M. P., 11th century A. D



Plate 14 Simhanada, Bodhagaya, Bihar, 12th century A. D.



Plate 15 Khasarpana, Chowrapara, Rajshahi, 12th century A. D.



Plate 16 Lokanātha, Bihar, 10th century A. D.



Plate 17 Mañjuśri, Nalandā, Bihar, 10th century A. D.



Plate 18 Siddhaikavira, Bihar, 10th century A. D



Plate 19 Khadiravanī Tārā, Bihar, 12th century A. D.



Plate 20 Jambhala, Nālandā (Burragaon), Bihar, 9th century A. D.



Plate 21 Gaṇapati, under the feet of goddess Aparājitā, Bihar, 10th century A. D



Plate 22 Tara, Kurkihar, Gaya, Bihar, 9th century A. D.



Plate 23 Vajra-Tārā, Patharghata, Bhagalpur, Bihar, 12th century A. D.



Plate 24 Vasudhāra, Bihar, 9th century A. D.



Plate 25 Marici, Nālanda, Bihar, 9th century A D

textual descriptions, and both have the figure of Amoghasiddha on the top centre of their *prabhāvalī*.[14]

Prajñā-Pāramitā is a goddess of benign aspect and was held in great veneration by the medieval Buddhists of India and Indonesia. She was regarded as the personified form of the Mahāyāna treatise *Prajñāpāramitā*, which is said to have been recovered from the nether regions by Nāgārjuna, the principal expounder of the reoriented Buddhism. She is usually recognized by *vyākhyāna-mudrā* and the manuscript *Prajñāpāramitā* on a lotus; one of the finest images of this benign Mahāyāna goddess originally hailed from Java and is now in the collection of the Leyden Museum.[15]

A very interesting goddess of this cult is Mārīcī (Plate 25), an emanation of Vairocana, the first of the Dhyānī-Buddhas. Several images of her have been found in eastern and northern India and this proves that she was held in esteem in this region. Her iconographic features show that she was an adaptation from the north-Indian Sūrya and her name means 'One who has rays'. She is usually depicted as three-faced (the left one of which is that of a sow) and eight-armed, her hands holding such attributes as a needle, a string, an elephant-goad, a noose, a bow, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a bunch of Aśoka flowers; she stands in the arrow-shooting pose on a chariot drawn by seven pigs, and driven either by a goddess with no legs or Rāhu, only a head with no body attached to it. Some of these eight-armed and three-faced figures of Mārīcī are attended by four goddesses bearing peculiar names such as Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī, all sow-faced and four-armed carrying several weapons and emblems similar to those in the hands of the central deity. The very fine image of Aṣṭabhujā Mārīcī, originally found at Sarnath and now in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, corresponding mostly to the description given above, contains, however, the figure of the Dhyānī-Buddha Amitābha in its crown—a striking departure from the texts.[16] Another variety of Mārīcī, one-faced and two-armed, the right hand being in the *varada* pose and the left touching an Aśoka bough, is generally depicted as an attendant deity of Khadiravanī-Tārā.

Another goddess of the developed Mahāyāna pantheon, who is sometimes wrongly regarded as identical with Mārīcī, is Vajravārāhī, the chief consort of the fierce god Heruka discussed above.[17] She is either two-armed or four-armed, and her attributes and pose resemble those of her consort. Her images of the medieval period are not common like those of Mārīcī.

Such independent goddesses as Sarasvatī, Aparājitā, Grahamātṛkā, etc. have, as their nomenclature shows, distinct Brāhmaṇical association, but their Buddhist adaptations came to have definite iconographic reorientation. Vajrayoginī, as the *sādhanas* describe her form, clearly reminds us of the

Tāntric goddess Chinnamastā who was held in great veneration by the Śakti-worshippers of Bengal; she was one of the ten Mahāvidyās whose cult was an important one in medieval and later Bengal. In a comparatively late period the Tāntric aspect of the Śakti worship seems to have adopted much from the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna cult and it is sometimes extremely difficult to fix up the definite cult-association of one or other of the individual deities.

The brief study of Buddhist iconography given above shows what bewildering diversity the religious art of the later Buddhists attained in the medieval period. The comparatively simple and general character of the early Buddhist art was made extremely complex in its later phase and various factors were at work for this re-orientation. The most important of these was the gradual assimilation in various ways of the god-concepts of many contemporary rival sects, most, if not all, of which belonged to Brāhmaṇical religion. Many of the numerous images of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna cult illustrate this fact in an interesting manner. Another important point not to be lost sight of in the study of them is the deep esoteric symbolism which underlies many of them in spite of their bizarre forms. The numerous unnamed artists, whose services were requisitioned for the satisfaction of the religious needs of the pious Buddhists, were not half-hearted in their work, and some of the specimens which they turned out were enduring works of art.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]The formula is '*Ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṁ teṣāṁ tathāgato hyavadat, teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evaṁ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*'. It contains one of the principal maxims of Buddhism and is very frequently found engraved on different parts of the medieval Buddha and Bodhisattva reliefs.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of medieval Sculpture,* Pl. XXIX (a) (Delhi, 1933); B. M. Barua, *Bharhut,* III, Pl. XLVII.

[3] B. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Sādhanamālā,* I, Nos. 3-5, pp. 18-25; II, Pl. I (Baroda, 1925).

[4] For these crowned Buddhas, cf. R. D. Banerji, *EISMS,* Pls. XVII (b), XXI (c), XXII (b) & (c), XXIII (b), XXIV (c), XXVI (d) etc., N. G. Majumdar identified them as Ādi-Buddha figures, *Varendra Research Society Annual Report* 1926-27; but A. K. Coomaraswamy challenged this interpretation, *JRAS,* 1928, 837, Pl. V, fig. 8.

[5] See above, Vol. III, 393.

[6] B. T. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 34, Pl. XVIII a (Oxford, 1924).

[7] R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. (a); for the four and six-armed figures of Lokeśvara, cf. *ibid.*, pls. XII (a), VIII (a) and (d). The four-armed types in the collection of the Patna Museum hail from the interior of the Cuttack district of Orissa.

[8] J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* 116, 370-71 (Calcutta, 1956); the *aṣṭanidhis* are the concrete manifestations of the Padminī-vidyā, of which Śrī or Lakṣmī was the presiding deity.

[9] The description of the Brāhmaṇical goddess Tārā as given in Brahmānanda's *Tārārahasya* and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantrasāra* exactly corresponds to the above; B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, 77.

[10] B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, 107, pl. XXXII (c).

[11] These great fears as can be seen from this relief are *majjana-bhaya, dasyu-bhaya, siṁha-bhaya, sarpa-bhaya, agni-bhaya, yakṣa-bhaya, bandhana-bhaya, hasti-bhaya*; these are depicted by miniature scenes in which the person in danger in each case is shown praying to the miniature replica of the goddess shown above.

[12] B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, 123-26; 129-30, pl. XXXVI b; Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, 45-53, pl. XV-XVII.

[13] B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, 90-2, pl. XXX (a).

[14] R. D. Banerji, *EISMS,* pl. XXXIX (b).

[15] E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pl. XIV, London, 1928.

[16] B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, 97, pl. XXXI a.

[17] For Bhattacharyya's refutation of the view that Vajravārāhī and Mārīcī were the two aspects of the same deity, cf. *op. cit.*, 93-4.

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* *Courtesy:* Plates 1-11, 13-25 Indian Museum, Kolkata; Plate 12 *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*—Benoytosh Bhattacharyya

24

DIAGRAMS AND SYMBOLS OF JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

CANONS

LITERARY sources for a study of Jaina Iconography date from the earliest known Jaina texts, namely, the Jaina canonical literature of the *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas* (but excluding later commentaries thereon). But no definite canon about the iconometry or iconography of Jaina images is found. Of course we have references to Jaina images and shrines in the stock descriptions of the *Siddhāyatanas*. These descriptions include other items of Jaina worship such as the *stūpas*, the *māna-stambhas*, etc. It is difficult to say whether the very few references to images and shrines of Arhats, obtained in the *Bhagavatī*, the *Uvāsaga-dasāo* and the *Nāyā-dhamma-kahāo* are as old as the age of Mahāvīra or his immediate successors.[1] Nowhere is it mentioned that Mahāvīra and his *gaṇadharas* visited any Jaina shrine. It is therefore not possible to expect any reference to Tīrthaṅkara images and shrines in the older strata of the Jaina canons which were re-edited in early fourth century A. D. at Mathurā as well as Valabhī in two separate councils and again in a council at Valabhī in about A. D. 470. However, the torso and legs of a Tīrthaṅkara sculpture, with Mauryan polish on it,[2] obtained from Lohānipur, an extension of the site of Pāṭaliputra, shows that at least in the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, worship of Tīrthaṅkara images had already come into vogue. Jaina traditions speak of Samprati being converted to Jainism by Ārya Suhasti. Samprati is spoken of as a great patron of Jainism, in the *Bhāṣya* and *Cūrṇi* works and in the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*. This conversion took place at the time of *ratha-yātrā* festival of the Jīvantasvāmin image, either at Vidiśā or at Ujjain, very probably at Vidiśā. The Jīvantasvāmin image, representing Mahāvīra meditating in *kāyotsarga*-posture (standing) and with *dhotī*, crown and other *alaṅkāras* on his person—is so called because it was fashioned as a wooden portrait-sculpture when Mahāvīra used to meditate in his palace some time prior to his renunciation.[3] Thus at least a contemporary portrait-sculpture seems to have been fashioned in the life-time of Mahāvīra and worshipped by not only some people but by the whole *saṅgha* by the age of Samprati, the grandson of

Mauryan emperor. This image could have served as a prototype or model for other later images of Mahāvīra. But the Jina image, as a cult-object, is the same in form for worship of all the Tīrthaṅkaras (except Pārśva and Supārśva who have snake-hoods overhead). Canons for the cult-image could have come into existence at least by about the beginning of the Christian era; this is suggested by the large number of Jina images (in sitting as well as standing postures) found from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā, and the hoard of Jaina bronzes from Chausa, near Buxar in Bihar.

The earliest datable evidence laying down standards for a Tīrthaṅkara image, so far known, is supplied in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (58. 45) of Varāhamihira: 'The god of the followers of the Arhats is to be represented as young and beautiful, having a peaceful countenance and the *śrīvatsa*-mark on his chest. With arms reaching his knees (i.e. when standing in meditation) his body is covered by only the quarters of directions (i.e. he is to be shown naked, with no garment on his person).'

Obviously this formula refers to Digambara Jaina images. Either the worship of images with a *dhotī* had not been started by the age of Varāhamihira, or at least it had not been very well known (i.e. perhaps of a relatively recent origin) in that age. It is well known that none of the Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa age from Mathurā and Chausa shows any garment on their persons.[4]

The *Mānasāra* (LV. 71-95), a text on architecture, assigned to *c.* sixth century A. D., supplies some more information about Jaina iconography. It says about the Jaina image that it should have 'two arms, two eyes, and the head should be clean-shaven and there should be a top-knot.' And again : 'There should be no ornaments and no clothes on any part of the body of the Jina figure which should be attractive (beautiful). The *śrīvatsa*-mark should be set in gold over the chest.'

The *Mānasāra* further says that the Jina figure should be in a straight, erect or sitting posture. The legs should be uniformly straight, and the two long hands should be in the same posture. In the sitting posture, the two feet are placed on the lotus-seat, the whole image being in a stiff attitude and bearing a meditative look on the supreme soul. The right and the left hands should be placed with palm upwards. The image should be placed upon a throne in an erect or sitting posture. At its top (back?) should be a pinnacle and a crocodile-arch. Above that should be the *kalpa*-tree together with the royal elephant and such other images.

According to the same text, the image should further be accompanied by Nārada and other sages as well as the assembly of gods and goddesses in a

praying-attitude. The Yakṣas and Vidyādharas and other demi-gods and kings except Cakravartins should also be carved in the same attitude. It should also be shown as being worshipped by Nāgendra and the lords of the quarters together with the Yakṣas. The Yakṣa and Yakṣeśvara are placed on the side serving with raised *caurīs*.

The limbs of the Jaina deities should be measured in the largest types of *daśa*(ten)-*tāla* system. So also are the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, according to the *Mānasāra* (LV. 71-95).

The *Mānasāra* refers to the Digambara image, but except the nakedness other characteristics are common to both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara images. All the attendant gods, Nārada especially, are not represented in the *parikara* of any Jina image known hitherto, but *caurī*-bearing Yakṣas, Nāgas, elephant-riders, drum-beaters, Gandharvas or Vidyādhara-pair, etc., are well known in the advanced stage of the Jina image with a full *parikara*. The chief characteristics of a Jina image are the same, namely, long arms, a beautiful young figure, eyes centred on nose-tip in meditation and the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest.[5]

The Digambara text *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* (1. 61-2) of *Āśādhara* (1228) enjoins that the eyes of the Jina image should be centred on the tip of the nose and that the image should be free from faults like a terrific countenance. It should also be accompanied by the eight *prātihāryas* and the Yakṣas.

Vasunandi Saiddhāntika, whom Āśādhara has referred to and who may be assigned to *c.* twelfth century (or earlier?), gives the iconometry of a Jina image in his *Pratiṣṭhā-sāra-saṁgraha*. He refers to the measurement of the *uṣṇīṣa* on the Jina's head. He also says that the Jina image is void of hair on the body or the beard and has the *śrīvatsa*-mark on his chest. The arms are long, reaching the knees. The soles of the feet show marks of the conch, the disc, the goad, the lotus, the *yava* (oat), the *chatra*, etc. Images of Tīrthaṅkaras are either in the standing (*kāyotsarga*) or in the sitting (*paryaṅkāsana* or *padmāsana*) postures. The images of Jinas are further said to be accompanied by eight *prātihāryas*.[6]

All Tīrthaṅkara images, so far known, are either in the standing or in the sitting postures. Most of the south-Indian images of Jinas, in the sitting posture, represent them sitting in the *ardha-padmāsana*, while similar images from north India show full *padmāsana*, with both legs crossed. But no distinction is found in the selection of postures of different Tīrthaṅkaras : all the Jinas are found represented in both the postures. However, Jaina texts have noted postures of various Jinas at the time of their *nirvāṇa*. Twenty-one Tīrthaṅkaras are said to

have obtained *nirvāṇa* while engaged in meditation in the *kāyotsarga*-posture (also Bharata and Bāhubali according to the Digambara view), while three Tīrthaṅkaras—Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra—obtained *nirvāṇa* while sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā*.[7] The suggestion that these should be the respective postures of Tīrthaṅkaras in images is not adhered to in actual practice, even though an early text like the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* (*gāthā* 969) also suggests that the Jinas are represented in this world in the postures in which they left it.

Both the sects note the complexions of the Tīrthaṅkaras of this *avasarpiṇī* in the Bharata-kṣetra. According to the Digambara view,[8] sixteen Tīrthaṅkaras, except the following, were golden in complexion: Candraprabha and Puṣpadanta were white, Supārśva and *Pārśva* were greenish (*harita*), Munisuvrata and Nemināthа were dark-blue and Padmaprabha and Vāsupūjya were red like coral or lotus. The same view is expressed by the *Śvetāmbara Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*,[9] and it may be safely presumed that this tradition dates at least from before the age of final separation between the two texts regarding image-worship.

The different Tīrthaṅkaras are identified with the help of *lāñchanas* carved on or below their seats. Both the sects give lists of these recognizing symbols. However, they are not available in any early texts. None of the *Āgamas*, nor even the *Kalpa-sūtra* which gives the lives of the Jinas, the *Niryuktis* and the *Cūrṇis* give a list of these cognizances. The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* (*c.* A. D. 500 or a little earlier), which gives accounts of several Tīrthaṅkaras, makes no mention of these cognizances. Amongst the Digambaras, earlier works like the *Varāṅga-carita* (sixth century), the *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena (*c.* 750-830), the *Uttara-purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (840), the *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa (676), etc., do not give these lists. The *Tiloya-paṇṇatti* does give a list, but the text, as it is available today, seems to have been tampered with by later authors.[10]

A comparison of list of *lāñchanas* of both sects shows that the points of difference are with regard to the cognizances of (1) the fourteenth Jina Ananta, who has the falcon-symbol according to Hemacandra but the bear according to the Digambaras, (2) of the tenth Jina Śītala, who has the *śrīvatsa* (Hemacandra) but the *svastika* (*Tiloya-paṇṇatti*) or the *śrī-druma* (*Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*) according to the Digambaras, and (3) of Aranātha, the eighteenth Jina, who has the fish-symbol[11] according to the Digambaras but the *nandyāvarta* according to the Śvetāmbaras. Amongst the Digambara writers themselves there are a few differences—the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti* gives the *nandyāvarta* for the seventh Jina, while the *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* gives the *svastika* (agreeing with Hemacandra's *Śvetāmbara* tradition). The cognizance of the tenth Jina is the

svastika according to the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, but *Śrī-druma* according to the *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*.

The earliest literary source for *lāñchanas* in either of the two sects is later than the Digambara-Śvetāmbara separation. We must, therefore, take the help of archaeological evidence for the origin and development of the various *lāñchanas*. Without going into much detail, it will be enough to state that no Jina image of the Kuṣāṇa period shows any *lāñchana*. The first datable and the earliest-known sculpture with a *lāñchana* is the partly-mutilated sculpture of Neminātha from Rajgir, with a Gupta-period inscription referring to Candragupta.[12] In the centre of the pedestal is the beautiful figure of a standing *cakra-puruṣa* with the wheel on his back, and on either side of the wheel is a conch, the cognizance of Neminātha.

The position of the *lāñchana*, according to Āśādhara[13] (and all Jaina writers), is to be in the centre below the *pāda-pīṭha*, while the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī are to be on the right and left sides respectively (of the pedestal).

A noteworthy feature in Jaina iconography is the complete agreement in both the sects about the names of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Lists of the Tīrthaṅkaras are found in *Āgamas*, e.g. the *Kalpa-sūtra*, the *Logassa-sutta* of the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra* and the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* (16. 5). The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (*sūtra* 126) and the *Niryukti* thereon refer to the Tīrthaṅkaras of the past, present and future ages. The *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* (2.4.108) gives the complexions of the Jinas. The Digambara sect regards the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha as a male, while the Śvetāmbaras believe that Malli was a female. The difference is due to the fact that the Digambaras believe that females cannot obtain *mokṣa*. This belief seems to have grown because they cannot move about naked and practise the highest type of penance—the *Jina-kalpo*. Thus, the question of the sex of the nineteenth Jina is based upon the main point of Śvetāmbara-Digambara difference, namely, the *acelakatva*.[14]

Images of Tīrthaṅkaras were made of costly gems, metals, stones, wood or clay. The *Ācāra-dinakara* lays down certain injunctions on the selection of any of these materials. According to this text, one can prepare images of gold, silver or copper but never of bronze, *kāṁsya*, lead or tin. Sometimes brass (*reti*) is used in casting images, though as a general rule mixtures of metals are prohibited. When the material is wood, wood of *śrī-parṇi*, *candana*, *bilva*, *kadamba*, *rakta-candana*, *piyāla*, *udumbara* and occasionally *śiṁśima* is allowed but never of any other tree. When the image is made of stone, the material should be free from various defects and it may be of white, greenish, red, black or green colour. In preparing a terracotta image, cow-dung should be

collected without letting it fall on the ground and is to be mixed with clay obtained from pure soil. In the preparation of *lepya* (stucco) images various colours are utilized. It is further enjoined that images of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory or cow-dung or paintings should not be worshipped in private homes by persons desirous of welfare.[15]

Vasunandi in his *Śrāvakācāra* says that images of Jinas and others (Siddhas, Ācāryas and others) should be made according to iconographic formulae (*paḍimā-lakkhaṇa-vihi*),[16] the materials used being gems, gold, jewels, silver, brass, pearls, stones, etc.[17] Vasubindu in his Pratiṣṭhā-pāṭha adds crystals and says that the wise praise such images as are accompanied by (a representation, below the Jina, of) a big lotus-seat.

Defective images, images which are broken and repaired or those which have been highly worn out are not to be installed. One should worship in the house an image more than a *vitasti* in height.[18] The *Ācāradinakara* prohibits the worship of images of less than twelve *aṅgulas* in height in public shrines and adds that images higher than twelve *aṅgulas* should not be worshipped at home if one desires happiness.[19] Images cast in metal or stucco images deserve to be repaired and continued in worship, but those of wood or stone, once mutilated, should not be repaired for worship. But if they are more than a hundred years old or if they are consecrated by the best of men they deserve worship, even though mutilated. But they should be placed in public shrines and not in *gṛha-caityas*.[20]

Though references to temples of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the Jaina *Āgamas* are extremely rare and their genuineness is often questioned, and even though no image of a Tīrthaṅkara on this earth is described in the *Āgama* texts, we are able to obtain a fairly early conception of the Jina image from the stock descriptions of *śāśvata-Jina-pratimās*. Jaina traditions of both sects refer to *Siddhāyatanas* (shrines of Siddhas, also called *śāśvata-caityas* or eternal shrines) containing images of Tīrthaṅkaras known as *śāśvata*-Jinas. These images are of four Tīrthaṅkaras, namely, Candrānana, Vāriṣeṇa, Ṛṣabha and Vardhamāna.[21] They are called *śāśvata*-Jinas because in every *utsarpiṇī* or *avasarpiṇī ārā* the names of these four Tīrthaṅkaras are always repeated.[22] Belief in *Siddhāyatanas*, or in *śāśvata-Jina-pratimās* in various heavens and on mountain-peaks is found in several *Āgamas*.[23] It is said that in the centre of the extremely beautiful *Siddhāyatana* a *devacchandaka* is erected on a big *maṇi-pīṭhaka*. This sanctum of the gods has one hundred and eight images of the Jinas installed therein. A poetic and exaggerated description of the various parts of the body of the Jinas follows. Then it is said that at the back of these

idols of the Jinas are figures of umbrella-bearers, gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of *koraṇṭa*-flowers, extremely white and lustrous, like silver, the moon, etc. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the flywhisk-bearers; in front of the Jina is a pair (one on each side) of Nāga figures, of Yakṣas, Bhūtas, and of the *kuṇḍa-dharas* (holding water-jars or vessels) bowing and falling at the feet of the Lord. In front of the images of the Lord are placed bells, *candana-kalaśas* (same as *maṅgala-kalaśas* or pots of sandal-wood paste?), *bhṛṅgāras* (jars), mirrors, dishes, vessels, seats, boxes of jewels of variegated hues, necks of horses, elephants, men, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas, Gandharvas, Bulls, caskets (*caṅgerī*) of flowers, garlands, powders, unguents, etc., mops of peacock-feathers, baskets (*paṭaluka*) of flowers, one hundred and eight each of lion-thrones, umbrellas, flywhisks, oil-pots, pots of *koṣṭha*, *coyaka*, *tagara*, *haritāla*, *hiṅgula*, *manaḥśilā*, collyrium, and one hundred and eight banners.[24]

The above is possibly an account of standing images, as the description of Jina's limbs, etc., suggests. Though the set of *aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas* prescribed for images of Tīrthaṅkaras by both Śvetāmbara and Digambara *pratiṣṭhā*-texts of the medieval period and by *śilpa*-works is not given above, some of the elements of the eight *prātihāryas*, constituting the *parikara* of a Jina image, do figure in the above account. The account is a poetic and exaggerated mixture of description of Jina figures plus accessories of Jaina worship seen by the author or authors of such accounts. On the whole, on a comparison with available archaeological material, this account does not appear to reflect an age earlier than the early centuries of the Christian era. On the Jina figures of this period obtained from Mathurā, we do find on each side of a Jina an attendant *cāmara-dhara*, or a Nāga figure with folded hands, and occasionally a *mālā-dhara* (garland-bearer) on each side at the top of the sculpture, an umbrella above the head of the Jina. *Kuṇḍa-dharas*, according to commentators, are minor gods who carry out orders (of Indra?), but if *kuṇḍa* is understood as a type of water-vessel, then we have a parallel in Mathurā where the attendant figures sometimes carry a water-pot.

The above account makes no mention of the *lāñchanas* of Jinas, nor of figures of Śāsana-devatās (attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī protecting the *śāsana* or church of a Jina). These motifs are also absent in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. Especially noteworthy is the *śrīvatsa*-mark mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa age, but not on the polished (Mauryan) torso from Lohānipur or the standing early Pārśvanātha bronze in the Prince of Wales Museum, which I have assigned to a period before Christ.

It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest, etc., taken from traditions of *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas*, came to be regarded as chief characteristics of a Tīrthaṅkara image. The texts describing the *śāśvata*-Jinas do not refer to garments on the figure of the Jina. No early Jaina text refers to the lists of *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas* so common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts and other Buddhist works. However, the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, an Upāṅga *Āgama* text, giving the stock description (*varṇaka*) of Mahāvīra's body, which is to be regarded as common to all *Āgamas*, gives a very interesting description of Mahāvīra's body, which agrees, often in similar phraseology, with the *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas* of early Buddhist texts.[25]

According to the *Aupapātika* description of Mahāvīra's body,[26] Mahāvīra's height was seven cubits, and the frame of his body as strong as the *vajra*, his breath fragrant like the lotus and he was handsome to look at. The body was free from sweating and such other defects. The front of his head (*agraśiras*) was strong and high like the peak (*kūṭākāra*),[27] the hair on the head being dark and of thick growth, lying in schematic curls (*pradakṣiṇāvartta*). The scalp of the Lord, resembling a bunch of pomegranate-flowers, was pure and smooth like gold; his head was shaped like an umbrella (*chatrākāra*); his unsullied forehead (*lalāṭa*) possessed the lustre of the new moon, being clear and even; the face was perfect and shining like the moon, ears lovely, proportionate and good, the cheeks healthy and full. His eye-lashes, thin, dark and smooth, looked beautiful like a bent bow, the wide eyes resembled the full-blown white lotus, each eye-lash having a white hair; his nose was long, straight and uplifted like that of an eagle; his lower lip looked lovely and red like the coral, the cherry or the *bimba*-fruit; the rows of teeth, lustrous like the white moon, conch, milk, etc., were complete, unbroken, indistinct and smooth; his palate and tongue shone like red-hot gold; his beard and moustache were well-dressed and grown in proportion to his age. His chin was well-set and well-developed like that of a lion; his neck, four *aṅgulas* in length, looked like the conch (*kambu-grīvā*). His shoulder was broad and rounded (*pratipūrṇa*) like that of the buffalo, the bull, the lion, the boar and the elephant; his round, well-developed muscular arms, with steady joints, were long like the latch of a city-gate; his hands, big and strong, looked like a cobra with expanded hood; his palms were soft and muscular, red and endowed with auspicious marks and had webbed fingers with no intervening space in between (*acchidra-jāla-pāṇi*), a typical trait found on Buddha images of the Gupta period, not yet available on any image of the Kuṣāṇa age; the fingers again were

both thick and soft with nails red and shining like copper. His palms showed marks of the moon, the sun, the conch, the *cakra* and the *svastika*, etc. He had a broad chest well-developed and even, shining like a bar of gold, and having the mark of the *śrīvatsu*; his back was strong with bones invisible under the muscles. He had a beautiful healthy body shining like gold.

His sides were well developed, beautiful and symmetrical; the hair on his body was pure, soft, slight, oily, delicate and charming. His abdomen was strong and well developed (*pīnu*) like that of the fish and the bird, his belly like that of the fish, all the organs of his body pure and defectless; his navel, deep and developed like the newly-blossomed lotus, was spiral (*pradakṣiṇāvartta*) inside like the whirling wave of the Gaṅgā. The Torso or the middle of his body was like the tripod, the pestle, the mirror or the thunderbolt, broad at ends and narrow in the middle; his hips were like those of the best horse or the lion, his privies like those of a horse, clean and well-formed. He had the gait of the best of elephants; his thighs were shaped like the trunk of an elephant; his knee-joints were invisible as if under the lid of a spherical box; his shanks were like those of a deer; his ankles were well-set and invisible under muscles; his feet, beautiful and well-built like those of tortoise, looked beautiful with close-set fingers having copper-red nails. The soles of his feet, soft and red like the lotus-leaf, showed marks of a mountain, a city, crocodile, ocean, disc, etc. Brilliant like a glowing fire, the lightning-flash or the rising sun, Mahāvīra possessed all the one thousand and eight marks of the best of human beings.

All the Tīrthaṅkara or the Buddha images are based on the fundamental concept of *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas*. The Jaina description seems to suggest, indirectly, the *uṣṇīṣa* but not the *ūrṇā*. Hardly half-a-dozen Tīrthaṅkara images so far known or published would show the *ūrṇā*. The *uṣṇīṣa* is almost invariably seen, but images without it are also known from Mathurā and other sites. A circular *tilaka*-mark on the forehead is rarely seen; one such specimen is from Mathurā.

The Jaina description wonderfully agrees with the conception of the Buddha figure in the *Ratna-gotra-vibhāga* of Sthiramati.[28] An ideal abridged description of the Jina body is also obtained in the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, which is also a work of the Gupta age.

According to Jaina traditions, the Tīrthaṅkaras have certain extraordinary qualities (*atiśayas*).[29] But the group of eight *mahā-prātihārayas*, well-known as the *parikara* of the Jina image, is not separated in the list of the *atiśayas* given in early texts like the *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*. The emphasis on only eight *atiśayas* treated as *mahā-prātihāryas* came with the emergence of the full-

fledged *parikara* on images of both the sects. The process was gradual as can be seen by comparison of Tīrthaṅkara sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods with those of the post-Gupta and medieval periods.

The Jaina pantheon, so far as iconography and available remains are concerned, grew considerably after the Gupta period. Tāntric influences developed in Buddhism and Hinduism from the early medieval period. Jainism could not escape this trend and we have texts like the *Jvālāmālinī-kalpa* of Indranandi, the *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa* of Malliṣeṇa and the *Ambikā-kalpa* of Śubhacandra. The Jaina rituals are elaborated with strong influence of Hindu rites as is evident from the *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra* of Āśādhara (Digambara), the *Nirvāṇakalikā* of Pādalipta and the *Ācāradinakara* of Vardhamāna-Sūri (Śvetāmbara). The height of Tāntric trends, with non-Jaina influences, was reached in the work called *Vidyānuśāsana* of Matisāgara (*c.* sixteenth century), still in manuscript form. These works and a number of *pratiṣṭhā*-works of both the sects contain a mine of information on later Jaina iconography.

The Jaina Purāṇas, in Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Apabhraṁśa, Kannaḍa, Tamil, etc., are another rich source for a study of Jaina iconography. Again, *stotra*-works, and incidentally some story-books, also supply further information. *Śilpa*-works like the *Aparājita-pṛcchā*, the *Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa*, the *Rūpa-maṇḍana* and the *Vāstu-sāra* or Ṭhakkura Pheru, besides earlier works like the *Mānasāra*, arc other very important sources for the study of Jaina iconography.

SYMBOLS

There is no Creator-god in Jaina philosophy and strictly speaking image-worship is not absolutely necessary for the attainment of emancipation. It is the *bhāva*-worship (mental attitude) and not *dravya*-worship (physical worship, idol-worship) that really matters as shown by Kundakundācārya. Jaina worship is, therefore, regarded as a worship not of a god-head or a deity but of a human being who has reached perfection of the soul freed from all bondage. And again it is not hero-worship in its usual sense but is the aggregate of qualities of the Perfect Man, of the Liberated Soul that is remembered, adored and developed in one's own self by the worshipper by worshipping the idol of the Jina. The idol therefore serves more the purpose of a symbol of the agreegate of certain qualities than of a portrait of a Tīrthaṅkara or a *mahā-puruṣa*. Emancipated souls or Siddhas or Tīrthaṅkaras (those Siddhas who establish the Jaina Tīrtha constituted of *śrāvaka*, *śrāvikā*, *sādhu* and *sādhvī*) are souls freed from attachment (*rāga*) or jealousy (*dveṣa*) and therefore neither favour nor frown

upon the worshipper of their idols. In worshipping the idol, the devotee remembers the qualities or virtues of the Jina and tries to imbibe them in one's own life and being.

It is therefore obvious that idol-worship was introduced and sanctioned in Jainism only because the common man or the lay-worshipper could not do without it and was possibly already accustomed to some sort of image-worship. Worship of Yakṣas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Mukunda, Indra, Skanda, Vāsudeva, trees, rivers, etc., is often referred to in the Jaina canons. These deities were invoked with various desires for reward, for obtaining children and so on. Naturally, therefore, Jainism imbibed elements of this type of worship while it began worshipping Tīrthaṅkaras, Siddhas and monks in various stages of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy. It is also possibly an attempt to replace and eliminate or undermine worship of elements of non-Jaina character and association. It was but natural that in the beginning was introduced and enjoined worship of image of the (Tīrthaṅkaras), Siddhas, Ācāryas (heads of a particular group of monks, nuns and their devotees—a *gaṇa* or a *gaccha* or a *kula*), Upādhyāyas (monks who read out and explain the scriptures to others) and Sādhus (ordinary monks). These are called the Five Supreme Ones—the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins.

The Jaina *navakāra-mantra* or the *namaskāra-mantra*, the highest and the most revered invocation and incantation, is constituted of formulas making obeisance to , Siddhas, Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus who are the Five Dignitaries.

In a lotus-symbol, four dignitaries would be conceived or represented on four petals of the lotus (one in each direction) with the Arhat or Tīrthaṅkara in the centre. Though no such early representation has been discovered it seems that from very early times these five were the supreme objects of Jaina worship.

At some later stage, four more objects were introduced on the lotus-petals intervening the lotus-petals of the four concerns of the eastern, southern, western and northern directions. These are, according to the Śvetāmbara sect, the conceptions of *Jñāna* (Right Knowledge), *darśana* (Right Faith), *cāritra* (Right Conduct) and *tapas* (Right Penance), and according to the Digambara sect, the *caitya* (the Jina image), the *caityālaya* (temple enshrining the Jina image), the *śruta* (scripture) and the *dharma-cakra* (or the Wheel of Law). These were represented as a diagram on stone or in metal or were painted on canvas or paper. The Śvetāmbara diagram is called the Siddha-cakra (Plate 1, on stone, from Nadol; Plate 3, in bronze, in the Baroda Museum), while the Digambara one (Plate 4, in bronze, from Tiruppa-ruttikkunram[30]) is called the

Nava-devatā. In paintings of this diagram each of these five Parameṣṭhins has a particular complexion. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are respectively white, red, yellow, blue and black in complexion.[31] The colour of the remaining four members of the Śvetāmbara Nava-Pada is to be visualized in meditation as white according to *Nava-Pada-Ārādhanā-vidhi*.[32] The Digambara diagram of Pañca-Parameṣṭhins is illustrated in a south-Indian bronze in the collection of the Samanta Bhadra Vidyalaya, Delhi (Plate 2). Digambara *tantra* has two more diagrams, the Laghu-Siddha-cakra and the Bṛhat-Siddha-cakra,[33] which are widely different from the Digambara Nava-devatā or the Śvetāmbara Siddha-cakra.

Hemacandra refers to the Siddha-cakra as a diagram brought to light by Vajrasvāmin from the last *Vidyānupravāda-pūrva* in the early centuries of the Christian era[34]. In the commentary *Bṛhannyāsa* on his own *Śabdānuśāsana*, Hemacandra refers to the Siddha-cakra as a *samaya-prasiddha* (famous traditionally) diagram. No earlier reference to the worship of the Siddha-cakra diagram is found, but in the *Nitya-sandhyā-kriyā-vidhi* of the *Jina-saṁhitā*[35] ascribed to Indranandi (*c.* tenth century) the Nav.a-devatās are invoked. It seems that from an early stage the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins were worshipped and invoked.

Archaeological evidence of the Kuṣāṇa period, obtained from the excavations at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, has not revealed any Siddha-cakra or Nava-devatā diagram or the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins in one group, even though individually some of the Five Dignitaries like the Tīrthaṅkara, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are found represented. As regards the Siddha, it is difficult to say whether some of the unidentified statues of Tīrthaṅkaras were regarded as representing Siddhas. The Siddha is *aśarīrin*, free from the bondage of even the human body, and as such his image was possibly not worshipped in the earlier stage. It is only in the very late bronzes in the Digambara shrines that we see the worship of the Siddha, whose figure is stencil-cut on a metal plate, and we also find the Siddha figure in the medieval sculptures and paintings of the Siddha-cakra and Nava-devatā diagrams.

But the Mathurā finds of the Kuṣāṇa period do show that in the earliest stages the *caitya-stūpa*, the *caitya*-tree and the *āyāga-paṭas* were worshipped. Tree-worship is very ancient not only in India but also in other countries. The Christmas Tree is one such example. Existence of tree-worship in Indus civilization is evidenced by representations on several seals and sealings. One of seals from Chanhudaro depicts the *pippala*-tree[36]. Some sealings from Harappa show trees enclosed by a wall or railings. 'It cannot at present be

stated definitely whether tree worship pertained to trees in their natural state or to their indwelling spirits.'[37] The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.3) speaks of seven holy trees. In the Ṛgvedic *Āprī-Sūktas*, *vanaspatis* are invoked.[38] *Oṣadhis* are called 'mothers' and 'goddesses' and are invoked chiefly with waters and mountains.[39] *Caitya-vṛkṣas* are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa*, LXXI, where large trees are addressed as deities; they are connected with human fertility and nymphs inhabiting them are asked to be propitious to passing wedding-processions.[40] Souls or spirits were supposed to dwell in trees and to haunt them and were looked upon as gods.[41] Offerings are made to these tree-spirits, who are pleased when garlands are hung upon the branches and lamps lighted on all sides, and *bali*-offerings made at the foot of the trees.[42] Both Manu and Yājñavalkya ask a *snātaka* to circumambulate sacred trees (*aśvattha*, etc.) on his way.

The *Mahābhārata* forbids even the felling of trees that are known as *caityas*. Kane interprets *caitya* as 'trees like the *aśvattha* that have a platform (*caitya*)[43] built for them'. [44] The stone dias, throne or platform was regarded as Yakṣa's haunt (*bhavana*) as pointed out by Coomaraswamy, who also says : 'Most of the Yakṣa cetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees.'[45] The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* of Saṁgha-dāsa-gaṇi (*c.* fifth century A. D.) shows that there was an *udyāna* (park) called Manoramā in *Sāliggāma* in Magadha Janapada. Therein was the Jakkha Sumano, whose stone plaque or platform (*silā=śilā*) was placed under an *aśoka*-tree, the *śilā* being known as Sumanā. There the people worshipped the Yakṣa.[46] A certain person called Satya spent a night in meditation in this area of the Sumanā-śilā, standing in the *kāyotsarga*-pose, in order to propitiate the Yakṣa. It seems that *śilā* is here used in the sense of a plaque or relief deposited under the *aśoka*-tree (revered as *caitya*-tree) on a platform (*silā-paesa*) where Satya could stand in meditation.

Thus, by the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra, possibly somewhat before their age, some of the *caitya*-trees that were formerly only enclosed in a small railing (as in the Indus seals and in the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭas*),[47] now had *śilā-paṭas* installed under them, besides a stone (or brick) platform around their trunks. Not all the trees had these *śilā-paṭas* but only those that were worshipped as haunts of spirits. Some *caitya*-trees possibly had platforms but not *śilā-paṭas* and some continued to have only railings. But in some reliefs of Bhārhut we see that stone plaques placed on stools or *āsanas* and installed near the trunks of *caitya*-trees are worshipped by devotees.[48]

It is possible to infer a stage in which the object of worship was carved in relief on the surface of the *śilā-paṭa* itself and offerings placed on it. We see on

some of *āyāga-paṭas* of Mathurā the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara carved in the centre. Also the name *āyāga-paṭa* itself suggests that offerings were placed on or near them.

The stock-description (*varṇaka*) of a *caitya* (*Jakkhayāyaṇa=Yakṣa-caitya* according to commentators) in the Jaina canons is the description of the Pūrṇabhadra-caitya obtained in the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, *sūtras* 2-5. According to it, the Pūrṇabhadra-caitya in the Āmraśāla-vana situated to the north-east of the city of Campā was very old in age (*cīrātita*), recognized by people of old as ancient (*porāṇa*) and famous. On all sides of it was a big forest-grove having a central big *aśoka*-tree with a *pṛthivī-śilā-paṭṭa* under it, slightly reclining against the stem and placed on a *siṁhāsana*. It was black like collyrium, dark-blue like *nīlotpala*, shining (reflecting) like the surface of a mirror (*ayamsayatalovame*), soft to the touch like butter, cotton, etc. Incidentally, as I have shown before, this is the description of a highly-polished (Northern Black Polished Ware) terracotta plaque (*pṛthivī-śilā-paṭṭa*) existing in the sixth century B. C.[49]

It is this *pṛthivī-śilā-paṭṭa* which is the precursor and prototype of the *āyāga-paṭas* from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā. This is further supported by the inscription on the *āyāga-paṭa* set up by Vasu, daughter of *Loṇaśobhikā*, where the tablet is actually called *śilā-paṭo*.[50] It is expressly stated in the last line that this tablet was meant for worship of (offering to) (*Arahata-pūjāye*).

Hemacandra refers to *bali-paṭṭas*,[51] with figures of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* in Jaina shrines. These are certainly the *āyāga-paṭas* since each of the *āyāga-paṭas* discovered hitherto at *Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā* (except the tablets of ascetic Kaṇha and Āryavatī) has, as its central prominent motif, one of the *aṣṭa-maṅgala* symbols. Thus, we have *āyāga-paṭa* with *svastika*, *tri-ratna*, *stūpa*, *dharma-cakra*, *sthāpanācārya* (or Indra-*yaṣṭi* as identified by V. S. Agrawala), etc. Some of the tablets have figures of all the eight auspicious symbols on them, for example, the *āyāga-paṭa* which is the gift of Sīhanādika, the *āyāga-paṭa* of the wife of Bhadranandi and the *āyāga-paṭa* of an unknown donor from Mathurā.[52] The list of eight auspicious symbols of the age was somewhat different from the lists now current with the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects.

The practice of installing objects of worship on platform under *caitya*-trees continues to this day in India, and we find loose broken or intact images and stones placed on such platforms under trees in villages and towns. An interesting evidence of about first century B. C. is obtained in a relief-panel from Mathurā which has the representation of a Śiva-*liṅga* under a tree, both enclosed in a railing.[53]

In the *Aupapātika-sūtra* description of the *caitya* of Pūrṇabhadra (a well-known ancient Yakṣa), there is no mention of a structural shrine, and here possibly the tree itself with *śilā-paṭṭa* is the Yakṣa-*āyatana* as in the case of *Suciloma-Jātaka* (*Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, 11. 5) where a *taṅkite mañco* is stated to be the Yakkha's haunt (*bhavana*). It seems that the carving of a figure (of the Yakṣa or any deity) on the *śilā-paṭṭa* or of installing a sculpture of a deity under a *caitya*-tree was a later stage,[54] but it must be remembered that even this stage might have been reached in the age of Mahāvīra if the shrine of Maggarapāṇi Yakṣa of Rājagṛha, referred to in Jaina canonical literature, can be regarded as dating from Mahāvīra's times.

Both Buddha and Mahāvīra[55] and many other thinkers and sages of old used to meditate under such trees, on these platforms. This practice of meditating under trees is what Buddha seems to have resorted to, as suggested by Rhys Davids when at the end of some earnest dialogue Buddha used to close it with an appeal : 'Here are the trees: think this matter out.'[56]

Another stage in the worship of the *caitya*-tree can be easily imagined in the erection of a *pīṭha* with *śilā-paṭṭa* on each of the four sides of a tree. This served as the fundamental conception of the early *caitya*, open on four sides, the *caturmukha* shrine, also in the conception of *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, in which a Tīrthaṅkara is standing or sitting on each of the four sides. This inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of *caitya-vṛkṣas* in the *samavasaraṇa* of Ādinātha, described by Jinasena in his *Ādi-purāṇa*. They are called *caitya-vṛkṣas* because at their roots are placed, on four sides, four images (*caityas*) of the Jinas.[57] The *caitya*-trees of the Bhavanavāsi class of gods are described in a similar way by the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*.[58]

The original conception of a *caturmukha-pratimā* (image facing four directions, fourfold image), so far as the *samavasaraṇa* is concerned, is based upon the belief that in the circular auditorium in which the Jina delivers his sermon sitting on a dais in the centre, with the audience sitting on all sides, three images of the exact likeness of the Jina were installed by Indra for facing the three directions except the one which the Tīrthaṅkara himself was facing, so that all beings sitting in the different directions would be able to face the Jina. Thus, in this conception it is the figure of one and the same Jina that is to be seen facing each of the four different directions. Thus, in a fourfold image of Mahāvīra one should find four of the images of Mahāvīra facing the four directions. But almost all the fourfold images found at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā disclose figures of four different Tīrthaṅkaras facing the four quarters. At least two of

them can be identified—one Ṛṣabhanātha with hair-locks falling on his shoulders, and the second, Pārśvanātha with snake-hoods over his head. The third must have been Mahāvīra, being the last Tīrthaṅkara, while the fourth might have represented Neminātha. This is inferred because in the *Kalpa-sūtra* lives of the remaining twenty Jinas are treated in an identical stereotyped fashion.

It is, therefore, possible that the fourfold images from Mathurā, known as *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* from inscriptions on their pedestals, are not based on the conception of the *gandha-kuṭī* (sitting in which the Tīrthaṅkara delivers his sermon) of a *samavasaraṇa* but perhaps has its origin in the concept of Yakṣa-*caityas* under trees.[59] In the stock-descriptions (*varṇaka*) of the *Siddhāyatanas* in the Jaina *Āgamas*, we find that such a shrine had three entrances. In front of each entrance was a portico (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) adorned with *aṣṭamaṅgala* motifs. In front of these were the *prekṣā-gṛha-maṇḍapas* or assembly-halls. Facing them was a *caitya-stūpa* on a *maṇi-pīṭhikā*. On four sides of each *stūpa* were *maṇi-pīṭhikās*, each platform surmounted by Jina figures facing the *stūpa*.[60] This shows the conception of Jina figures facing four sides.

The *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena[61] describes a type of pillars known as the *māna-stambha* in the first rampart of the *samavasaraṇa*. At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of Jinas. Such pillars are also described in the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*[62] which says that the Jina images were placed on the top of a pillar. The Kahaun pillar with an inscription of the Gupta age[63] shows four Jinas on four sides at the top and one at its base. Such figures are usually enshrined in a square pavilion, on top, open on four sides. This practice remains popular even today amongst the Digambaras. At Deogarh are certain pillars which show variations in this older tradition of *māna-stambha*. Sometimes, besides the four Jina figures on the top, four figures of subordinate deities, Yakṣīs, Kṣetrapālas, etc., were shown at the base, while on the top sometimes a *gaṇadhara* or an Ācārya replaced one of the four Tīrthaṅkara images. An elaboration of the same conception is the famous Jaina *stambha* at Chitor in Rajasthan.[64]

Mention may be made here of the conception of *caturmukha* (*caumukha*) Jaina shrines where the sanctums have doors facing four sides, and the chief image in worship is a fourfold Jina image with a Tīrthaṅkara (not necessarily the same) facing each direction. A very early famous shrine of this type is the famous Paharpur temple in Bengal which has disclosed Hindu reliefs. It is difficult to say whether it was originally a Jaina shrine or not, but the find of a copper-plate dated in the year 159 (A. D. 478), referring to the Jaina *Pañca-*

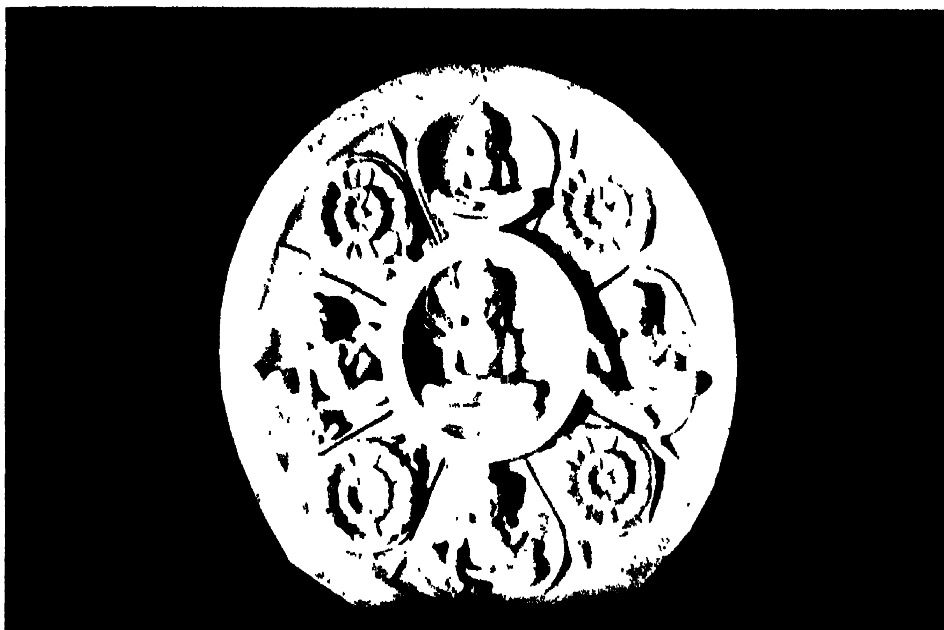


Plate 1 Marble Pañca-Parameṣṭhins in Śvetāmbara temple, Nadol

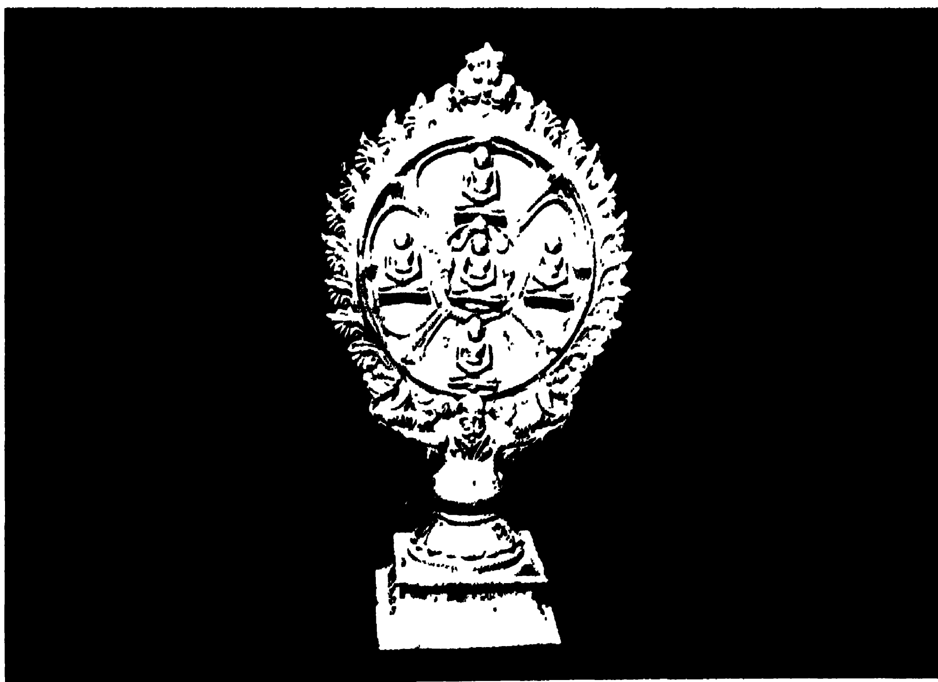


Plate 2 Pañca-Parameṣṭhin. Digambara, South India, bronze, Samantabhadra Vidyalaya, Delhi

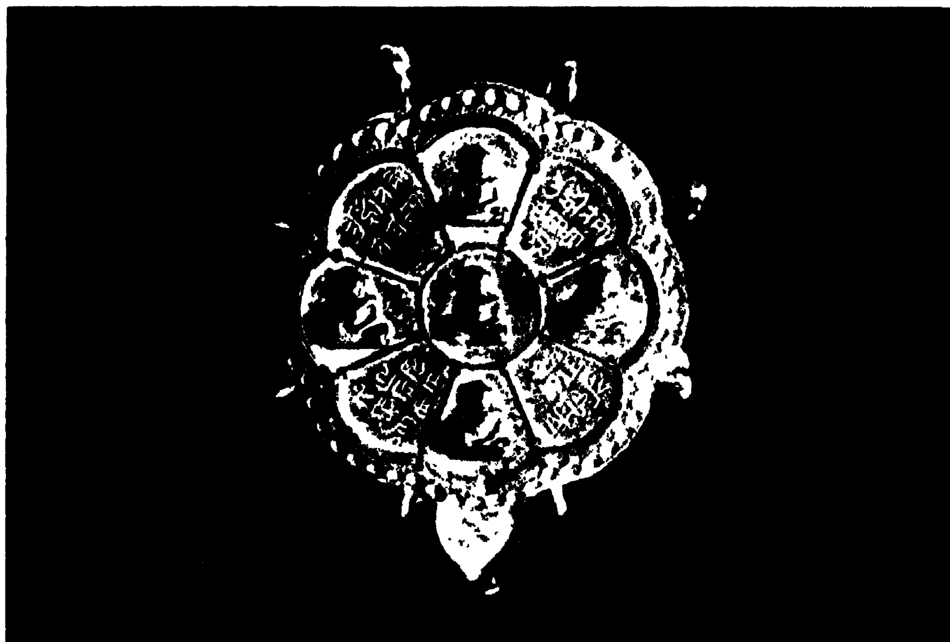


Plate 3 Siddha-cakra, Śvetambara, bronze, Baroda Museum



Plate 4 Nava-devatā in Trailokyanātha temple, bronze, Tiruppa-ruttikkunram, *c.* 11th century A. D.



Plate 5 A *caumukha*, Gwalior Fort

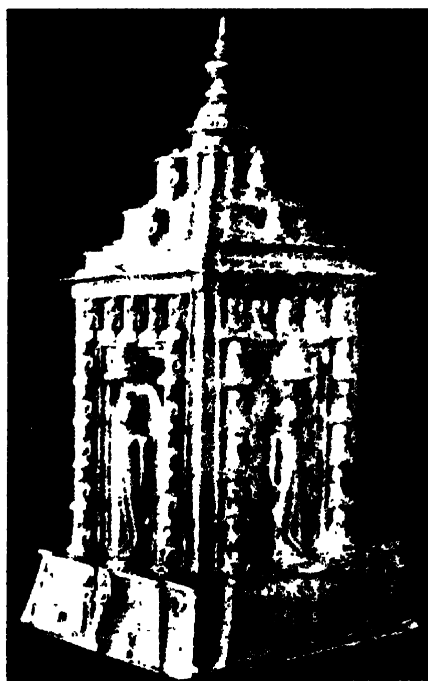


Plate 6 Bronze *caumukha* with seventy two Jinas in Digambara temple Surat

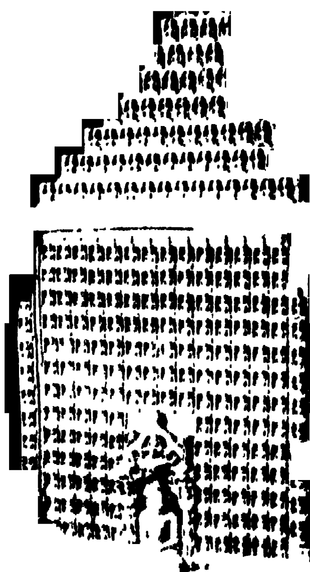


Plate 7 Bronze *sahasra-kuṭa* in Digambara Jaina temple of Balatkara-gaṇa, Karanja

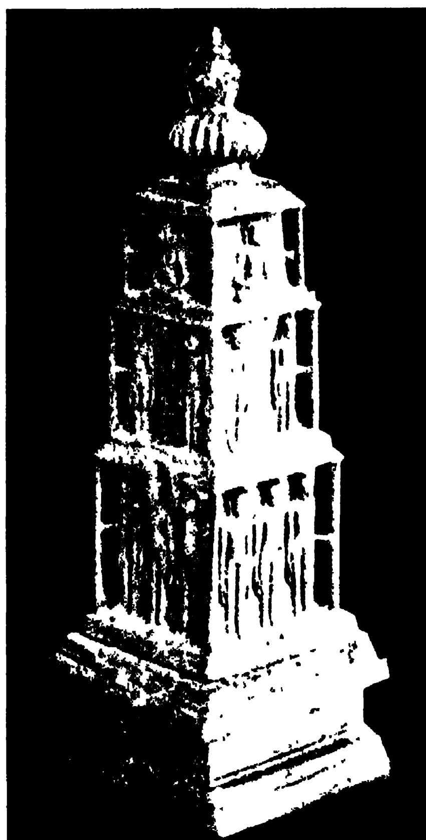


Plate 8 Bronze *caumukha* with twenty-four Jinas, Indian Museum



Plate 9 Jina under *caitya*-tree, South India, Samantabhadra Vidyalaya, Delhi

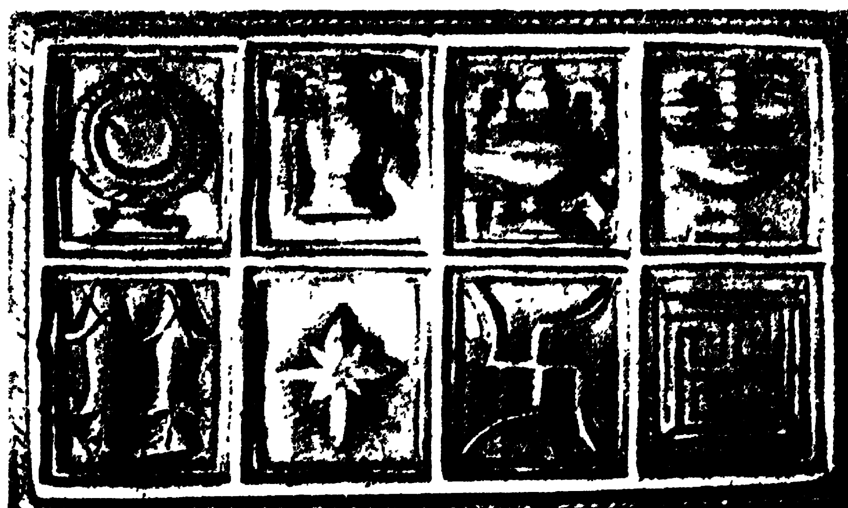


Plate 10 Brass tablet of *aṣṭa-maṅgala* in Śvetāmbara temple, Baroda



Plate 11 Scenes of Mahavira's life on temple-ceiling, Kumbharia

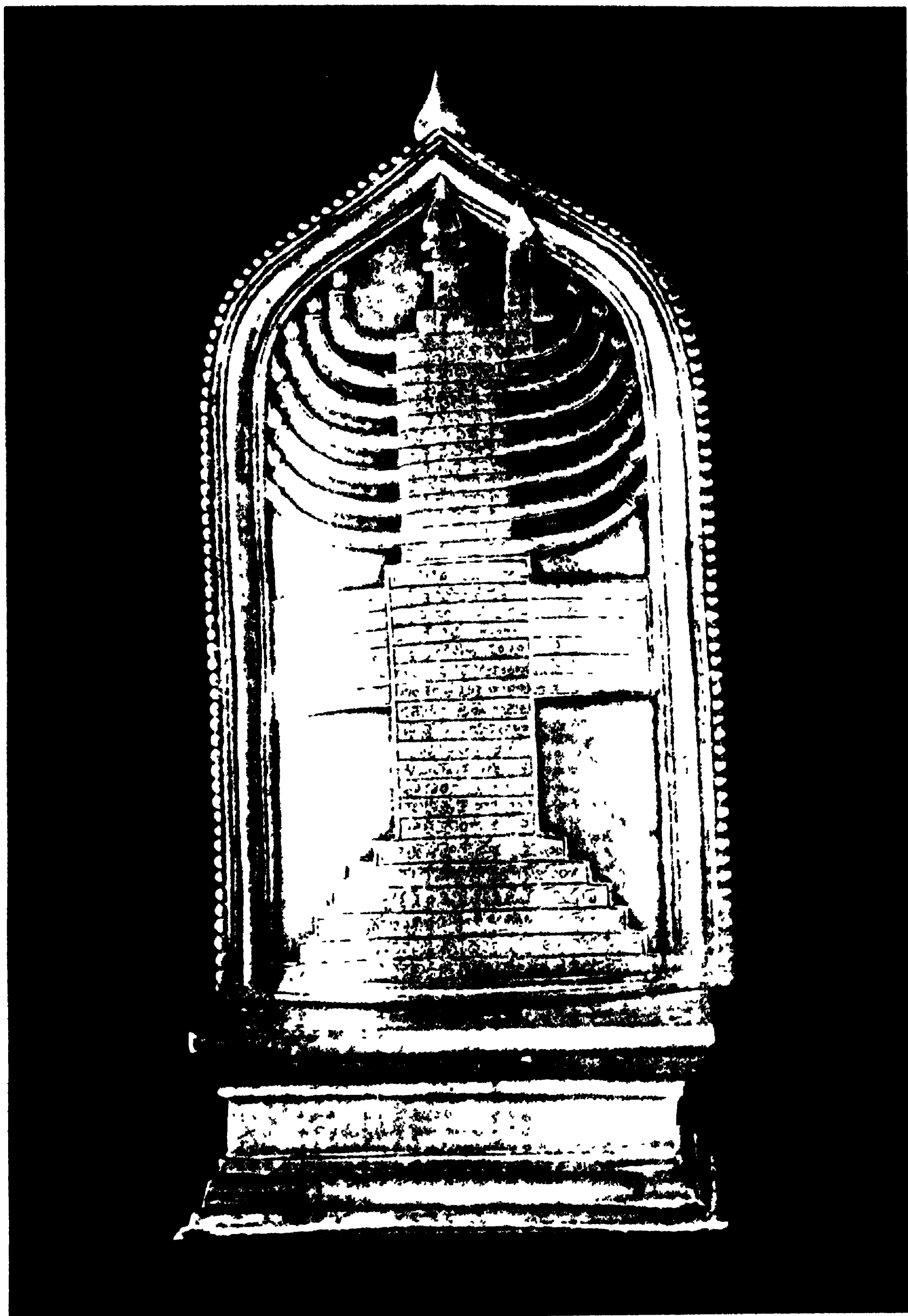


Plate 12 Bronze *sruta-skandha-yantra*, Mudbidri Karnataka

stūpa-nikāya, obtained from Paharpur is noteworthy. However, there are several famous Jaina *caumukha* shrines in India, a unique example being the Trailokya-dīpaka *caturmukha-prāsāda* at Ranakpur, Rajasthan; another famous example is the Kharatara-vasahī temple (*c.* fifteenth century) in the Dilwāḍā group of shrines on Mount Abu.

We have referred to the practice of installing fourfold images at Mathurā. The Sonbhaṇḍār cave at Rajgir has a post-Gupta *caumukha* in stone having on each of the four faces a different Jina—Ṛṣabha, Ajita, Sambhava and Abhinandana. An earlier sculpture from Sarnath in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, is a fourfold stone image. Quite a large number of fourfold images in stone and metal installed in different periods of history are still being worshipped in several Jaina temples all over India. For a further elaboration of this concept in the medieval age, see Plate 5, from the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

Perhaps some time in the medieval period, worship of groups of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras or of seventy-two Tīrthaṅkaras—twenty-four each of the past, present and future *ārās* or aeons (Plate 6—from a Digambara Jaina temple, Surat) or of one hundred and seventy Tīrthaṅkaras of different regions and of one thousand Tīrthaṅkaras (Plate 7) of one thousand peaks of Jaina cosmographical accounts (having Jaina shrines) became popular. These groups, excepting the last one, were often represented on relief-slabs. The last one, for convenience, was preferably represented as a fourfold image with miniature images on all sides. Even the groups of one hundred and seventy or seventy-two were more conveniently represented as fourfold (*caturmukha*) images. But *caumukha* images with a total of twenty-four Jinas distributed over four sides are not rare. Again, in such representations artistic variations are found such as by distributing the twenty-four figures in three tiers (Plate 8), or in cases of larger groups the whole sculpture is shown as a miniature shrine with a top.

To revert to the *caitya*-trees. Tree-worship, popular from very ancient times, noticed on Indus seals and in Vedic and Smṛti literatures, formed an important aspect of the religious cults of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahāvīra were mainly concerned in their opposition to Vedic priestly class and its rituals. Mahāvīra stayed in such shrines both before and after *kevala-Jñāna*. The belief that Buddha and Mahāvīra obtained enlightenment under such *caitya-vṛkṣas* might have been based on facts, and when lists of other Buddhas and Tīrthaṅkaras grew their *caitya*-trees were recorded by both the sects.

But since in early Buddhist art Buddha was not represented in human form, the *bodhi*-tree attained greater importance, while the Jainas were satisfied with recording of the list of *caitya*-trees of different Jinas and by giving them

secondary importance in worship and art. But the *caitya*-tree had to be introduced on relief-sculpture of Tīrthaṅkara, by showing its foliage spread over his head, because of the great popular appeal the tree had in ancient India. Both Jainism and Buddhism gave a new meaning to this tree-worship. The *caitya*-trees were worshipped and represented in art, not because they were haunted by spirits and godlings, but because they were associated with the enlightenment of Buddha and the Tīrthaṅkara. Originally perhaps the Jina image was placed under a *caitya*-tree. The bronze figure of a *caitya*-tree obtained in the Chausa hoard of Jaina bronzes, now in Patna Museum, was perhaps worshipped in such a way, with a separate small Jina placed near its trunk. With the growth of shrines, the practice almost died out gradually, but still we can see a tree (*rāyaṇa*-tree in Gujarati) associated with Ṛṣabhanātha being held sacred and worshipped on Mount Satrunjaya. That the *caitya*-tree was given special importance due to the tree-cult of the masses is best illustrated by a type of Tīrthaṅkara images where the Jina is shown sitting under a big prominent tree (Plate 9), almost all other *prātihāryas* (elements of *parikara* of a Jina image) being either eliminated or subdued.[65]

The earliest reference to the *caitya*-tree of Mahāvīra is perhaps in the account of Mahāvīra's life in the *Ācārāṅga*, book II, which is regarded later in age than book I. The *Kalpa-sūtra*, which speaks of the lives of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras but gives details of the lives of only four, Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, does not mention the *caitya*-trees of the remaining twenty Jinas. The *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, which, though incorporating much earlier material, is obviously a later compilation, gives a list of the Past, Present and Future Tīrthaṅkaras, as also of Tīrthaṅkaras of the Airāvata-kṣetra and further records a list of *caitya-vṛkṣas* of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the present age (*ārā*) in the Bharata-kṣetra.[66] This last list, being common to both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects,[67] was evolved before the Digambara-Śvetāmbara differences were aggravated in the fifth century.

The Jainas have assigned the spirits connected with the tree-worship to the class of Vyantara gods. The Vyantaras are subdivided into eight groups: Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas (Nāgas) and Gandharvas. Each group has on its crest the symbol (of a tree) in the following order—the *kadamba*, *sulasa*, *vaṭa*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *aśoka*, *campaka*, *nāga* and *tumburu* according to the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Digambara list[68] substitutes the *badarī*-tree for the *khaṭvāṅga*. *Khaṭvāṅga* alone does not seem to be a tree in the Śvetāmbara list.

The *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*[69] gives a list of *caitya*-trees worshipped by the ten classes of Bhavanavāsī gods; a different list is supplied by the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*.[70] This signifies the association of *caitya*-tree or the tree-cult with the area of Jaina shrines.

Along with the conception of *caitya*-trees may be noted the conceptions of the Tree of Life and the Wish-fulfilling Tree (*kalpa-druma*) in Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist texts.[71] Jaina texts also speak of ten *kalpa-drumas*. These are described in detail in the *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*.[72] Hemacandra describes ten kinds of *kalpa*-trees in the Uttarakurus as follows : The ten kinds of wishing-trees, *madyāṅgas*, etc., always give to people whatever they desire without effort on their part. Among these, the *madhyāṅgas* give wine, the *bhṛṅgas* dishes, the *turyaṅgas* choice musical instruments. . . . The *dīpa-śikhās* and *jyotiṣkas* give wonderful light, the *citrāṅgas* furnish ornaments, the *citrarasas*, in turn, food. The *maṇyaṅgas* furnish ornaments, the *gehakāras* houses and the *anaṅgas* various kinds of divine apparel.[73]

Belief in auspicious dreams is very ancient in India as evidence from a reference to the effect of such a dream found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 2. 7. 8. When a would-be Tīrthaṅkara descends from heaven into his mother's womb, the mother sees certain dreams which are regarded as auspicious. According to the Śvetāmbara belief the mother sees fourteen different objects in the dream, while according to the Digambara sect the dreams are sixteen in number. The fourteen dreams seen by the mother of Mahāvīra are described in detail in the *Kalpa-sūtra*: (1) a white elephant, large and beautiful, with four tusks, (2) a white bull surrounded by diffusion of light, with a charming hump and horns greased at lips, (3) a sportive lion, white and beautiful, with a flapping tail and protruding tongue, (4) the goddess Śrī, four-armed, adorned with ornaments, carrying the lotuses and lustrated by elephants, (5) a garland of various flowers, (6) the full moon, (7) the red sun, (8) a wondrous beautiful banner fastened to a golden staff, with a lion on top, (9) a full vase, filled with water and lotuses, the abode of fortune, (10) a large lake full of lotuses and aquatic animals, (11) the Ocean of Milk, with agitated waters, full of aquatic animals, (12) the celestial palace (*deva-vimāna*) of numerous columns, with hanging garlands, decorated with pictures or sculptures, (13) the jewel-heap (*ratnarāśi*) with all sorts of jewels, and (14) smokeless fire with flame in constant motion.[74]

Kalpa-sūtra miniatures show representations of these dreams either in a group, as in Brown's[75] fig. 19, or singly, as in his figs. 20-33. The most common type of *Kalpa-sūtra* miniatures (cf. Brown's figs. 6, 18) represents the mother of Jina sleeping on a cot in the lowest panel and in two or three panels

above are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams. Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs of the lives of different Jinas. Plate 11 illustrates such a group from the life of Mahāvīra on a ceiling in one of the temples at Kumbharia.

Belief in auspicious dreams, though very old in ancient India and common among all sects, entered into descriptions of lives of Jinas at some later stage. The *Kalpa-sūtra* description, which perhaps is the earliest available, contains a reference to *dīnāra-mālā*.[76] This shows that this portion of the text post-dates the introduction and popularity of the *denarius* coins in India. No earlier representations of the dreams are available. Lists of dreams seen by mothers of Cakravartins, Vāsudevas and Baladevas may be still later.

According to the Digambara tradition, the sixteen dreams of the Jina's mother are : (1) Airāvata, the elephant of Indra, (2) the best of the bulls, (3) lion, white in colour with red manes, (4) the goddess Padmā (Śrī) seated on golden lotus and lustrated by elephants, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the moon, (7) the sun rising from the Udayācala mountain, (8) pair of full vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fish, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (*vimāna*), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (*nāgendra-bhavana*), (15) heap of jewels, and (16) smokeless fire.[77]

Representations of the sixteen dreams are popular amongst the Digambara Jainas and are often carved on door-lintels of shrines, an early specimen of these being available on the door-frame of the Śāntinātha temple at Khajuraho. There are some more representations of the dreams on the door-frames of different Jaina shrines at Khajuraho.

Jaina traditions speak of a fewer number of dreams seen by the mother of other Śalākā-puruṣas like the Vāsudevas, the Baladevas and Cakravartins.[78] They are not known to have found a place amongst the paintings or reliefs discovered hitherto.

The *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, familiar to both the sects, are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. There a few variations in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara lists of these objects are noted below. According to the Śvetāmbara canonical text *Aupapātika-sūtra*, they are : *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta*, *vardhamānaka* (powder-flask), the full vase, *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *matsya* (or *matsya-yugma*, a pair of fish). These are often referred to in Jaina texts, including canonical works, as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on *caitya*-trees and platforms, or painted on walls and so on.[79] Hemacandra also notes that the eight auspicious symbols were represented on

bali-paṭṭas or offering slabs.[80] In modern Jaina temples we have offering-stands with low legs made of wood or metal, to hold offering in temple-worship. They have eight auspicious symbols or the fourteen or sixteen dreams, carved or embossed on the sides. Often Jaina ladies prepare in the hall of worship such eight symbols on platters with uncooked husked rice. Small metal platters with the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* cast or engraved are also seen in the sanctums along with other metal images (Plate 10). Most of these small platters are hardly older than a century or two.

But the reference by Hemacandra to *bali-paṭṭas* with *aṣṭa-maṅgala* symbols is interesting since this is supported by the evidence of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* on *āyāga-paṭas* of the Kuṣāṇa age, obtained from Mathurā. The tablet set up by Acalā, wife of Bhadranandi (fig. XI of Smith, op. cit.), shows four symbols in the upper panel and eight more in the lower one.[81] In the lower panel, the partly-mutilated first symbol from the right end was possibly the *śrīvatsa*. The second is the *svastika*, the third a half-open lotus-bud, the fourth a pair of fish, the fifth a water-jar, the sixth either an offering of sweets or a heap of jewels (*ratnarāśi*). The seventh seems to be a cross-stand with a scripture on it, perhaps the *sthāpanā*, but it could have been the *bhadrāsana*. The eighth symbol seems to be a defaced *tri-ratna*. The uppermost central rectangular panel shows the *śrīvatsa*, another type of *svastika* with bent ends and two unidentified symbols, the first of which may be an *āsana* (*bhadrāsana*?). A better-preserved set of eight symbols is obtained on the *āyāga-paṭa* set up by Sīhanādika (J. 249 of the Lucknow Museum).[82] This, as well as the tablet of Acalā, show in the central square four composite *tri-ratnas*. In the uppermost central rectangular panel, the tablet of Sīhanādika shows a pair of fish, a heavenly car, a *śrīvatsa*-mark and a powder-box. In the corresponding part of the lowermost panel are shown a *tri-ratna* symbol, a full-blown lotus, a symbol which Agrawala recognized as Indra-*yaṣṭi* or *vaijayantī* and a *maṅgala-kalaśa*.[83]

The *āyāga-paṭa* set up by an inhabitant of Mathurā (J. 248 of the Lucknow Museum) has in the centre a sixteen-spoked wheel, the *dharma-cakra*.[84] The tablet set up by the wife of *Śivaghoṣaka* (J. 253 of the Lucknow Museum) has four composite *tri-ratnas* (with a Jina in the centre).[85] The tablet set up by an unknown donor (J. 250 of the Lucknow Museum)[86] has in the central bigger circle an ornamental *svastika*, enclosing in its four arms the *svastika*, the *śrīvatsa*, a *mīna-yugala* and the Indra-*yaṣṭi* (*vaijayantī*?, *sthāpanā*?) symbols. The central smaller circle has composite *tri-ratnas* with an inset Jina figure. The lowermost panel of the tablet has some defaced symbols where a water-jar, a

half-open lotus, a *tri-ratna* and a *svastika* can be easily recognized. The *āyāga-paṭa* set up by Śivamitra,[87] recovered in a fragmentary form, shows in the centre the leg of a big cross-legged stand which, in the tablets noted above, has been referred to as a *sthāpanā* (?) or an Indra-*yaṣṭi* (?) etc. This analysis suggests that besides having small representations of a few or all the eight *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, each of the *āyāga-paṭas* mentioned above has at least one bigger or major representation of one of the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*. Possibly there existed *āyāga-paṭas* with such representations of the remaining symbols of the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* acknowledged by the Jainas of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period. This shows that Hemacandra had with him the knowledge of a genuine old tradition regarding *bali-paṭṭas* with representations of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*.[88]

Aṣṭa-maṅgalas are represented in miniature paintings[89] of Jaina manuscripts or in paintings on canvas of different *paṭas*, and in scroll-paintings of the *vijñapti-patras*.[90] Small metal platters of these *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* are also dedicated in Jaina temples and worshipped along with other Jaina metal images in the sanctums (cf. Shah, *op. cit*., 1955, fig. 60).

The *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* are worshipped in Jaina rites. The *Ācāradinakara*, a Śvetāmbara text of the fourteenth century, attempts to explain the conception behind each of these symbols.[91] According to it, the *kalaśa* is worshipped because the Jina is verily like a *kalaśa* in his family. The mirror is for seeing one's true self. The *bhadrāsana* is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the blessed Lord; the *vardhamānaka* is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc. It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina in the form of the *śrīvatsa*-mark on his chest. *Svastika*, according to this text, signifies *svasti*, *śānti* or peace. The *nandyāvarta* diagram with its nine points stands for the nine *nidhis* (treasures). The pair of fish, the symbol of Cupid's banner, is said to come to worship the Jina who has defeated the god of love. Obviously the above explanations are to be regarded as the Jaina conceptions behind the various symbols which seem to of ancient Indian stock common to all sects.[92]

The Digambara tradition gives the following set of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* : (1) *bhṛṅgāra*, a type of vessel, (2) *kalaśa*, the full vase, (3) *darpaṇa*, the mirror, (4) *cāmara*, the flywhisk, (5) *dhvaja*, the banner, (6) *vyajana*, the fan, (7) *chatra*, the parasol, and (8) *supratiṣṭha*, the auspicious seats.[93]

The full vase[94] or the *pūrṇa-kalaśa* of the Vedic literature is the Indian symbol of fullness of life, of plenty, of immortality. *Svastika*, common to different arcient civilizations of the world, is a symbol whose origin and conception are not easy to comprehend. Recently P. K. Agrawala has discussed

the symbolism of *śrīvatsa* which appears as a mark on the chest of Viṣṇu, just as it appears as a mark on the chest of the Jina. The original shape of the *śrīvatsa*-symbol, obtained on the Jina figures of the Kuṣāṇa period, was forgotten, at least in the early medieval period, and was replaced by a symbol looking like a rhizome, though it is called a *śrīvatsa*.

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all the three main sects—Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism. V. S. Agrawala has already referred to the *maṅgala-mālā* of Sāñcī reliefs.[95] The *Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parva*, 82. 20-2, mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at or touched as auspicious when starting for battle, amongst which maidens are also mentioned.[96] The *Vāmana-purāṇa*, 14. 35-6, mentions several objects which are auspicious. The *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* also gives lists of animate and inanimate objects regarded as auspicious.[97] Belief in *maṅgalas* and *maṅgala-dravyas* is also known to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[98]

Several *yantras* or Tāntric diagrams on metal are found worshipped in Jaina shrines. Also, several *paṭas* or paintings on canvas or on paper of the diagrams of the *sūri-mantra*, the *hrīṁkāra-yantra*, the *Vardhamāna-vidyā-paṭa*, the *siddha-cakra*, the *ṛṣimaṇḍala-yantra*, etc., are worshipped by Jaina monks and the laity. Of these, the *śrutaskandha-yantra*, very popular with the Digambaras, is especially noteworthy. Rarely it has also a figure of *Śruta-devatā*, the goddess of learning, also carved on it. The diagram lists the twelve *Āgamas* with the *grantha-pramāṇa* of each of them according to Digambara traditions. A specimen of such a *yantra* from Mudbidri, Karnataka, is illustrated on Plate 12.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] The following references may be noted : (a) *ṇaṇattha Arihaṁte vā Arihaṁta-ceiyāni vā bhāviyappaṇosīsāe uḍḍhaṁ uppayati jāva sohammo kappo... (Bhagavatī-sūtra,* 3. 2, *sūtra* 145, p. 175), (b) *ta eṇaṁ Āṇande Gāhāvaī ... evaṁ vayāsī no khalu me bhante kappai ajjappabhiyiṁ anna-utthie vā anna-utthiya-devayāṇi vā anna-utthiya-pariggahiyāṇi Arihaṁta-ceiyāiṁ vā vandittae vā namaṁ-sittae vā* (*Uvāsaga-dasāo*, Bhavnagar ed., p. 14). Abhayadeva-Sūri, commenting, says : *anya-yuthika-daivatāni vā Hari-Harādīni. Anya-yūthika-parigṛhītāni vā Arhac-caityāni. Arhat-pratimā-lakṣaṇāni yathā bhauta-parigṛhītāni mahā-kāla-lakṣaṇāni. ibid.*, p. 15. It will be seen that this passage of the *Uvāsaga-dasāo* refers to a later stage in Jaina history when Jaina shrines came to be appropriated by other sects. (c) The *Nāyā-dhamma-kahāo* refers to the worship of Jina images by Draupadī in her house-shrine (*gṛha-caitya*). But in its existing form, the text seems to post-date the division into Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts.

[2] See 'Early Jaina Sculpture (300 B. C.—300 A. D.) : East India' article by Debala Mitra, Plate 1.

[3] For all references to Samprati and the Jīvantasvāmin conception and images, see U. P. Shah, 'A unique image of Jīvantasvāmi', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, I, 1951-52, pp. 72-9.

[4] For a detailed discussion on this problem, see U. P. Shah, 'The age of differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara images', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 1, 1950-51, pp. 30 ff.

[5] Haribhadra-Sūri, the famous Śvetāmbara author of the seventh century, praises the Jina form in the following well-known verse : *praśama-rasa-nimagnaṁ dṛṣṭi-yugmaṁ prasannaṁ vadana-kamalam, aṅkaḥ kāminī-saṅga-śūnyaḥ/ kara yugam api yat te śastra-sambandha-vandhyaṁ tad asi jagati devo vīta-rāgas tvam eva.*

[6] *Pratiṣṭhā-sāra-saṁgraha* (in MS.), chapter IV, verses 1, 2, 4, 64, 69. Also see Vasubindu (Jayasena), *Pratiṣṭhā-pāṭha*, 70.

[7] *Ciyavandaṇa-mahābhāsa*, 80-81, p. 15. The *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 1210, p. 302, and the *Varāṅga-carita* of Jaṭāsiṁhanandi (*c.* sixth century), 2, 7, 90, p. 272, say that Ṛṣabha, Vāsupūjya and Nemi obtained Siddha-hood in sitting postures, while the rest were standing when they obtained *nirvāṇa*.

[8] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 588, p. 217; *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, 1, 80-81; *Padma-purāṇa, parvan* 20, verses 63-66.

[9] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, *gāthās* 376-77, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 1. 49. The apparent difference in the complexions of Munisuvrata and Neminātha who are

dark according to the Śvetāmbara view and of Supārśva and Pārśva who are dark-blue according to the same sect is, to my mind, a negligible one since in different paintings the shades selected differed, and the dark-blue of the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* could be *harita* in the Digambara sect, or dark could be dark-blue. As I have shown in my paper 'Vṛṣākapi in the Ṛgveda', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, VII, 1958-59, *harita* was used for various shades and the terminology for various finer shades was not known.

[10] The occurrence of the name of Bālacandra Saiddhāntika at one place is one of the reasons for holding this view.

[11] *Tagara-kusumā* according to the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 605, *tagara* according to the *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*. The editors of the former text have taken *tagara-kusumā* to mean 'fish' which is supported by the table of symbols based on the Kannaḍa Digambara sources published by T. N. Ramachandran, 'Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples', *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, General Section, I, 3, Madras, 1934, pp. 192-94.

[12] First published by Ramaprasad Chanda in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, Calcutta, 1928, Plate LVI b; U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, fig. 18.

[13] *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, 1, 77 : *sthiretarārcayoḥ pāda-pīṭhasyādho yathāyatham/ lāñchanaṁ dakśiṇe pārśve Yakṣaṁ Yakṣīṁ ca vāmake.*

[14] As shown elsewhere by the author, the real and final crisis on this point arose in the late fifth century A. D., when the canonical texts also were re-edited and adjusted to suit the requirements of each sect. The history of the Jaina church, with lists of heads of Āryikās (nuns) of various Tīrthaṅkaras, carefully maintained by both the sects, and the figures of monks and nuns on the pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara figures of the Kuṣāṇa period from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā, suggest that at the beginning there was possibly no such bar against women, the discarding of garments being optional even for the monks.

[15] *Ācāra-dinakara*, Part 2, p. 143, verses 4-11.

[16] Does he here refer to a lost text called *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*?

[17] *Vasunandi-Śrāvakācāra*, verse 390; cf. *Vasubindu-pratiṣṭhā-pāṭha*, verse 69, p. 17: also cf. *Jina-yajña-kalpa*, quoted in *Jaina-siddhānta-bhāskara*, II, p. 12 : *sauvarṇaṁ rājataṁ cāpi paittalaṁ kāṁsyajaṁ tathā/ prāvālyaṁ mauktikaṁ caiva vaiḍūryādi-suratnajam. citrajaṁ kvacic candanajaṁ....*

[18] *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, 1, 83, p. 9. Pandit Manoharlal, the editor of this text, adds in a foot-note : *athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi gṛha-bimbasya lakṣaṇam/ ekāṅgulaṁ bhavecchreṣṭhaṁ dvyaṅgulaṁ dhana-nāśanam. tryaṅgule jāyate vṛddhiḥ pīḍā syāc caturaṅgule/ pañcāṅgule tu vṛddhiḥ syād udvegas tu*

ṣaḍaṅgule. saptāṅgule gavāṁ vṛddhir hānir aṣṭāṅgule matā/ navāṅgule putra-vṛddhir dhana-nāśo daśāṅgule. ekādaśāṅgulaṁ bimbaṁ sarva-kāmārtha-sādhakam/ etat pramāṇam akhyātam ata ūrdhvaṁ na kārayet. iti granthāntare'py uktam.

[19] *Ācāra-dinakara*, II, p. 142.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 142, verses 4-7, also verses 13-27, for various mishaps attendant on defective images.

[21] *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, 4, *sūtra* 307; *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, 491, p. 117. For a very early list, see *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*, *sūtra* 137, p. 235. For *Siddhāyatanas* at various places according to the Digambara tradition, see *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* of Jinasena, *parvans* 5-6, pp. 70-140.

[22] In any of the fifteen *karma-bhūmis*.

[23] The Nandīśvara-dvīpa of Jaina cosmographical accounts has fifty-two such *śāśvata-Jinālayas*. For the stock description of *Siddhāyatanas*, see *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*, *sūtra* 139, pp. 232-33.

[24] This Śvetāmbara conception may be compared with a concise description in the Digambara *Hari-vaṁśa*, *parvan* 5, verses 361-65, giving the *parivāra* of the *Siddha-akṛtrima* or *śāśvata* images in the *Siddhāyatana*.

[25] A paper giving analysis of the Jaina and Buddhist descriptions was read by the author before the International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi in 1964, and was sent for publication in the Vogel Commemoration Volume, which has unfortunately not yet been published. A free translation of the *Aupapātika* account is therefore added above because of its obvious importance.

[26] *Aupapātika-sūtra*, *sūtra* 10, and commentary of Abhayadeva, pp. 26-42.

[27] Does this include the conception of *uṣṇīṣa*?

[28] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXXVI, pp. 1-119, and chapter III, verses 17-25; V. S. Agrawala, 'Thirty-two marks of the Buddha-body', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, I, no. f, pp. 20-2.

[29] See C. R. Jain, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 129-30; *Mahā-purāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, I, 18, 7-10; *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, *sūtra* 34, pp. 59-60; *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra, I, 57-64; *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, IV, 896 ff., 915 ff.

[30] Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXVI, 2.

[31] For further details, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 97-103.

[32] Also *Siri-Sirivāla-kahā*, verses 1185-91.

[33] *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, chapter 6, *Siddha-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi*, verses 10-14; *Jina-saṁhitā* of Ekasandhi (MS.), chapter 9, verses 88 ff.; *Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-ṭippaṇam* (MS.) of Vādi-Kumuda-candra, *Yantra-mantra-vidhi* section.

[34] *Yoga-śāstra*, 8, 74-75.

[35] Incomplete MSS. of this work are available in Digambara Jaina Bhaṇḍāras.

[36] John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), I, p. 312; N. G. Majumdar, 'Explorations in Sind', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 41, Delhi, 1934, Plate XVII.

[37] *The Vedic Age*, (Eds.) R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (London, 1951), p. 188.

[38] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 154.

[39] *Ibid.*; *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, X. 97. 4 which is the same as *Yajurveda-Saṁhitā*, XII. 78, and *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, IV. 2. 6. 1.

[40] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), p. 41.

[41] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI, 11; *Jātaka*, IV, p. 154.

[42] *Jātaka*, V, pp. 472, 474, 488; IV, 210, p. 353; III, p. 23; IV, 153. Also *Manu-smṛti*. III. 88; *Bṛhad-Gautama*, Jivananda Vidyasagara's collection, Part 2, p. 625.

[43] For the origin and evolution of the meaning of *citya* and *caitya* and for three kinds of *caityas* mentioned in Jaina canonical literature, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 43-5.

[44] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 2, p. 895.

[45] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 7, n. 4, and 47.

[46] *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, pp. 85 and 88.

[47] V. A. Smith, 'The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā,' *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, XX (Allahabad, 1901), Plate IX, p. 16. The inscription on this tablet is highly defaced, *Epigraphia Indica*, II, Plate 1b, pp. 311-13.

[48] B. M. Barua, *Bharhut* (Calcutta, 1937), book III, figs. 26, 28, 30, 31, 32; Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, figs. 41, 46, 51.

[49] Foundations of the Ghoṣitārāma monastery have yielded the Northern Black Polished Ware of different colours. The medieval commentators were unable to understand the significance and quietly omitted to explain the word *pṛthivī* attached to *śilā-paṭṭa*. It was not a tablet of the mother-goddess, *Pṛthivī*, as some scholars tried to explain. This was the shrine of Pūrṇabhadra and not of the mother-goddess Pṛthivī. The plaque (*paṭṭa*) was of a *pṛthivī-śilā* (terracotta).

[50] V. S. Agrawala, 'Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum', *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIII, Parts 1-2, pp. 69 ff. For a fuller description of the passage from the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 67 ff.

[51] See the remarks of U.P. Shah in 'Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IX, 1941. Hemacandra, in his *Triṣaṣṭi*, I, 3,422 ff., describing a *samavasaraṇa* says : 'The arches were adorned with flags

and white umbrellas and *eight auspicious symbols* below looked like *those on offering slabs* (*bali-paṭṭas*).'

[52] Smith, *op. cit.*, Plates IX, VII; above, Plate 3. For a fuller description of and discussion on *āyāga-paṭas*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 77-84, figs. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 14A, 14B, etc.

[53] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 67.

[54] Cf. Odette Viennot, *Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Plate VIIID, from the Amaravati *stūpa.*

[55] Cf. *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 3, 2, *sūtra* 144, which describes Mahāvīra as meditating under a tree on a *pṛthivī-śilā-paṭṭa.*

[56] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 230-31.

[57] *Ādi-purāṇa*, 22, 184-204, I, pp. 524-27.

[58] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 3, 33-39, I, p. 115.

[59] For the evolution of the *caitya*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 43 ff., esp. pp. 56-7, 94-5.

[60] *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*, 3, 2, 137 ff. Also see *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 20, 9, *sūtras* 684-794.

[61] *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena, 22, 92-102, pp. 515-16.

[62] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 779ff. It would be worthwhile checking up if any of the fourfold images from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā was a part of either the base or of the top of a pillar.

[63] J. F. Fleet, 'Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings', *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 66-8.

[64] See Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 56, for a pillar in the compound of Temple 12 of Deogarh, and *ibid.*, fig. 82, for the *stambha* of Chitor.

[65] Cf. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 72, from Kalugumalai, Tinnevelly District; fig. 73, from Pañcāsara temple, Patan; fig. 75, from a Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat.

[66] *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, 159, *samavāya*, p. 152. Also see *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*, *sūtra* 127, p. 125, and *sūtra* 142, p. 251, for *caitya*-trees.

[67] Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff., gives a list of *caitya*-trees of all the Jinas of this age which seems to be incorrect. For Digambara lists, see *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, 4, 106, p. 101; *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 916-13, I, p. 264.

[68] For lists of both the traditions with sources, see Kierfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 273 ff.

[69] *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, 10, 3, *sūtra* 766, II, p. 487. The commentator says that these trees were worshipped near the *Siddhāyatanas*.

[70] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 3, 136, I, p. 128.

[71] Especially see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

[72] *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, 20, pp. 99 ff; also see *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, 1067-70, p. 314; *Hari-vaṁśa* of Jinasena, I, pp. 146-47.

[73] *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritā*, I (Gaekwad Oriental Series), tr. Helen Johnson, pp. 29-30.

[74] For an interesting discussion on and interpretation of some of these prognostic dreams, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Paintings', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, III, no. 2, December 1935, pp. 125-44.

[75] W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpasūtra*. For other illustrations, see *Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma*, I, fig. 73; Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, IV, figs. 13, 34; Brown, *op. cit.*, fig. 152, p. 64; Muni Punyavijaya, *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, figs. 17, 22.

[76] Muni Sri Punyavijaya, in his Introduction to his (critical) edition of the *Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams of the *Kalpa-sūtra* is not referred to in Agastya-siṁha-Sūri's *Cūrṇi* on this work and that it is difficult to say whether this part is genuine. According to him, both the *Niryukti* and *Cūrṇi* on the *Daśaśruta-skandha* (of which the *Kalpa-sūtra* is the eighth *adhyayana*) date from *c.* A. D. 350 or earlier.

[77] *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena, *sarga* 12, verses 101-19; *Hari-vaṁśa* of Jinasena, *sarga* 8, verses 58-74.

[78] Such beliefs are common to both sects but the differences in their lists show that they have grown after the final crisis between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in the Gupta age.

[79] *Triṣaṣṭi*, I, pp. 112, 190; *Ādi-purāṇa*, *parva* 22, verses 143, 185, 210, etc.; *Rāyapaseṇaiyam*, (Ed.) Pandit Bechandas, p. 80; also *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, I, p. 43.

[80] *Triṣaṣṭi*, I, p. 190 and note 238.

[81] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 82, fig. 10; J. 252 of the Lucknow Museum.

[82] *Ibid.*, fig. 13, p. 79.

[83] V. S. Agrawala, *A Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 2, fig. 5, and his *Harṣa-carita ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* (Hindi), p. 120; Smith, *op. cit.*, Plate VII, p. 14.

[84] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 14, p. 77; Smith, *op. cit.*, Plate VIII, p. 15; Buhler in *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 200, 313.

[85] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 12, pp. 76-7; Smith, *op. cit.*, Plate X, p. 17.

[86] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 11, p. 81; Smith, *op. cit.*, Plate IX, p. 16.

[87] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 80; Smith, *op. cit.*, Plate XIII, p. 20.

[88] It must however be remembered that the worship of these *āyāga-paṭas*

was not limited to that of the eight symbols. It was extended to the worship of the *stūpa*, the *caitya*-tree, the *dharma-cakra*, the Jina, Āryavatī (perhaps mother of Mahāvīra), learned great Ācāryas like the ascetic Kaṇha and, so on, as we have *āyāga-paṭas* with such chief representations. All the *āyāga-paṭas* taken together seem to provide us with all the chief elements of Jaina worship in the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathurā.

[89] *Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma*, I, figs. 82, 59.

[90] Johnson's translation of *Triṣaṣṭi*, I, Plate IV.

[91] *Ācāra-dinakara*, pp. 197-98.

[92] It may be noted that on a red sandstone umbrella of *c.* second century A. D. from Mathurā are carved the following eight auspicious symbols : (1) *nandipada* (same as *triratna*), (2) *matsya-yugma*, (3) *svastika*, (4) *puṣpa-dāma*, (5) *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, (6) *ratna-pātra*, (7) *śrīvatsa*, and (8) *śaṅkha-nidhi*. V. S. Agrawala, 'A new stone umbrella from Mathurā', *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XX, 1947, pp. 65-7. For the Jaina evidence and description of umbrellas from the *Praśna-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*, see U. P. Shah, 'A further note on stone umbrellas from Mathurā', *ibid.*, XXIV.

[93] *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4, 738, I, p. 236.

[94] For the full vase see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Yakṣas*, Part II (first ed.), pp. 61-4; V. S. Agrawala in *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XVII, pp. 1-6. The *vardhamānaka* and *śrīvatsa* symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927-28, pp. 181-82, and E. H. Johnson in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, pp. 558 ff., *ibid.*, 1932, pp. 393 ff. For the *svastika*, see W. N. Brown, *The Svastika*.

[95] V. S. Agrawala, *Harṣa-carita etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[96] Also see Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 511. He cites the following verse from a manuscript of the *Śakuna-kārikā*, which speaks of eight auspicious objects : *darpaṇaḥ pūrṇa-kalaśaḥ kanyā sumanaso'akṣtāḥ/ dīpa-mālā dhvajā lājāḥ samproktaṁ cāṣṭamaṅgalam.*

[97] Quoted in *Śabda-kalpa-druma*, III, p. 564. The same lexicon, I, 148, quotes from the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-purāṇa* : *mṛga-rājo vṛṣo nāgaḥ kalaśo vyajanaṁ tathā/vaijayantī tathā bherī dīpa ity aṣṭamaṅgalam.* Again from the *Śuddhi-tattva* : *loke'smin maṅgalāny aṣṭau brāhmaṇo gaur hutāśanaḥ / hiraṇyaṁ sarpir āditya āpo rājā tathāṣṭamaḥ.*

[98] *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 23, 29. Also see V. S. Agrawala, 'Aṣṭa-maṅgala-mālā', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, II, pp. 1 ff.

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* After *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III (1975)

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JINA IMAGE IN *ĀGAMIC* AND HYMNIC TRADITION

I

THE itineraries of Jina Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (active *c.* B. C. 519-477),[1] unevenly scattered in early Nirgrantha canonical works as well as their commentaries,[2] notice the Jina's sojournings in the environs of the Yakṣa-*caityas*[3] and, in a couple of instances, of Vāsudeva's and Baladeva's (Balarāma's) temples;[4] but they reveal no visit to, nor even hint at the existence of a building sacred to any of the traditionally believed 23 previous *tīrthaṅkaras*,[5] including Mahāvīra's predecessor, Arhat Pārśva (*c.* 6th-5th centuries B. C.),[6] whose historicity is well-established. However, Book II of the *Rāja-Prasenīya* (or *Rājapraśnīya*)-*sūtra* (*c.* 3rd century A. D.),[7] while portraying the splendour of the environs of the star-god Sūryābhadeva's ambience, refers to his venerating four Jina images stationed at, and facing the four cardinal points of a *stūpa*. Moreover, it mentions the existence of (and that *kalpavāsī*-god adoring in) a Siddhāyatana temple containing 108 Jina images[8] in the precincts of his celestial mansion.[9] Next to this notice is a passage in the *Jñātā-dharma-kathā*[10] (present version *c.* late 3rd to mid 4th century A. D.) which mentions Draupadī, consort of the five Pāṇḍavas, to have worshipped the Jina image.[11] The existence of the eternal images of the four Jinas[12] in the mythical seventh cyclic island of the Nirgrantha cosmography, namely the Nandīśvara-*dvīpa*, is one more reference.[13] But there is no tangible or tacit ancient literary allusion to any 'historical' personage—be he a mendicant or a lay follower, a nobleman or a commoner—offering worship at a *caitya*, *āyatana*, or *stūpa*[14] of any Jina. The *Ācārāṅga-niryukti*[15] (compiled *c.* A. D. 525[16]), from the traditional Nirgrantha standpoint, names such sites as sacred where a Jina's birth (*janma*), renunciation (*niṣkramaṇa*), enlightenment (*jñānotpatti*), and liberation (*nirvāṇa*) took place.[17] To these significant sites the text adds the *vihāra-bhūmis*[18] or places which the Jina had visited as a preacher or had wandered through as an ascetic in his life time.[19] The *Ogha-niryukti* (*c.* A. D. 525) adds to the foregoing list the '*Cakra*' (*Dharmacakra-tīrtha* of Takṣaśilā), '*Thūbha*' (*Stūpa* of Arhat

Pārśva at Mathurā), '*Pratimā*' (image of Jīvantasvāmī in Kosala i.e. in Sāketa or Ayodhyā), and terms all these as *darśana-sthāna* or sacred places worthy of visit and adoration.[20] An explanation offered in the *Niśītha-viśeṣa-cūrṇī* of Jinadāsa gaṇi mahattara (*c.* last quarter of the 7th century A. D.), of the verse 2927 of the *Niśītha-bhāṣya* (*c.* late 6th century A. D.), clarifies that the itinerary of the Nirgrantha mendicants, if it excludes the above-noted sacred places, is called *niṣkāraṇika* or not under compulsion (or obligation) of circumstances; exclusion is deemed 'regular' or 'perfectly in order' (according to the monastic rules).[21]

At the centre of this non-committal and neutral, even cool or indifferent if not totally negative attitude of the *āgamas* towards the actual representation of the Jina as well as its worship by recluses, is the very ancient Nirgrantha doctrine of which Mahāvīra himself was the exponent. It, above all, had laid firm emphasis on, and pleaded for an unswerving faith in the supremacy and autonomy of Self[22] (*puruṣa, ātā* i.e. *ātman*[23]) and this assertive conviction rendered dependence on any external agent or object redundant in the earliest ontological considerations of the Nirgrantha faith. The abstract (and yet substantial) Self, which is permanently released from the *kārmic* fetters (and hence the cycles of births and deaths), progressively came to be conceived as existing in the state of complete transcendence and eternal peace, suffering neither pain nor pleasure but staying stable in the highest, inalienable, and inestimable bliss. In that ultimate, irreversible, and absolutely pure state of 'being,' it possesses neither desire for activity nor has power, or faculty of action either. In relation to the cosmic space (*lokākāśa*), and the phenomenic time (*martya-laukika-kāla*) which prevails within the perimeter of the empirical cosmos/objective universe, the liberated Self—Siddha—is an 'all knowing' as well as 'all perceiving'[24] (though substantially not an 'all pervading'[25]) entity for whom cognition/conation/perception, in the ultimate analysis, are an undivided, effortless, intrinsic, time-transcending, and perpetual experience.[26] Liberated Self—Siddha—and likewise the embodied Arhat or Kevalī or Jina the Omniscient, as a result, does not possess motivating power, can neither bestow favour (*prasāda*) nor inflict harm through anger (*roṣa*); he can neither 'do' nor 'undo', bless or curse; for 'activity' is, for the Self, the cause as well as evidence of the state of *bondage*, not of *release*. Only in the figurative sense the Kevalī, Arhat, or Jina the Enlightened One, in his penultimate temporal existence or, for that matter, Siddha, the liberated transcendent Self, can be said to lead the eligible way-farers (*bhavya-jīvas*) toward the path of liberation. His 'grace' is neither implied nor implicated.

II. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The Nirgrantha Church, in its earlier phase of existence, is thus neither vociferous on, nor zealous about image worship, in view of the philosophical/metaphysical position it adopts, it just could not be; for it did not look upon images, in the early days of its history, as an essential aid in the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, end to all active processes. And yet the archaeological evidence positively, even persistently, if paradoxically, indicates a very early evidence of the existence of Jina images and their worship in the Nirgrantha religion. I only repeat here the too well-known, oft-quoted, yet in the present context inevitable allusion to the historical fact recorded in the Kumārī-parvata inscription of Mahāmeghavāhana Cedipati Khāravela[27] (*c.* B. C. 50-20 or B. C. 20-20 A. D.), emperor of Kaliṅga. According to one of its statements, Khāravela brought back from Rājagṛha the image of '*Kāliṅga-Jina*'[28] which, a little over three centuries earlier, had been carried off by Nanda, Lord of Magadha.[29] This ancient image, therefore, antedated the Nanda period.[30] The second significant piece of evidence, which is equally famous and likewise much too often cited, is the polished torso in Chunar (Cunār) sandstone of the standing Jina from Lohānipur (Bihar), ascribable to the late phase of the Maurya epoch.[31] For the subsequent Śuṅga-Kaṇva-Mitra epochs, very little definitive evidence exists.[32] The picture becomes somewhat clear in the Mathurā-Śaka period when the square *āyāgapaṭa* stone-tablets showing the propitious symbols (*maṅgalas*), a few of which contain a tiny Jina figure in the centre, were worshipped in the hall-temples within the precincts of the *stūpa* of Jina Pārśva.[33] The Kuṣāṇa period,[34] which followed the Śaka, of course abounds in concrete Jina images at Mathurā, a few also known from the contemporaneous ancient Ahicchattrā/Adhicchatrā (Ramanagar).[35] (While oral reports say that the Kuṣāṇa Jina images were also there in Varanasi, these are yet to be confirmed by actual finds.)

The question is: if the earliest *āgamas*, and hence the apostles, the patriarchs, and other early pontiffs were opposed to, or at least did not advocate figurally representing Jinas and worshipping their images, how did the image find its way into the Church? Plausibly, the idea of creating an image of a Jina was introduced by lay followers; among them, arguably, were noblemen, officials in ministerial positions, generals, and wealthy tradesmen of those early times, the Nirgrantha clergy not being involved, at least not till the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period or at the most the preceding Śaka period. This deduction is inferable from the available inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa Age found from Mathurā. The exhortations of the earlier *āgamas* forbid the participation of recluses in any

activity that involved *āmagandha* and *ārambha-samārambha*, violence or other harm-inflicting activity of any kind, to any degree, indeed at any stage in thought (*manasā*), word (*vācā*), or bodily action (*karmaṇā*) toward all living creatures, be they microbes, bacteria (and other unicellular organisms), and viruses, or be they the most developed life forms like the mammals including human beings. For such an activity can only prolong the agony of the bondage of existence at the phenomenal level. From Kaniṣka (I)'s time,[36] however, the pontiffs and prominent friars came forward at least in suggesting to the faithful to set up an image of a Jina (possibly as a meritorious act) as proven by the many inscriptions from Mathurā and a few that are known from Ahicchattrā. Next, Vācaka Umāsvāti in his *Praśamarati-prakaraṇa* (*c.* A. D. 350), takes notice of the *āyatana* for, and image of the Jina as well as the offering (during worship) of *mālya* (garland), *gandha* (fragrant substances), *adhivāsa* and *paṭavāsa* (aromatic powder), and also of burning the *dhūpa* (incense) and (placing in the sanctum) *pradīpa* (lamp).[37] (This injunction, of course, was meant for the lay followers, *śramaṇopāsakas*, and not for the mendicants and nuns.)

Until early 5th century A. D., the Nirgrantha holy men had refrained from officiating consecration rites for sacred images. By *c.* A. D. 473, however, Vimala Sūri of the Nāgendra-kula, in his *Paumacariya* (*Padmacaritra*), spares no eloquence in extolling the merits of building *Jina-bhavana* and setting up the images of Jina.[38] Seemingly, thus, the Nirgrantha sects could no longer afford to lag behind their Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist rivals. The strong currents of devotional trends of those times impelled even those stern ascetics—highly conservative recluses—to make adjustments to the changing cultural climes, religious moods, and trends, and respond to the new contemporary exigencies and to concede giving concessions and allowing compromises. In this process, with the more concrete and hence more tangible appearance on the scene of the Śvetāmbara sect more definitively from the fourth-fifth centuries, some of the Nirgrantha holy men in western India eventually went further; they themselves began to cause images made and installed,[39] established monastic settlements connected with abbatial temples, and organized even a sort of diocese when the number of foundations they owned at different sites grew. Even then, an internal conflict by way of scorns and debates apparently had begun between the friars/ mendicants vowed to absolute non-possession of *upakaraṇas*- -minimal objects helpful in monastic conduct—on the one side, and the pompous comfort-loving abbots and abbatial monks on the other— the process had continued from the latter half of the eighth century[40] through the medieval

period.[41] However, there was no total returning to the very rigorous ancient ascetical ways of the days of Arhat Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and the centuries that immediately had followed. The friars of the medieval reformed Śvetāmbara church, for example, felt no qualms in conducting consecration rites as also in advocating and vigorously encouraging temple-building, and inspiring as well as leading pilgrimages to the holy Nirgrantha *tīrtha* sites, particularly in western India, to Ujjayantagiri believed to be the Jina Ariṣṭanemi's sacred mountain, and to Śatruñjayagiri of Jina Ṛṣabha in Saurashtra.[42] The ancient images at certain places in Rajasthan and Gujarat—Mahāvīra of Satyapura (Sāṁcor), Moḍheraka or Moḍherapura (Moḍherā), and of Nandiyaka-grāma (Nāndiyā), Pārśvanātha of Stambhanaka (Thāmbhaṇā), Śaṅkhapura (Śaṅkheśvara), Jīrāpalli (Jīrāvalā) and of Phalavardhi (Phalodi), Candraprabha of Devapattana (Prabhāsa) *et cetera*, began to be looked upon as endowed with miraculous powers (*sadatiśayayukta*). And the Śatruñjaya Hills ultimately emerged in the Śvetāmbara sect as the holiest of all *tīrthas* where offerings, if made, ensured better future births; Jina images, if set up, earned future emperorship and godhood; and temples, if built, guaranteed salvation. In that era, places of pilgrimage multiplied and so did the laudatory literature pertaining to the sacred *tīrthas*. The entire stream of thinking and the vein of religious practices doubtless were the consequence of the increasing Purāṇic or Brāhmaṇical impact on the Nirgrantha religion in western India. Central India, where the Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka sect founded by Ārya Śivabhūti some time in the second century A. D. had prevailed, also oriented itself to the image worship from the last quarter of the fourth century A. D. as the inscriptional evidence goes to suggest.[43]

The Nirgrantha clergy in northern India, from at least the post-Gupta times, was aware of the inherent self-contradiction in image worship with the creed's basic and very ancient doctrine as well as its philosophy. It seems that, by way of defence, a theological clarification was proffered in the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* (*c.* A. D. 525) which, in the veneration of the Jina image, saw a means of effecting massive *nirjarā*—dissolution of the encrusted *kārmic* accumulations—and of purifying the mind (*manaviśuddhi*).[44] The image, by itself, at least up to the seventh century A. D., was supposed to possess no such special sanctity due either to its remoter antiquity or some supposedly resident power. But, in premedieval and medieval times, it gained importance. In fact, even in the medieval period, it was for many not the miraculous image, but its veneration which led to the myth-stipulated reward, sometimes thought to be achieved through the grace or intermediary of the Yakṣa or Yakṣī attending upon the Jina,[45] but not emanating from the being of Jina himself.

III. JINA IMAGE IN THE PSALMIC AND HYMNIC TRADITION

The most ancient hymns addressed to the Jina(s) are to be found in the *āgamas*, the earliest being the *Mahāvīrastava* (Ardhamāgadhī, *c.* B. C. 2nd century) in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.[46] It refers to Jina Mahāvīra as Nātasuta, and more frequently 'Nātaputta' by which appellation he was known in his days both to his followers[47] and to the Buddha and the adherents of his doctrine. The hymn describes Mahāvīra as wise (*kṣetrajña*), competent (*kuśala*), and of quick wit (*āśuprajña*), the one who possesses infinite knowledge (*ananta-jñānī*) as well as limitless insight/vision (*ananta-darśī*), in fact omniperceiving (*sarva-darśī*) and (hence) bearing innumerable eyes, that is to say, endless perceptions (*ananta-cakṣu*).[48] He is also addressed as 'Sage Kaśyapa,'[49] who is unique (*anuttara*), conqueror (Jina), leader (*netā*); he, moreover, is like the Thousand Eyed Indra (Sahasranetra) among gods.

'And just as the canon-ball tree (Śālmalī), in which the bird-gods (Suparṇas) sport, is most famous among trees, as (the celestial) Nandana is the finest among gardens, so is He (Jina Vīra), the knower of beneficence (*bhūtiprajña*), by reason of his knowledge and virtue.' 'As thunder (*sthanita*) is the loudest of sounds, as moon is the most glorious among heavenly bodies, as sandal-wood's is the most pleasant of aromas, so among ascetics is He (Mahāvīra) who has given up desires or thoughts for actions.'

'As Svayambhū (-ramaṇa) is the best among oceans,[50] Dharaṇendra is unequalled among Nāgas, and as the juice of sugarcane is the "banner" (*vaijayantī*) (as it were) of all juices, so is He (Jñātṛputra) the banner of ascetics by virtue of his austerities.'

'As Śakra's (Indra's) Airāvata is best among elephants, the lion (*mṛgendra*) is best among beasts (*mṛgas*), as Gaṅgā (is unequalled) among rivers, and the eagle (Veṇudeva=Vainateya[51]) is best among birds, so is Jñātṛputra (Nātaputta) among those who preach *nirvāṇa*, salvation.'

'And just as *Viṣvakasena* (Vāsudeva) is the most celebrated among warriors, the lotus is the noblest among flowers, and Dantavakra (of the epic *Mahābhārata*) (is the best) among the *kṣatriyas*, so is Vardhamāna best among sages (*ṛṣis*).'

'As affording protection (*abhaya-dāna*) is the best of charities, the finest of speeches is that which causes no distress, as chastity is the loftiest among austerities, so is the Śramaṇa (Jñātṛputra Mahāvīra) supreme among men.'

Coming next in time after this hymn is the so-called *Śakra-stava* (composed *c.* 1st century B. C.- A. D.) introduced in the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* (*c.* 1st-3rd

centuries A. D.), the *Aupapātika-sūtra* (*c.* 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.), the *Rāja-Prasenīya* or *Rājapraśnīya* (*c.* 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.) and also the *Jñātā-dharma-kathā* (*c.* 3rd-4th centuries A. D.); it likewise figures in the 'Jina-caritra' within the corpus of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* (A. D. 503/516) (*vide supra*, note 6) and for centuries has been one of the most revered hymns of the Nirgrantha religion.[52] In the hymn, Indra (also in turn Sūryābhadeva, king Bimbisāra-Śreṇika [or rather Senīya], and the charioteer Citta, according to the situation in the *āgamic* narratives) pays obeisance to the Arhats as well as the Bhāgavats and the Tīrthaṅkaras—the first founders of the Sacred Law and the Church—addressing them in continuous chain of honorific and laudatory terms. Here, the Revered Ones are called: 'Self-enlightened; the Supreme among humans, the lion, the noble elephant, the white lotus among men, and very superior among people; the Lords and the Light of the World; the Benefactors of the people and of the universe, the Protectors, the Bestowers of sights (of right knowledge) and Law, the Guides on the way to final release, the Granters of refuge, the Instillers of right intellection, the Givers and Preachers of Law, the Leaders of the Order, the Charioteers of the Order-vehicle, the King-emperors of the four-directional (four-fold) Order,[53] They who, like an island, give shelter (in the stormy world-ocean), the Refuge to the fallen souls of the (four) great classes of beings,[54] Possessors of undiminishing knowledge and insights; the Ones whose condition of obscuration is ended, the Ones who crossed (the world-ocean) and help others to cross (it); the Ones who realize and make others realize (help attain the supreme or ultimate goal); the Ones who are emancipated and help others to obtain freedom. They are also (the Ones who are all-knowing and) omniscient, the Ones who are doers of good, are immovable (or unshakable), disease-free, endless, unswerving, painfree, and non-returning (to the world and the cycle of births and deaths).'[55] The final part of the hymn adds: 'The Ones who have reached the destination of the Siddha—liberated state—to them the Jinas, the conquerors of fear, I bow.'

The third is the *Caturviṁśati-stava* addressed to the 24 Jinas, a hymn that plausibly was the inaugural prayer of the *Prathamānuyoga* composed by Ārya Śyāma I (*c.* 1st century B. C.-A. D.), which later was looked upon as one of the *Ṣaḍāvaśyakas* and next accommodated as the second chapter in the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, the latter *Sūtra* collectively was assembled some time in the latter half of the fifth century A. D.[56] by combining the *Ṣaḍāvaśyakas* which were six independent short texts (a few among them of differing dates) of the daily rites of self-purification for monastic use. The hymn in question thus begins with salutations: 'O Jina! the One who illuminates the universe (*logassa*

ujjotagare). Thou art the Jina the founder of the Order (*dhamma-titthakare jine*[57]).' Then follows the list of 24 Jinas to whom the obeisance is offered. In the last part, the devotee thus prays: 'May the 24 and other Jinas be pleased with me; these noble Siddhas of the Universe who have been sung, bowed at, and venerated; let them grant (me) the very element, the very right knowledge as well as the noblest and the highest (of all)—transcendental bliss (*samādhi*). O Ye Siddhas ! Purer than the (full) moon, more luminous than the sun, profounder than the mighty ocean, grant me salvation.'[58] (The later scholiasts of course would explain this 'granting business' as implied to be by *upacāra*, i.e. metaphorical transference, and thus having only a symbolic signification.)

Outside the psalmic tradition of the sacred *āgama*-books, from the fifth century and further onward, the genuine devotional hymnic traditions began to appear and flourish with fervour, freedom, and intensity of feeling. The pioneering composer in the new style, now in Sanskrit, was Siddhasena Divākara (*c.* early 5th century A. D.), reported in the medieval *prabandhas* to be a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya (A. D. 382-414).[59] Several of his hymnic compositions betray strong predilection, even obsession, for dialectics and logical approach, the prosodical skills put to the service of epistemological expositions. Among these, at least one hymn (numbered 21 and called the 'Parātmā-dvātriṁśikā'),[60] reveals fresh concepts about the nature of the Jina as a peerless being. The *āgamic* psalms had visualized Jina as a compassionate but impersonal, unshakable and an uninvolved superman who possessed indomitable will and inner strength of unfathomable dimensions. The Jina's image-formulation was effected there through the help of a series of epithets and metaphors. Siddhasena, true to his independent disposition, and employing as he did the advanced Sanskrit poetic devices, skills, and subtleties of his times, interwove philosophical profundities in the hymnic portrayal of the Jina. To Siddhasena, the Jina is more an abstract concept of an incomparably Perfect Being rather than a Superhuman Reality (as earlier composers had envisioned). While comparing the Jina with Śiva and Viṣṇu, he betrays his preference for 'Jinendra' who transcends the possessive limitations of weapon-attributes, animal-mount, and an accompanying divine consort. His Sanskrit verses, which in style follow the *Vaidarbhī-rīti*, vibrate with powerful rhyming and rhythming, with exquisite *sphoṭa*-echoes that effortlessly reveal the inherent profound meaning of the qualifying terms he employs.[61] Later, some Śaṅkarācārya in the tradition of the first one (Ādi Śaṅkara), had composed a hymn with a refrain 'Śivo 'haṁ Śivo 'ham' which is in similar style and closely resembles in structure, qualificatory intent, and inherent content. (Of course, while composing his hymn, this Śaṅkarācārya

is unlikely to have seen Siddhasena's hymn.)

In this way, Siddhasena conceives the Jina: '(Thee) beyond word and form, possessing neither sentiment nor smell, nor touch or tangibility nor colour, not even an exterior sign; (Thou hast) neither the beginning nor the end; (Thee!) the nameless, O Jinendra, Thou art the only Supreme Self who is my last refuge.'

'Neither canst (Thou) be cut nor divided, nor be wet nor dried; (Thou) possessest no regret, nor canst (Thou) be burnt nor (art Thou) frequented by miseries; (Thee hath) neither pleasure nor pain, nor desire; such One art Thou, the Supreme Self, O Jinendra ! my final refuge.'

'(Thou art) neither susceptible to attachment, nor visited by ailments, nor (sufferest Thou from) worries; (Thou art) neither static nor dynamic; subject neither to death nor to birth. For Thee there is neither merit nor sin, nor is there bondage; such One art Thou, the Supreme Self, O Jinendra! Thou alone art my ultimate refuge.'[62] Siddhasena thus virtually invests the Jina with the qualities and attributes of Brahman of the *Upaniṣads* and Puruṣa of the Sāṁkhya.

No less brilliant as a logical thinker and a hymnist indeed of very high calibre was Sāmantabhadra (*c.* A. D. 550-600) of the Southern Church, whose *Svayambhū-stotra* is a famous hymn of over 100 verses devoted to the 24 *tīrthaṅkaras*. Like Siddhasena, he, too, was obsessed with epistemology; and his poetry, particularly of his *Āptamīmāṁsā*, is no less doctrine-oriented. Moreover, as in his *Stutividyā*, he relished in an ornate class of poetry replete with laboured conceits, deliberate artificialities, and puzzling gimmicks. A couple of centuries later, the Śvetāmbara Bhadrakīrtti's *Caturviṁśati-stuti* (*c.* late 8th century A. D.), however, reflects some restrained predilection for ornament and structural tricks, indeed not excessive as is noticeable in Sāmantabhadra's *Stutividyā*. But it is Mānatuṅga (*c.* late 6th or early 7th century A. D.) of the northern Church,[63] whose *Bhaktāmara-stotra*, the hymn to Jina Ṛṣabha, reflects not only superb poetry, but is also imbued with emotions of a 'true prayer' as Jacobi rightly had observed.[64] It was Mānatuṅga who, after Siddhasena, emphasized the idea that a Jina's very name, and taking refuge in Him, are capable of dispelling worldly calamities as also of warding off disasters of all kinds. This attitude of solaceful submission and total trust in Him the Jina, is afterwards more often adopted, particularly by the medieval hymnists.

Side by side with the compositions vibrant with noble sentiments, a whole class of hymnic literature began to appear which is overtly magical, professing at first to be innocuous, resorting to it just for obtaining poetic and dialectical skills (useful during debates) but next for curing ailments, annulling the effects of snake bites *et cetera*, and eventually went as far as claiming to acquire supernatural

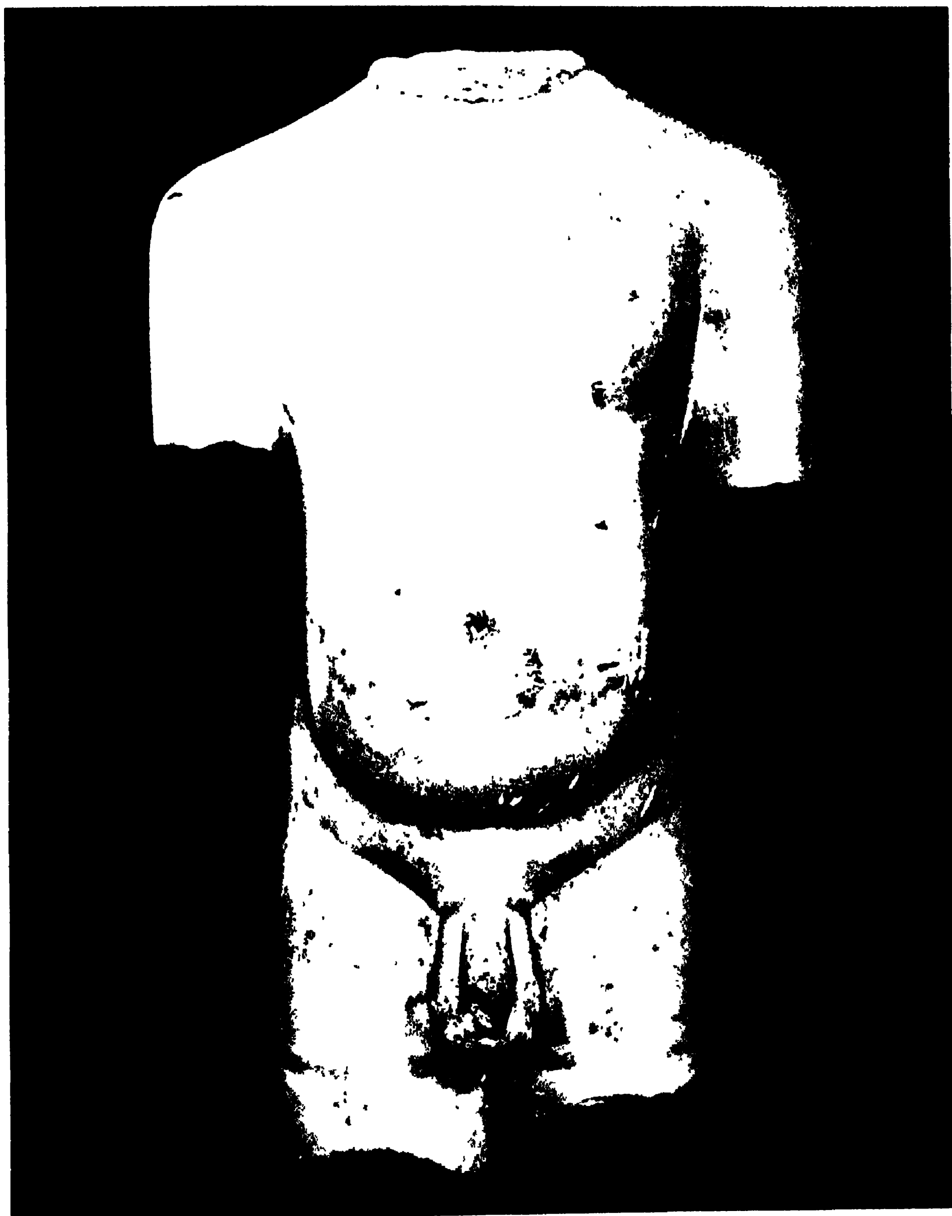


Plate 1 Jina torso (highly polished), Lohanipur, Bihar, Maurya c. B.C. 232-224

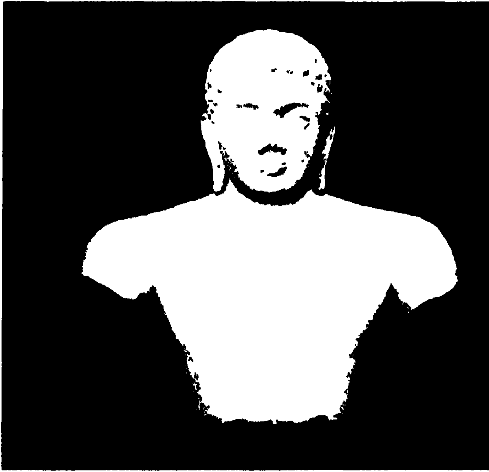


Plate 2 Jina bust, Kuṣāṇa, Mathurā, U. P., Northern Main Stream Nirgrantha Sect, Government Museum, Lucknow, c. 2nd century A. D.



Plate 5 Jina head, Gupta, Mathurā, Northern Main Stream Nirgrantha Sect, Government Museum, Mathurā, c. 3rd quarter of the 5th century



Plate 3 Jina in *padmāsana*, Gupta, Mathurā, Northern Main Stream Nirgrantha Sect, Government Museum, Mathurā, c. mid 5th century A. D.



Plate 4 Seated Jina, Gupta, Mathurā, Northern Main Stream Nirgrantha Sect, Government Museum, Lucknow, c. 3rd quarter of the 5th century A. D.



Plate 6 Jina seated in *padmasana*, post-Gupta, Botika-Ksapanaka Sect, Panna, M.P., c. 6th century A.D.



Plate 7 Arhat Pārśva, Botika Ksapanaka Sect Tulsi Museum, Ramban Provenance unknown, M.P., c. 6th century A.D.



Plate 8 Arhat Parśva, seated, Botika-Kṣapaṇaka, Deogarh, M.P., c. early 7th century A.D.



Plate 9 Jina Rsabha seated in *padmasana* Botika Ksapanaka or Svetambara Gwalior Fort M.P., c. early 9th century A.D.



Plate 10 Jaina temples group, temple 15, *mukhamaṇḍapa*, seated Jina, Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka or Digambara, Deogarh, M. P., *c.* 9th century A. D.

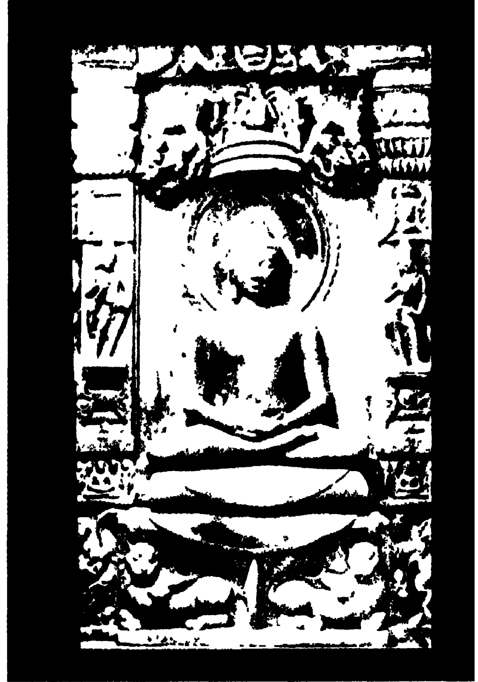


Plate 11 Jaina temples group, temple 15, seated Arhat, Pratīhāra, Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka or Digambara, Deogarh, *c.* A. D. 876



Plate 12 Arhat Ṛṣabha, seated, Jejākabhukti, Candalla period, probably Digambara, Khajuraho, M. P., *c.* 2nd quarter of the 10th century A. D.

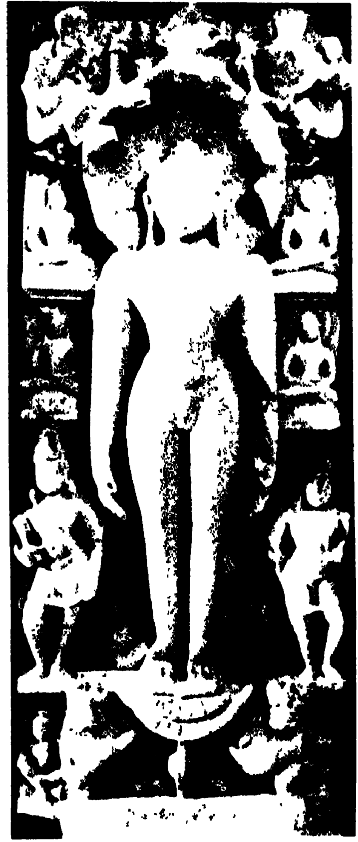


Plate 13 Arhat Pārśva standing centrally in Jina-pancaka, late Pratihara, probably Botika Kṣapaṇaka, Siron, U. P., *c.* 10th century A. D.

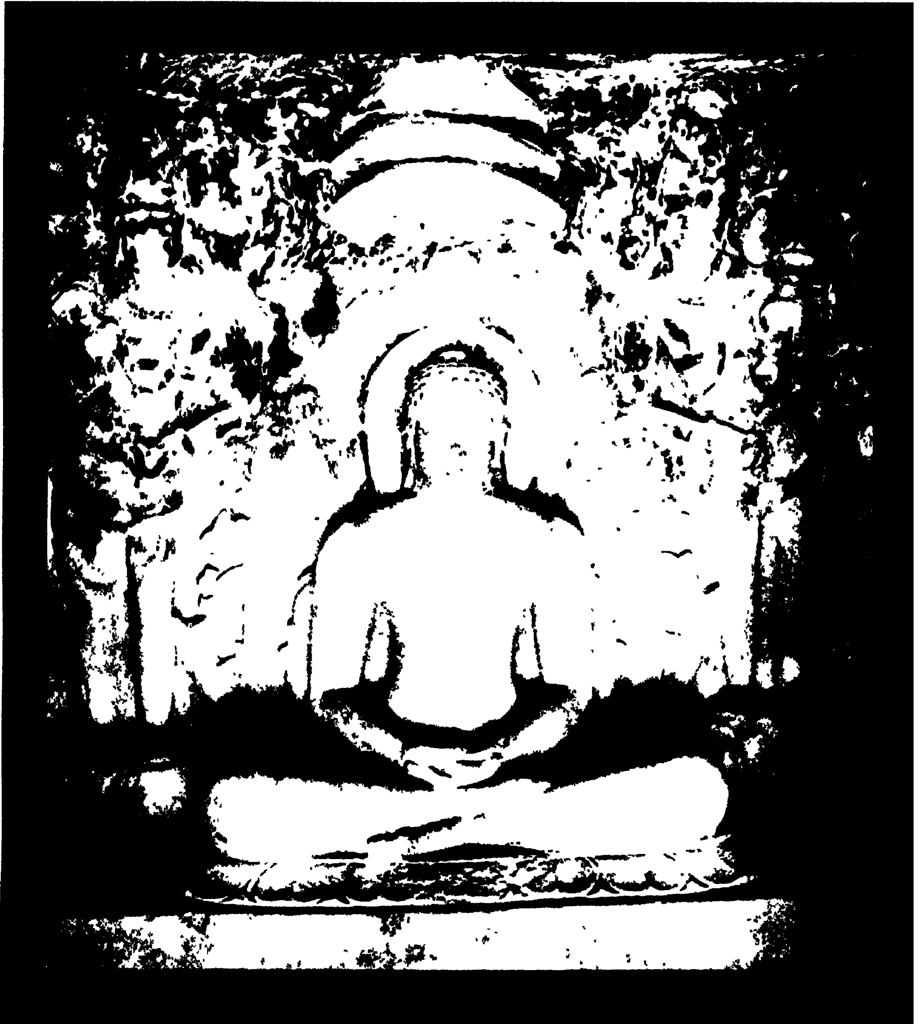


Plate 14 Cave 15, rock-cut-seated Jina, Rastrakuta, probably Digambara, Ellorā, Maharashtra, c. 9th century A. D

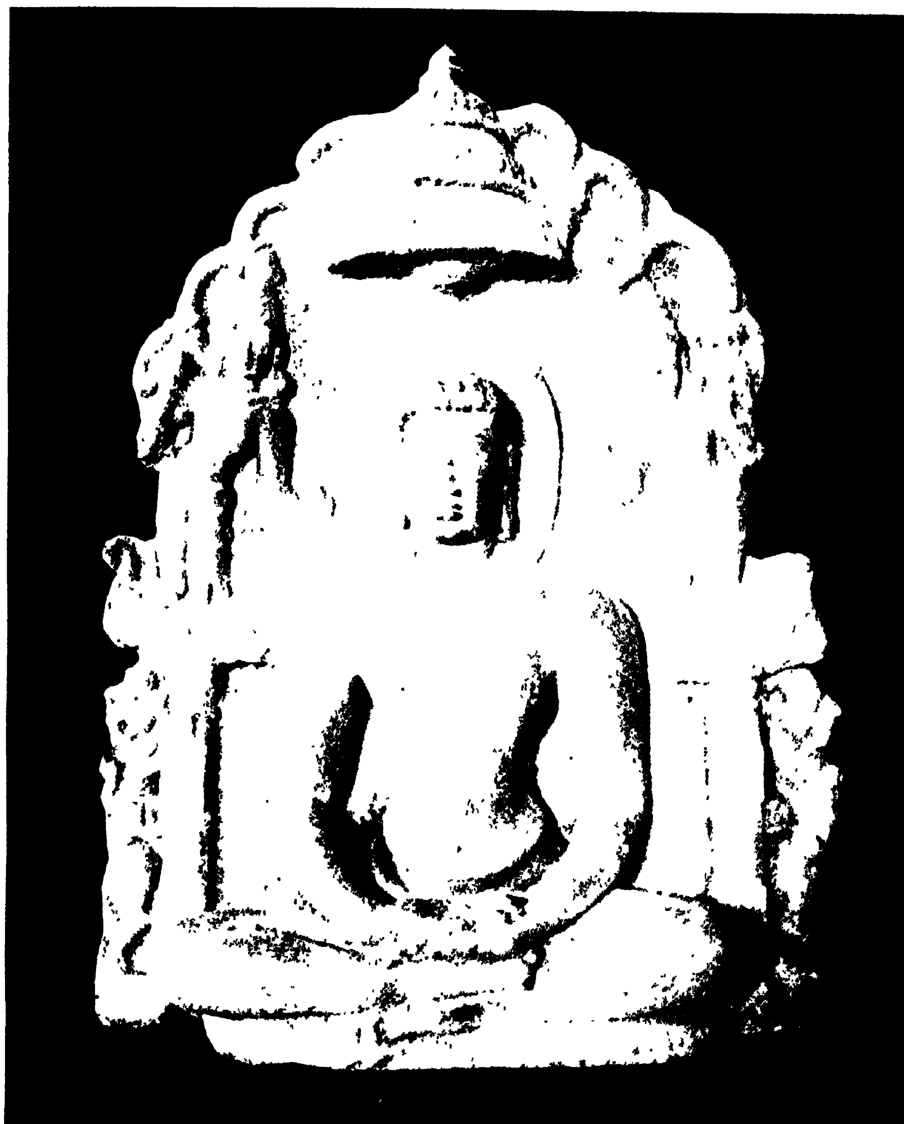


Plate 15 Seated Jina, Rāṣṭrakuṭa, Government Museum, Gulburg, Yapanīya or Digambara, Harasūr, Karnataka, c. late 9th century A. D.



Plate 16 Jina in *padmāsana*, first *maṇḍapa*, Śānteśvara basadi, Digambara, Kambadahalli, Karnataka, *c.* 10th century A. D.



Plate 17 Jina Pārśva seated, Cālukya, Government Museum, Gulburg, Yāpanīya or Digambara, Sedam, Karnataka, *c.* late 11th century A D



Plate 18 Jina standing, Rastrakuta, originally from the Jaina temple there, now in Government Museum, Pattadakal, probably Digambara, Pattadakal, Karnataka, c. latter half of 9th century A.D.



Plate 19 Brahma-Jinālaya, founded by Lady Attiyabbe, Digambara, Lakkuṇḍi, Karnataka, Cālukya, c. A.D. 1008

powers (for the monks) and to obtaining worldly wealth (for the lay-followers). This *māntric* trend entered and took firm root in the Nirgrantha Church, despite injunctions against magic, sorcery, prognostications and prophesies, astrology, omenology *et cetera* in the early *āgamas*. Under the influence of the prevailing religious climate and the orientations of popular religion in post-Gupta times, it soon after turned tāntric (as was the case somewhat earlier with the Buddhists). A plethora of tāntric hymns as a consequence is known both from the northern as well as the southern Nirgrantha Church. One of these medieval tāntric hymns, by an unknown poet, perhaps a Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka or Digambara, opens with a stanza whose facets sparkle with flashes of mysticism:[65] 'Ye all must pay obeisance to (Jina) Ṛṣabha who is eternal and perceivable through (deep) meditation; (He) who owns a luminous form and contemplates His own intrinsic form; (He) who is the God of gods, who has reached the ultimate state, and who is the Shepherd and Lord of the Universe; (He) who is unmanifest, is conqueror of Self, and is beyond cause; (He) who is the first to be born, the very reflection of the cosmos, the One who is totally equipoised in all (kinds of balanced as well as disbalanced situations); (It is He) who is the cause of all causes.' Most of these details equally would correspond to the Transcendental Śiva whose several qualifications are here transferred to Jina Ṛṣabha in his Siddha state.[66]

More than a thousand years after the first *āgamic*-psalmic compositions, the Nirgrantha religion thus progressively came to recognize the indirect humanistic aspect, together with the total transcendental character of the Jina. Though standing beyond all sentiments and actions, Jina or Siddha still can be said to help the worshippers in attaining their spiritual goal as well as their material well-being through a spontaneous, though unprovoked reverberation—vibration—stirred by a genuinely motivated prayer addressed to his mental or material image.

IV. THE JINA IMAGE

Probably some time early in the 4th century B. C., when the first image of the Jina, perhaps of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, was shaped, the question must have arisen on how to represent Him. The Jina, though an extraordinary person, a most venerable sage, still was a mortal who, by the strength of his own efforts, will, and determination, had attained release from the cycle of existence. He was not, in fact never, conceived as a singular supreme deity or a Universal Self or an almighty God, even when eventually deified as the highest being. He must, then, have been represented (as he is more often seen in the earliest available instances) as a saint in the *kāyotsarga*-or *kāyavyutsarga-mudrā* which he may

have adopted in his life time while meditating: a standing, erect, steady, yogic posture with straight arms hanging-down. (While this posture seems unique to the Nirgrantha sect in the Indian religious milieu, it somehow evokes the memory of the standing royal and divine figures of ancient Egypt as well as the early Hellenic *kouroi* and no less of the unknown deity represented on a Harappan seal, standing erect but shown within a flaming aureole).[67] Evidence of the Jina in *padmāsana*-posture is found from about the latter half of the second or early first century B. C. onward.[68]

Whether the custom of worshipping Yakṣas that had prevailed all over Magadha and the contiguous territories in north India since (and possibly before, and of course long after) the times of Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra[69] was instrumental in inspiring the idea of rendering and worshipping Jina's image, is a moot point. After all, Yakṣas were the spirits of the trees and woods, water, valleys, and mountains and, though not mortal, being of the 'Vyantara' class, were considered inferior in the hierarchy of the divine beings. They were sometimes malevolent. For making the Jina's first image, the inspiration more probably came from the then existing and worshipped images of the two deified heroes of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi clan of the Yādavas, namely Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and his step-brother Balarāma (*c.* B. C. 9th century). More and more evidence is coming to light that their worship may date back to ancient times.[70] Perhaps, in analogy of these deified heroes (*vīras*) of the Bhāgavat cult, which had flourished four centuries before the time of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the Great Hero (*Vīra* as he is addressed in the earliest strata of the *āgamas*), who had won inner battles against the *doṣas* or *kaṣāya*-enemies (passions) and destroyed the *kārmic* knots (*karma-granthīs*), soon came to be deified. And not long after, he was held superior to the immortals and all other beings by the followers of the Nirgrantha creed. And what predictably may have been his intuitive, possibly telepathic and clairvoyant powers/faculties coupled with his profound philosophical insights, practical wisdom, and shining intelligence, were mistaken for omnicognition and omniperception a century or two later, say around B. C. the 3rd or 2nd century. According to the Nirgrantha doctrine, no person other than the one who has cut down the bondage (*bandhana*) of the almost total *karma*-latencies, could possess omniscience while still in his mortal frame.

The pre-Nanda period Kāliṅga-Jina image (reported in Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription: *c.* B. C. 50-20 or B. C. 20-A. D. 20) which is the earliest example on archaeological record, has disappeared in antiquity as did all the earliest Yakṣa, Vāsudeva, and Balarāma

images.[71] The Lohānipur example showing a youthful, tender, and handsomely conceived Jina (Plate 1) cannot be judged fully since the head is lost and the portion of legs below the thighs is gone. And no tridimensional and large example which definitely can be ascribed to the centuries between B. C. the third and the second century A. D. is as yet known.

The Kuṣāṇa Jina figures (*c.* 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.), available in good number from Mathurā are, on the whole, of average quality. Some of them do reflect the solid confidence and assured stability sung about the Jina in the *āgamic* hymns. Their faces possess bright all-seeing and open eyes and the cheeks sometimes seem to bear an archaic smile (Plate 2) as do the temple-pediment sculptures of the archaic temple of Athena in the Acropolis, Athens, Greece. It is, however, in the images of the Jina in Majesty, seated in *padmāsana*, of the Gupta period—such as the figures from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā, the *siṁhāsana* or lion-throne lost in both cases (Plates 3 & 4)—that the unshakable but also transcendent Jina of Siddhasena Divākara's vision takes material shape. Each such example shows an ample ornamented halo, either formed by lotus-petals (*padmaprabhā*) or of rayed (*ādityaprabhā*) type.[72] The gaze, in each case, is half down-cast (*ardhanimīlita cakṣu / nāsāgra dṛṣṭi*).

The serene, tranquil, beautifully formed heads of the Gupta Jinas, like the contemporaneous Buddha parallels, usually suggest half trance combined with total physical and sensual equilibrium. The head from Mathurā in Plate 5, though partly spoilt by exfoliation, typically reflects the early successful efforts at achieving the feeling of an inward gaze (through the lotus-like half closed eyes) in concrete form. During the sixth and the seventh centuries, the faces of the Jinas leave behind the half-closed eye convention, the fuller and deeper trance is now clearly in evidence, as on the heads with fully closed eyes of the Jina from Panna and the Pārśvanātha image in Rāmban Museum collection (M.P.) (Plates 6 & 7).[73]

The images of the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods noticed in the foregoing apparently had belonged to the main stream *alpacela* Nirgrantha sect which permitted a loin cloth (*kaṭi-bandhana, kaṭi-paṭṭaka*) and a bowl besides the *rajoharaṇa*-broom for the mendicants. The last-noted two images (Plates 6 & 7), seated in *padmāsana*, probably had belonged to the Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka sect and stylistically both seem to be of the sixth century. The first (Plate 6) may have represented Jina Mahāvīra. It is austerely profound, in deep meditation with outstretched elbows as in pre-medieval and ancient Jina images, and seated on a pedestal which differs in detail from those of the earlier images from

Mathurā.[74] The magnificent image of Pārśva, attended by a pair of *cāmaradharas* (Plate 7) is cast in even profounder contemplative expression and looks very impressive despite the unfortunate mutilation of the most of the hoods of Dharaṇendra.

The trend continues in the seventh century Deogarh as noticeable in an example of the Jina-pañcaka with the central seated figure in even deeper state of trance marked on the visage (*c.* 7th century) (Plate 8). Its throne shows two large figures of lions with the edgewise *dharmacakra* in the centre. The flying *mālādhara* and *mālādhāriṇī*—a sub-class of the *vidyādharas*/angelic beings—hover above the seven-hoods of Dharaṇendra beside the *caitya* tree whose top is visible behind the Jina's head. Next in sequence is this instance (Plate 9), from the Gwalior Fort, of a seated Ādinātha, originally perhaps from the temple of Mahāvīra founded at the instance of the Śvetāmbara pontiff Bhadrakīrtti *alias* Bappabhaṭṭi sūri, by the later Maurya monarch Āmra or Āmarāja (*c.* early in last quarter of the 8th century A. D.). It indeed is a finer Jina image of its age. To the artist the transcendence still mattered as a supreme quality for the facial expression as well as its transfusion in the make up of the rest of the body.

The two images of Jina in Glory from Deogarh (Plates 10, 11), of *c.* the last quarter of the ninth century, combine the trance factor with the symbolic representation of some of the eight splendour phenomena (*aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas*) that were added in literature by way of a further edification of the Jina from *c.* the latter half of the fifth century A. D. (*Paumacariya*). This glorificatory feature began to receive more serious attention by the sculptors from about the seventh century. Early in the Kuṣāṇa period, usually four to five (rarely more) of these attendant phenomena of glory—the lion throne, the halo, the flywhisk-bearers, the garland-bearers and the *caitya*-tree (and lying outside these the wheel of law)—were shown in association with the Jina in Glory. Even the *Bhaktāmara-stotra* of Mānatuṅga (*c.* late 6th, early 7th centuries A. D.)—its northern version—originally referred to only four *atiśeṣa* insignia. Both the images under discussion have a surround of significant pantheonic attendant figures.[75]

Next are the two images of very early tenth century, the seated one from Khajuraho (Plate 12) and the standing one from Siron (Plate 13), both thus happen to be from Madhya Pradesh. The Khajuraho image, of Jina Ṛṣabha, has a *jaṭā* like Śiva and is an example of *caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* with some additional attendant details,[76] the Siron instance is a Jina-pañcaka having the usual Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā pair flanking the lion-pedestal. Above are the

two impressive *cāmara*-bearers. Jina Pārśva at the centre of the composition is one of the finer images of the Jina and the details are indicative of a date not later than *c.* A. D. 900. The seven hoods of Dharaṇendra are powerfully rendered with the (somewhat worn out) *mālādhara* figures gliding above in the air: a small *chatratraya* is shown above the hoods.

The Jina images from the Deccan as also from Karnataka (South India), following the Vākāṭaka Buddhist conventions of representing the seated Buddha figure of the late fifth century at Ajantā, show large fly-whisk bearers standing beside or behind the back of the Jina's lion throne. The Cālukya period Jinas at Aihole and at Bādāmī (*c.* late sixth century A. D.), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jinas in the Jaina caves at Ellorā (*c.* late eighth to early tenth centuries A. D.) (Plate 14), and the early Gaṅga Jaina temples at Śravaṇabelagola and Kambadahalli (*c.* latter half of the 10th century) show some Jinas of this class, still following the old ideals in representing the Jina. Those from Huṁbca are also very impressive.[77]

The Ellorā image of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, originally stuccoed and seated on a *padmapīṭha* is flanked by two large *cāmaradhara* figures bedecked with beautiful crowns and other characteristic ornaments. A large triple umbrella balances the composition. Later than the Ellorā example but still a fairly impressive image is of the seated Jina of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period from Harasūr (Karnataka) (Plate 15). The Jina has a slightly longer torso but very short neck, the physiognomy of the face is typically Kannaḍa of that age. The Siṁhāsana is flanked, as in the Ellorā instance, by a figure of *vyāla* and above it comes the *makara*. The halo is small as in most Karnataka Jina images. Behind the throne and within the field of the throne-back area circumscribed above by an undulating *toraṇa,* are shown two medium size *cāmaradharas*, the triple umbrella shows the peripheral pearl-loops, a typical Karnatakan feature of the pre-medieval and medieval images.

The next instance is from Kambadahalli (Plate 16) placed in the first *maṇḍapa* of the Śānteśvara temple.[78] The typically Gaṅga head of the Jina above a slightly elongated torso shows a state of quiet equilibrium, but the open eyes fail to convey the meditative inwardness. The two splendid *cāmaradharas* stand behind the non-descript seat with a half cut seat-back. The small horseshoe shaped halo looks congruent in the simple, austere, but graceful composition.

The instance of the Jina Pārśvanātha (Plate 17) from some Jaina temple (in Gulburg District) is a typical example of a medieval Jina figure in Karnataka which usually shows a gorgeous setting. The lion pedestal in the present instance

is lost and the Jina is seated on a *padmapīṭha*. The short *grīvā* (neck) and small head with open eyes still are within the bounds of the overall balanced look of the composition. The halo is small. The *cāmara*-bearers show sumptuous jewellery; the triple umbrella, too, is ornamented with pearl loops. The vine-like *caitya*-tree is also elaborate and formalized. In its loops it carries dancing *pramathas* and the mango-like fruits hang from the branches.

In the South, standing Jina images of pre-medieval and very early medieval periods are somewhat simpler in treatment, sometimes without an accompaniment of glory insignia, and shaped to reflect solid and austere unshakability. A powerfully monolithic looking Jina from the Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal (Plate 18) (*c.* latter half of 9th century) is completely unencumbered by the splendour insignia and having only a plain halo, represents the Jina in pure state of being.[79] A fine early Cālukya Pārśvanātha from the Jaina temple founded by Lady Atiyabbe/Attimabbe at Lakkuṇḍi (*c.* A. D. 1008)[80] (Plate 19), because of its sublime face, however, seems to hark back to the eighth or ninth century A. D. All of these images reflect the ideals of the spiritual/mystical heights and qualities attributed to the Jina by the Jaina Sanskrit hymnists ranging in date from the Gupta to the medieval times.

Year of revised writing: 2004

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] In computation, I have followed Harmann Jacobi's corrected date, B. C. 477, for the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and not the traditional B. C. 527. However, for the dates expressed in the Vīra-nirvāṇa Era in Śvetāmbara sources of the date after *c*. A. D. 1000, B. C. 527 seems to work for arriving at a historically accurate date as earlier, and indeed rightly, ascertained by Tripuṭī Mahārāja. Since recent researches on the date of Buddha tend to bring it down by a century, and since Mahāvīra predeceased Buddha by some years, the new date for the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra may be bracketed around *c*. B. C. 415-400.

[2] The available bulk of the early commentarial literature that covers the *niryuktis*, the *bhāṣyas*, and the *cūrṇīs* dates from *c*. A. D. 525 to the end of the seventh century A. D. The Sanskrit *āgamic vṛttis*, which follow in time, range in date between mid eighth and late 13th century A. D.

[3] Excepting for the names of such *caityas* that are recorded in the prose passages, the rest that figure, particularly in the short inaugural passages in the *āgamas* (beginning with the phrase *Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ teṇaṁ samayeṇaṁ*), seem later additions prefixed either during the Mathurā Synod (*c*. A D. 363) or may be at the Valabhī Synod II (*c*. A. D. 503 or 516).

[4] The statements relating to these notices do not occur in the extant *āgamas* but in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* (*c*. A. D. 600-650). A relatively late work nevertheless, its information plausibly is based on earlier sources, perhaps more ancient commentaries (of *c*. 4th-5th centuries A. D.?), now lost. (For details, *see* A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London 1951, pp. 43-7, 273. According to this most voluminous of all *cūrṇis*, there were temples of Vāsudeva in Mahāvīra's time at Maṅgala and Kuṇḍaga, and of Baladeva at Āvattā and Madaṇṇā [all in the Magadha country?]).

[5] Cf. also the observations by U. P. Shah, 'Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism', *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, (Eds.) U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky (Ahmedabad, 1975), p. 50.

[6] The 'Jinacaritra' (compiled *c*. A. D. 503/516) in the *Paryuṣaṇākalpa*, as also the *Uttarapurāṇa* of the Digambara author Guṇabhadra (*c*. A. D. 850) records that Arhat Pārśva had passed away 250 years prior to the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, and had lived for 100 years; this would imply B. C. 827-727 as Pārśva's period. (The *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* [*c*. A. D. 550] envisages 278 instead of 250 years.) However, the way Mahāvīra refers to Pārśva (*Arahā Purisādāṇīya* [*Purisājāneya*] *Pāsa*, 'winsome Arhat Pārśva'/ 'respected by the people'), the dialogue between Keśī (a direct disciple and patriarch of Pārśva's Church), and Gautama (the apostle and chief disciple of Arhat Vardhamāna), gives an

impression that no considerable time had elapsed between the two great leaders of the Nirgrantha Church. If Keśī was the third patriarch in the succession of Pārśva, as is recorded in the later tradition of the Ukeśa-gaccha (cf. the *Ukeśa-paṭṭāvali* [late medieval]) and the *Nābhinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha* of Kakka sūri (S. 1393/ A. D. 1337), the difference in time between Pārśva and Mahāvīra can hardly be more than 50 or 60 years. But the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*'s 'Keśī-Gautamīya' chapter's statements (*c.* 1st centuries B. C.-A. D.) imply that Keśī was the direct disciple of Pārśva, as Gautama was of Vardhamāna. Hence the distance in time between the two great teachers, once again it may be pointed out, narrows down to about three to four decades in time. The archaeological excavations conducted at many northern Indian sites—Mathurā, Sāketa, Kauśāmbi, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī *et cetera*—yield no evidence of any of these cities being more ancient than *c.* 7th-6th centuries B. C., one more point strongly in favour of somewhat later date for Pārśva who was born in Vārāṇasī.

[7] Throughout this paper I have followed my own determinations on dates for the *āgamic* works or passages thereof, done on the basis of form, style, cadence, structure, language, and content. In the *āgamas*, the original Ardhamāgadhī language had been progressively transformed into the later Prākṛt, the Mahārāṣṭrī form, 'na' converted into 'ṇa', 'ī' replacing 'ti', 'ha' replacing 'dha' and 'ṭha', 'ya' substituted for 'ta' as well as several other consonants. In view of these changes, linguistic/philological considerations alone are not sufficient in dating the *āgamas* or the passages thereof.

[8] *Rāja-Prasenīya-sūtra* I, 177-179. A contemporaneous text, the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti* (*c.* 3rd century A. D.) refers to a Siddhāyatana at Mt. Vaitāḍhya; and so does the *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra* (*c.* 3rd century A. D.) which locates a Siddhāyatana near the *Suddharmāsabhā* of the mythical capital Vijayā (of the god Vijaya) at the Vijayadvāra-gate of the discoidal continent of Jambūdvīpa.

[9] *Rāja-Prasenīya-sūtra*, (Ed.) Madhukara Muni, Jināgama-granthamālā, Vol. 4 (Ajmer, 1981), I. 166.

[10] *Jñātādharmakathāṅga*, Ed. Madhukara Muni, Jināgama-granthamālā, Vol. 15 (Ajmer, 1982), I. 16. 118.

[11] On the *āgamic* evidence for Jina image, cf. also Walther Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, First edition, reprint (Delhi, 1978), p. 49.

[12] Images of the four Jinas —Ṛṣabha, Vardhamāna, Candrānana, and Vāriṣeṇa—are said there to be *śāśvata* (eternal).

[13] Cf. the 'Dvīpa-sāgara' portion in the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* as also of the *Jīvājīvābhigama-sūtra*.

[14] There, however, are casual references in the *Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya* (*c.* mid 6th century A. D.) of some nuns visiting the *stūpa* of *Pārśvanātha* at

Mathurā. The *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* refers to the existence of the *stūpa* of Jina Suvrata at Vaiśālī in Bimbisāra's son Kuṇika's time, but says nothing as to who worshipped it.

[15] For the relevant citation, *see* Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 'Prācīna-Jaina tīrtha' (Hindi) inside the *Prabandha-Pārijāta* (Jalor, 1966), p. 258; also Tripuṭi Mahārāja, *Jainaparaṁparāno Itihāsa* (Gujarātī), Part 1, Śrī Cāritra-smāraka granthamālā No. 51 (Ahmedabad, 1952), pp. 45-6. The *niryukti-āryās* are cited there under number 330-34.

[16] Following Leumann, German scholars date the *niryuktis* to *c*. A. D. 80 (cf., for example, Schubring, *The Doctrine*, p. 57). However, the adoption of the *nikṣepa*-methodology in discussions, the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta as its language of exposition, the use of the Āryā metre, the highly developed scholastic and monastic details, and the cultural data revealed in the content make them seem compositions of the late Gupta period. Since they largely follow the canon as settled at the Valabhī Council II, Muni Puṇyavijaya as also Pt. Dalsukh Malvania were inclined to date them soon after A. D. 453-456 (more accurately A. D. 503/516 following Jacobi's computation). It seems plausible that, some earlier verses from the larger and smaller *saṁgrahaṇī*-collections of floating *gāthās* (dating between *c*. 3rd-5th centuries A. D.) may have been incorporated in the *niryukti*-corpus by the author.

[17] For the discussion, see Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 'Prācīna Itihāsa' in the *Prabandha Pārijāta*, p. 258, and Tripuṭī Mahārāja, *Jaina-paraṁparāno Itihāra*, Part 1, p. 46.

[18] The memories of such ancient *tīrthas*, however, are somewhat dimmed in later literature.

[19] Cf. Tripuṭī Mahārāja, *Jainaparaṁparāno*, I, pp. 45-6.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 46.

[21] Cf. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, '(1) Niśītha sūtra kā Nirmāṇa aur Nirmātā' (Hindi), *Prabandha*, pp. 21-2, and the citation as also the discussion thereof.

[22] In the *Ācārāṅga* (Book I, 3.3.4), Mahāvīra thus has been quoted: *Purisā! tumameva tumaṁ mittaṁ, kiṁ bahiyā mittaṁ icchasi*? ('O man! thou art thy own friend, why art thou seeking a comrade outside thee!').

[23] The term *jīva* is meant to stand for 'soul' or 'being'.

[24] The general Ardhamāgadhī terms are *savvannu* (Skt. *sarvajña*) and *savvadaṁsi* (*sarvadarśī*).

[25] The 'siddhas' are believed statically to inhabit a portion of the celestial Siddhaśilā-plateau (*Īṣatbhārā-pṛthivī*) located at the apex of the *loka* (universe). Their abstract substance pervades the universe only for a split second

after the final release from their corporeal existence and recontracted to the original 'volume' (if it can be called volume). (The phenomenon is termed *kevalī-samudghāta*).

[26] The Nirgrantha concept, as it progressively was clarified for these aspects of the Siddhas, became akin or analogous to the Puruṣa of the Sāṁkhya philosophical system and to some extent also to the Brahman of the Vedānta.

[27] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 217.

[28] Khāravela predictably was an adherent of the Nirgrantha creed.

[29] *Nandarāja-nitaṁ ca Kā[li]ṅga Jinaṁ saṁnivesa* . . . (Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription).

[30] The original image possibly was shaped in wood. The Yakṣa images of the period of Mahāvīra and Buddha have disappeared in antiquity, inferably because they were made of wood.

[31] For the discussion with an illustration, see U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Varanasi, 1955), Part 1, Plate 2. Also cf. Debala Mitra, 'East India' (Chapter 7), *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1974), Plate 21A. Shah as well as D. Mitra assign that image to the Maurya age, best assignable to the period of Aśoka's grandson Samprati (*c*. B. C. 235-220) who apparently was Nirgrantha by persuasion. The Jina's anatomical treatment in the Lohānipur torso is definitely older than that found in the Jina images of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa periods. (The famous Didārganj Yakṣī originally perhaps may be standing in attendance upon such a late Maurya Jina figure. The belief of the art historians is that the Yakṣī's statue was meant to stand in the palace hall is not convincing. In the Mauryan palaces there assumably were real *cāmara*-bearing damsels.)

[32] However, the two small seated Jina images shown in the *rūpaka* (narrative) carved on the lintel-fragment of the *toraṇa* at Mathurā *c*. late 2nd or early 1st century B. C. lately recognized as forming the part of the so-called 'Dance of Nilāñjanā' narrative, is the only other and earlier instance I can think of. (Cf. V. N. Srivastava, 'Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow', *Saṁgrahālaya-Purātattva Patrikā*, June 1972, Plate 3.)

[33] Cf. Shah, *Studies*, pl. III, Plate 9, pl. IV, Plates 11-13.

[34] In light of the recent researches of Dr. Gritli V. Mitterwallner, the reign of Kaniṣka I (and hence Kuṣāṇa Era) began in A. D. 143 as she had informed me in Varanasi, Spring 1986, this was according to her determination. Since the art and the general palaeography of the inscriptions of this period do not go against this date—she also has taken this evidence, besides historical, into account—this date may work a little better than others previously suggested. According to her, the period preceding the Śaka monarch Ṣoḍas likewise will have to be pushed forward by some decades. I am tempted to agree with this determination. (Late)

P. L. Gupta's recent reexamination of the problem had led him to reach toward similar conclusions, as he personally had informed me. However, there is as yet no finality about this determination too. For very recently Harry Fall has redetermined the date of the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa Era to A. D. 137 (as Gard Mevissen informed me) on the basis of a recently discovered Kuṣāṇa inscription.

[35] R. D. Banerjee, 'No. 23-New Brāhmī Inscriptions of Scythian Period,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, 1909-10, pls. I, II and VI.

[36] For details, see relevant inscriptions in H. Luders, 'A list of Brāhmī *Kuṣāṇa* inscriptions from the earliest times to about A. D. 400 with the exception of those Aśoka,' 'Appendix,' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 2 ff.

[37] *Caityāyatana-prasthāpanāni kṛtvā ca śaktiḥ prayataḥ* |
Pūjāśca gandhamāly=ādhivāsa-dhūpa-pradīp=ādyā ||306||

(Quoted from the *Praśamarati*, Śrī Motichand Kapadiya Granthamala No. 7, Bombay, 1986.)

[38] Cf. especially *there* cantos XXVIII, 46-50; CIX, 12-13; XI 3a, VIII, 136-139; XXXII, 71-93; LXVI, 9, 116; and LXXXIX, 51-54. [*Paumacariya*, Part 1, 2nd revised ed., (Ed.) Muni Puṇyavijaya, Vol. VI, Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi 1962.]

[39] The beginning of this trend may be sensed as early as *c.* 1st century B. C. when a (Nirgrantha pontiff) Bhadanta Indrarakṣita had a *leṇa* (*layana*, rock-cut-cave) got excavated at Pāle in Maharashtra. Muni Vairadeva caused two images of Jina to be made and installed in the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave in Rājagṛha (*c.* 3rd-4th centuries A. D.). In the early Gupta period, in Vidiśā, a Nirgrantha holyman of the Bhadrānvaya, or Bhadra Order of monks, had got carved the image of Pārśva in a rock-cut cave in the year A. D. 425. However, these isolated examples seemingly represent works carried out by the monks probably of some splinter groups and were not within the main Nirgrantha stream of northern India. Only in the later part of the 6th century, when Jinabhadra Vācanācārya (identified by U. P. Shah with Jinabhadra gaṇi kṣamāśramaṇa) (active *c.* A. D. 550-594) had two brass Jina images made and set up in the Jaina temple at Akoṭā (ancient Aṅkoṭaka near Baroda or Vadodarā), that we can speak of a definite evidence in this regard. And that is connected with the Śvetāmbara sect, an offspring of the main stream Nirgrantha Sect.

[40] Yākinīsūnu Haribhadra sūri (active *c.* A. D. 745-785) was the first reformer to thunder against the monastic laxities.

[41] Jineśvara sūri and his confrère Buddhisāgara sūri of the Candra-kula (first half of the 11th century A. D.), again of the northern tradition (Śvetāmbara), spearheaded a powerful campaign against the *caityavāsī*-abbots. This was forcefully carried forward by their grand disciple, Jinavallabha sūri of the ***kharatara-gaccha***.

[42] This had become the holy pastime as well as an ordained duty, virtually for all the medieval eminent pontiffs of the different *gaccha*-orders of the Śvetāmbara sect.

[43] For instance the inscribed Jina images of the period of Rāmagupta *c.* A. D. 370 from Vidiśā.

[44] The *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 1130, 1134, 1139. For actual citations, see Tripuṭi Mahārāja, *Jainaparaṁparāno*, I, p. 45. (It may be that, this *gāthā* was the part of the *Mūlabhāṣya*, or *Bhāṣya* on the *Āvaśyakasūtra/niryukti* and mixed up with the *niryukti*.)

[45] This belief was one of the potent factors that eventually led to the introduction of tāntric elements into the Nirgrantha worship.

[46] Earlier portions of this ancient canon, of course, date from *c.* B. C. 350-200. I have used Bombay 1978 edition. (See here 'sources' appended in the sequel.)

[47] See 'Nātaputta in Early Nirgrantha Āgamas,' *Aspects of Jainology*, Vol. III, Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malavania Felicitation Volume, Eds. M. A. Dhaky and Sagarmal Jain, Varanasi, 1991. (The article is incorporated in the author's *Studies in Nirgrantha History and Literature*, Ahmedabad, 2003.)

[48] What clear distinction in terms of implication was made between *anantadarśī* and *anantacakṣu* is hard to decide.

[49] Mahāvīra was surnamed 'Kāśyapa' after his family line (*gotra*) 'Kaśyapa'.

[50] The ultimate in the series of the countless cyclic oceans alternating with ring continents in Jaina cosmography, the concept probably for the first time incorporated in the now lost *Lokānuyoga* of Ārya Śyāma I (*c.* 1st centuries B. C.-A. D.).

[51] Somehow, in the Ardhamāgadhī canon, Vaiśravaṇa is rendered as 'Vesamaṇa', and 'Vainateya the Eagle', son of Vinatā, as 'Veṇudeva'. Was it due to some dialectical peculiarity, or the consequence of misreadings copied by later scribes in the past, from the earlier manuscripts in Brāhmī?

[52] The alternative title 'Śakra-stava' owes its origin to Śakra or Indra using this *stava* in praying to Mahāvīra in the 'Jina-caritra'. It is more popularly known as '*Namo' tthu ṇaṁ Stava*'.

[53] The four-fold order includes mendicants and nuns, male and female lay-followers.

[54] These classes embrace gods, men, animals and creatures of hell as well as microbes and viruses.

[55] My translation slightly differs from Jacobi's (Cf. his *Jaina Sūtras*, Part I, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, reprint Varanasi, 1964, pp. 224-25).

[56] Not only Umāsvāti (*c*. A. D. 350) but also Deva Vācaka (*c*. A. D. 450) who, in his *Nandisūtra*, refers to the six chapters of the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra* as independent or separate works but otherwise serially figuring in reckoning and hence phrasing.

[57] The hymn is too well-known, needing no citing of the original. It appears, e.g., in the *Suttāgama* II (Gurgaon, 1954), p. 1160, and in books and booklets of daily use for the followers.

[58] A Digambara version of this psalm, possibly adopted from the Yāpanīya sect, uses Jaina Śaurasenī forms in lieu of Ardhamāgadhī. Its composition is ascribed, of course wrongly, to Kundakundācārya by the Digambara sect where it appears as one of the *bhaktis* in Prākṛta and is entitled *Tithayarabhatti*. (Very recently, Ācārya Vijayapradumna sūri drew my attention to a reference in the *Ācārāṅga-vṛtti* of Śilācārya [*c*. A. D. 875] where the commentator ascribes the psalm to Bhadrabāhu. This attribution, however, is not correct, because the style and content of the composition are later by a few centuries than Bhadrabāhu's time.)

[59] Unwarranted controversies have been raised by the present day Digambara scholars, who seek to make Siddhasena either Digambara or Yāpanīya, some even placing him late, around the mid 6th or 7th century A D. My own critical examination of Siddhasena's works reaffirms the older view held by several Western as well as Indian scholars, that he belonged to the earlier part of the 5th century A. D. Since the *Nyāyāvatāra* (wrongly ascribed to Siddhasena) incorporates verses from the Buddhist dialectician Diṅnāga (*c*. A. D. 480-560 or earlier), and Samantabhadra (*c*. A. D. 550-600), Yogīndra (*c*. 7th century A. D. or later) and Pātrakesari (*c*. A. D. 650-700)—the last three being Digambara—it was rightly thought to be a late work by Digambara scholars. What Siddhasena composed was, according to the commentary by Siṁhaśūra kṣamāśramaṇa (*c*. A. D. 675) on the *Dvādaśāra-nayacakra* of Mallavādi (*c*. A. D. 550-575), a work entitled *Nayāvatāra*, and not *Nyāyāvatāra*, the latter in all probability being the work by Siddharṣi (late 9th, early 10th centuries A. D.), not Siddhasena Divākara. (Siddharṣi commented on the *Nyāyāvatāra* without paying obeisance to Siddhasena, and does not ascribe the authorship of the work to any earlier writer; moreover, he gives no variant readings, nor does he even refer to the author as *śāstrakāra* or *sūtrakāra* or *prakaraṇakāra*, or *mahāmati* or *vādimukhya* as ascertained by Pt. Dalsukh Malvania; these points exclude Siddhasena and plausibly favour Siddharṣi's authorship of the work. He does in a way refer to 'ācārya,' meaning thereby that it is not his original work but a compilation.

[60] *See* A. N. Upadhye, *Siddhasena*'s *Nyāyāvatāra and Other Works* (Bombay, 1971), p. 168, vss. 15-17.

[61] While some scholars such as Pt. Sukhlal Sanghvi and Pt. Jugalkishor Mukhtar do not consider this hymn as of Siddhasena because it lacks epistemological approach and dialectical content, yet the style, the cadence, the choice of words, the mannerisms, the verve, and the 'kick' clearly are his; hence Siddhasena's authorship of the hymn cannot be doubted. Jacobi, Klatt, Winternitz, and other scholars have praised it for its poetic excellence and lofty sentiments.

[62] In translation, the power, alliteration and hence sonorousness of the original Sanskrit structure and the metrical cadence of the original are lost. Therefore, I quote below the original verses, though for Indian readers, the transliterations from Nāgarī into Roman understandably do not make an easy reading:

Na śabdo na rūpaṁ raso nāpi gandho na
na sparśa-leśo na varṇo na liṅgam |

na pūrvāparatvaṁ na yasyāsti saṁjñā
sa ekaḥ parātmā gatir-me Jinendraḥ ||

Chidā no bhidā no na kledo na khedo
na śoṣo na dāho na tāpādir-āpat |

na saukhyaṁ na duḥkhaṁ na yasyāsti vāñchā
sa ekaḥ parātmā gatir-me Jinendraḥ ||

Na yogā na rogā na c-odvega-vegāḥ
sthitir-no-gatir-no na mṛtyur-na janma |

na puṇyaṁ na pāpaṁ na yasyāsti bandhaḥ
sa ekaḥ parātmā gatir-me Jinendraḥ ||

—*Paramātmādvātriṁśikā*, 15-17.

[63] He is considered a Digambara pontiff by a few scholars of the Digambara sect. The Digambara commentaries (far fewer in number than the Śvetāmbara) on this work, date only from the 17th century onwards. The Śvetāmbara commentaries, some 10 in number, begin to appear from the late 13th/early 14th century. The *Stotra*'s first reference is by the Śvetāmbara pontiff Siddharṣi in his commentary (*c.* early 10th century A. D.) on the *Upadeśamālā* (*c.* mid 6th century A. D.) of Saṁghadāsa gaṇi kṣamāśramaṇa. For the discussions on Mānatuṅgācārya, his works, date and associated problems, *see* Madhusudan

Dhanki (M. A. Dhaky) and Jitendra Shah, *Mānatuṅgācārya aur unke stotra* (Hindi), (2nd ed., Ahmedabad, 1999).

[64] See his 'Foreword,' p. i, *Bhaktāmara, Kalyāṇamandira* and *Namiuṇa Stotratrayam*, Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series, No. 79, (Ed.) H. R. Kapadia (Bombay, 1932).

[65] Cf. H. R. Kapadia, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Manuscripts*, Vol. XIX, Part 1 (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1957), p. 44.

[66] Devaṁ devādhidevaṁ parama-pada-gataṁ sṛṣṭinetāram-Īśam
avyaktaṁ vyaktimantaṁ guṇinam atiguṇaṁ bījimaṁ c-āpya-bījam |
viśvāgrayaṁ viśvamūrtiṁ sama-viṣama-samaṁ kāraṇaṁ kāraṇānāṁ
taṁ nityaṁ dhyāna-gamyaṁ praṇamata Ṛṣabhaṁ divyasvarūpam || 1 ||

[67] Madho Sarup Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1940), Plate XCIII, sealings, sealing numbered 307.

[68] In the so-called Nīlāñjanā-narrative from Mathurā.

[69] The Buddhist and the Nirgrantha *āgamic* literature have many references to *yakṣāyatanas*, a few Yakṣa names also commonly figuring in both sources.

[70] Apart from the Besnagar Viṣṇu temple and the pillar of Heliodorus (B. C. 140), the inscribed Mallār image of Vāsudeva (*c.* mid 2nd-early 1st centuries B. C.), the image of Balarāma from Mathurā (*c.* mid 2nd century B. C.), the coins of Agathocles from Afghanistan showing Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa (*c.* B. C. 180-165), the Ghosuṇḍī (Rajasthan) inscription (*c.* B. C 100) mentioning (the images of) Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa, and the reference in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (*c.* B. C. 150 or later) and Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*c.* B. C. 350-325) to Kṛṣṇa; the Megasthenes's reference (*c.* B. C. 325-300) to Vāsudeva's image blowing conch (similar in concept to the Mallār image) carried by Indian warriors on a battlefield sufficiently confirms their relatively early worship as well as to earlier mythological episode of the Bhārata war. Their earliest images, predictably made in wood (like the Yakṣa images), were all, believably, lost in antiquity.

[71] Most of them must have been fashioned in wood as well as painted, as was the image of Mudgarapāṇi Yakṣa figuring in the Arjunamāli anecdote connected with Jina Mahāvīra given in the *āgama Antakṛtadaśā-sūtra* (*c.* 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.), Chapter 6. I forego citing other particulars.

[72] Incidentally, the plain halo (sometimes with a beaded or pearl border) is termed *candraprabhā* (moon-rayed aureole). I had picked up these terms from some South Indian *śilpaśāstra*, but my concerned old notes currently are untraceable. The halo of the image in Plate 3 is damaged on its left side. That of the image in Plate 4 is largely destroyed. Even its arms are partly mutilated.

[73] For the Pannā image, see on the frontispiece in A. Ghosh (Editor), *Jaina*

Art and Architecture, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1974) and here Plate 6. It is well-preserved: that in Plate 7 has the eight out of the nine hoods of Dharaṇendra severely mutilated. Also, its pedestal is plain. It originally may have come from Śirā Pahāri, M. P. A deeper meditative look is equally met at this stage in the Śaivite figures in the Koṅkaṇa-Maurya caves at Elephanta (*c.* A. D. 525) and before it in the sculptures of Cave XIX at Ajantā. In Jāvā, the images exhibiting deep trance abound in fair number, particularly in the late eighth and ninth centuries, the most significant just as very famous examples are noticeable in the sanctum of Caṇḍi Mendut near Borobudur. In Cambodia, this trend continues till the 13th century as shown by the heads of the royal portrait sculptures of the founder of the Aṅgkor Thom temple (13th century).

[74] In the present instance, we notice figures representing two lions in profile and the *dharmacakra*, too, in profile. The Mathurā instances generally show couchant lions at the ends, the four human figures represent the '*caturvidha saṁgha*' and the edgewise *dharmacakra*, sometimes mounted on a column.

[75] In the Digambara version of his hymn, these four *atiśeṣas* were regarded as four out of the eight *prātihāryas* and hence the necessity was felt of adding the remaining four of the series in late medieval times, the additional verses treating the remaining four, however, are available in at least five different versions and, all of them happen to be in late medieval style of the 14th and 15th centuries.

[76] For an exhaustively illustrated and thoroughly discussed information on the vast collections of Jina figures in Deogaḍh, see Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh* (Leiden, 1969), and illustrations thereof. However, the associated details of the Plates 10 and 11 are interesting and deserve noting. Plate 10 Jina has the *siṁhāsana*-pedestal projected forward while the recessed portion acts as a *parikara*. Those flanking the two large lions (with the *dharmacakra* in the centre) is flanked by a standing unidentifiable figure. The Jina is seated on a lotus-*masūraka* seat and is attended by two *cāmaradharas* each of whom in turn has a *vyāla* figure above and several celestial adorer figures like the *vidyādharas*. The *bhāmaṇḍala* shows floral decoration in extremely low relief. And above it is the triple umbrella, flanked by a bunch of leaves suggestive of the *caitya-vṛkṣa*. The Jina in Plate 11, moreover, shows Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and Yakṣī Ambikā flanking the pedestal's lions.

[77] Here are seen some new details not noticeable in the instances so far discussed. For example, in lieu of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, here for the first time are met Gomedha Yakṣa and Yakṣī Cakreśvarī, the two specific divinities who are attendant to Jina Ṛṣabha. Then, below the *masūraka*, are shown the nine planetary divinities and amid them in the centre is the figure of bull carved as

the Jina's cognizance. Flanking the two *parikara*-pillarettes are *gaja-vyāla-makara* figures, and above the pillarette capitals are the two Hiraṇyendras, each riding on an elephant. The *chatratraya* is provided with a long staff rising from behind the Jina's head.

[78] This east facing temple stands outside the famous Pañcakūṭa-besadi. The temple and the first *maṇḍapa* stylistically are of the end of the Gaṅga period. The second hall was added in the Hoysala period.

[79] The image was found during the clearance of the part of land behind the temple.

[80] It is called Brahma-Jinālaya in the foundation inscription of A. D. 1008, and is the earliest of the extant Jaina temples in Lakkuṇḍi. The temple had twice suffered, once during the Cola invasion of early 11th century and second time during the Vīraśaiva uprising (*c.* 12th century). C. Sivaramamurti in his *Panorama of Jaina Art* (New Delhi, 1983), Plates 479-481, identified the temple of Pārśvanātha (converted to that of Śiva Nāganātha) there as Brahma Jinālaya. But judging from its style, that temple is about four decades posterior and belongs to the period of Āhavamalla Someśvara I.

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**Courtesy:* Author

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JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

JAINISM is a non-Vedic school of philosophy which claims a hoary antiquity. *Viṣṇu*-and *Bhāgavatapurāṇas* mentioned the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha as belonging to a very remote past. The earliest Brāhmaṇic literature makes reference to a sect which defied the Vedas and opposed animal sacrifices. The *Yajurveda* mentions the names of three Tīrthaṅkaras –Ṛṣabha, Ajita and Ariṣṭanemī. The Jainas claim their twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha was a contemporary of Lord Kṛṣṇa and he belonged to the Yādava family. The Jainas became powerful only during the time of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, who is believed to have lived in the eighth century B.C.

Like Buddhism, Jainism does not accept the validity of the Vedas and *Varṇadharma*, and holds all the members of the community equal. It observes a code of morality and advocates a life of detachment with a view to escaping the birth cycle. In later years two sects arose: The Śvetāmbaras (white clad) and the Digambaras (space clad or naked).

The present Jaina pantheon is very extensive. It consists besides the twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras, of Bhavanapatis (deities of ten different worlds), Vyantara or Vanamāntaras (Forest deities), Jyotiṣkas (Planets, Constellations and Stars), Vaimānikas (deities who live in different heavenly and beyond heavenly worlds), Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, god Gaṇapati, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and others. Roots of the above pantheon are found in the Jaina *Sūtras*, known as Āgama or Siddhānta, which constitute the earliest Jaina literature (*c.* 300 B. C.), and the rest developed by the contact of Jainism with different branches of Hinduism. From the Jaina *Sūtras* we can gather that many of the Jaina doctrines were preached before Mahāvīra by Pārśva who was regarded as a Jina and worshipped by the people.

Gradually by the time of *Nirvāṇu-Kathā* the Jaina mythology comprised, over and above the deities of the *Sūtras*, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs all having definite characteristics. Viṣṇu, Śiva, Mātṛdevīs, Dikpālas, Kṣetrapālas, Gṛhadevatās, Grahas and other Gods of Hindu mythology also find place in their pantheon. Jainas incorporated Hindu deities for the purpose of daily ritual, but always assigned to them a place subsidiary to the Jinas.

Three centuries later, many of the *Parivāra devatās* seem to have acquired a little independent existence within a Jaina temple, as Vardhamāna-Surī in his *Ācāradinakara* gives separate description for their installation ceremony. Further contribution to the Jaina pantheon appears to have been made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D., when the Bhakti cult became extremely popular and Hinduism was split up into numerous sects. The Hindu images also seem to have been adopted by Jainism, particularly by the lay-devotees, as they are mentioned in a Jaina work on architecture and sculpture of the end of the fourteenth century. This is shown by a number of images kept in different Museums which, besides having all the characteristics of Hindu images, possess others which betray Jaina influence.

When did image worship come into Jainism is rather difficult to say precisely but not impossible to determine in broad lines. Should we believe in recorded tradition of an inscription, we get an actual evidence to prove that images existed among the Jainas as early as the time of the Śiśunāga or the Nanda kings, i.e. some years after the birth of Mahāvīra. Mention is made in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of king Khāravela of the recovery and reinstallation of an image of Śrī Ṛṣabhadeva removed from the country about 300 years previously. By the time Pārśva and Mahāvīra flourished, Brāhmaṇic art was in full swing and had a much earlier history of iconolatry. In all likelihood, this was immediately taken up by the new founders and adherents of Jainism, who necessitated the aid of image worship in their ritualistic phase of religion. Kauṭilya, the author of *Arthaśāstra*, mentions the image of Jaina gods, viz., Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Aparājitā etc. The existence would naturally go to the fourth century B. C. Concrete archaeological finds have been discovered at Mathurā, which prove beyond all doubts that temples of images were made as early as 600 B. C. We have images of Āryavatī, dated in the forty-second year of the Satrap Soḍāsa, and *Āyāgapaṭa* with an inscription of which the character is in form anterior to the alphabet used by the Kuṣāṇa Kings and may be considered as earlier than the Christian era.

THE TĪRTHAṄKARAS

In the Jaina pantheon the principal cult image was that of a Jina (Plate 1) and though all the other deities formed part of the daily worship (*nityakarmavidhi*) they were there to ensure internal and external purity of the place of worship. They were regarded as attendant deities (*parivāradevatās*).

The traditional number the Jainas give for their Tīrthaṅkaras is twenty-four. The historicity of all these twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras cannot be proved for many reasons. Canonically, the same number is given by the Buddhists and Hindus for

their respective incarnations. Secondly, the Jainas attributed their Tīrthaṅkaras with the mythically high age, and if we believe the assigned period, it would cover many millenniums and exceed all anterior limits of the Vedic age in India.

The first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha about whom recorded traditions are so varied and old images are so many that one finds it rather difficult to disavow his historical existence. The intervening ages of the Jainas are, of course, appalling and cannot be accepted as true.

The images in a Jaina temple are arranged in order of precedence. There is one *Mūla nāyaka*, he may be either Ṛṣabhanātha, Supārśvanātha, Pārśvanātha or Mahāvīra, surrounded by other Jinas who hold a less dignified position of the temple in a place sanctified by him. Jaina images of Tīrthaṅkaras must have a *Śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest of the figure, a trilinear umbrella above the figure and except the early Mathurā statues, have a *lāñchana* or symbol which not only distinguishes them from other images but differentiates them from each other. The *Kalpasūtra,* a very early text of the Jaina canon, gives a list of all the twenty-four *lāñchanas* for the twenty-four Jinas. Another feature of the Jina icon is the presence of Gaṇadharas just to the right and left of the main figure. Jaina texts especially of iconography mention them as attendants of a Tīrthaṅkara. In actual images Jinas are shown as ascetics draped or sometimes naked in two yogic postures of *Padmāsana* and *Kāyotsarga.*

Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha: The *Ādipurāṇa* of the Digambaras, *Kalpasūtra* and Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* of the Śvetāmbaras, regarded Ṛṣabhanātha (Plates 2, 3) or Vṛṣabhanātha as the founder of the religion. The *Jainapurāṇas* and ritualistic texts did not specially describe the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras. On the other hand the entire Jaina literature, when traced, is very informative with regard to the iconography of the attendant figures of the Jainas as well as the other divinities. From the categorical list of the *lāñchanas* or emblems of the Jinas given in the *Pravacanasāroddhāra* we are informed that Ṛṣabhanātha's cognizance is a bull. Over and above this symbol he has also the symbol of Dharmacakra. All the Jinas have certain special traces under which they attained *Kaivalya Jñāna* or Perfect Knowledge. The tree connected with the first Jina is *Nyagrodha* or the Indian Banyan tree. Other iconographic marks of Ṛṣabhanātha are his Yakṣa named Gomukha and Yakṣiṇī Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā. The texts give two worshippers on either sides of Ṛṣabhadeva, viz., Bharata and Bāhubatī.

The explanation of the bull symbol of Ṛṣabhanātha is clear from the origin of his name. His mother, like the mothers of all the Tīrthaṅkaras, saw certain dreams about a bull. Hence the name of the Jina as Vṛṣabhanātha or

Ṛṣabhanātha and the symbol of bull are invariably connected with his representation. The symbol of his Yakṣa Gomukha having a bull's face has a definite connection with the same origin. The Yakṣiṇī of this Jina named Cakreśvarī looks like the Vaiṣṇavī, the wife of Brāhmaṇic Viṣṇu.

Ajitanātha Saptaparṇa: Triṣaṣṭiśalākā and *Uttarapurāṇa* of the Jainas give this Jina the symbol of an elephant (*gaja*) and the *Kevala Vṛkṣa* which are being connected with his images. His particular Yakṣa is called Mahāyakṣa and his Yakṣiṇī Ajitabalā. The Jaina canonical texts describe him as standing with two arms hanging on the sides, technically the posture is known as *Khaḍgāsana*. His *cowrī* bearer is known as Sagaracakrī. The origin of his name and symbolism can be traced from the *Uttarapurāṇa*. The Jina's mother saw an elephant in her dream. After his birth all his father's enemies were conquered, hence the name the 'invincible one'. All the facts and ideas connected with the life and teaching of this Jina points to the idea of invincibility. His elephant emblem, and the warlike symbol held by his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī i.e. spear, goad, club, noose etc. eminently express the idea of temporal conquest. On the other hand, the symbols of rosary, *Varadamudrā* and *Abhayamudrā* shown by the Yakṣa and the Yakṣiṇī indicates the idea of spiritual conquest.

In sculpture, the images of Ajitanātha fully conform to the above description. Two noteworthy images of Ajita are from Deogarh fort, Jhansi and Sarnath, Varanasi. In both the cases the main figure is standing in *Khaḍgāsana* posture, attended by two *cowrī* bearers and two devotees. The emblem of elephant is shown under the seat of the Jina and the Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī occupy the two corners of the pedestal.

Sambhavanātha: The Jaina literatures give Sambhavanātha (Plate 4) the symbol of a horse, his Yakṣa is *Trimukha*, the Yakṣiṇī being Duritārī Devī. The tree under which he attained *Kevala Jñāna*, is the *Śāla* tree. His *cowrī* bearer is called Satyavīrya. Jaina literature relates that his father was a king named Dṛḍharāja and his mother was called Suṣeṇā. His birthplace was Śrāvastī. King Dṛḍharāja was distressed because his dominion was ravaged by plague, but when he heard the news of the boy's birth, he felt that there was a chance of better time, and named the boy Sambhava. His Yakṣa's emblem of a mongoose (Sarvatobhadra) and the Yakṣiṇī's symbols of *Varada* and *Abhayamudrā* and fruit, all show the auspiciousness of good chance.

Sculptures of Sambhavanātha is not very commonly met with. One inscribed image is found from Khajuraho.

Abhinandananātha: The emblem or so-called *lāñchana* of Abhinandananātha is an ape (Plate 5). The tree connected with his *Kevala*

Knowledge is either *Piyāla* or *Veśāli* according to different texts. The name of his Yakṣa, appointed by Indra was Īśvara and his Yakṣiṇī was Kālī. In sculptures he is shown as standing in *Khaḍgāsana* posture. According to Jaina tradition Abhinandananātha's birthplace was Ayodhyā. His father's name is King Svayamvara and mother's name Siddhārthā. The explanation of his name is given clearly in the Jaina books. According to these he acquired the name of Abhinandana because he used to be honoured by Indra and others. The sculptures of this Jina is very rare in India.

Sumatinātha: Jaina literature associated Sumatinātha with the symbol of a *Krauñca* or a red goose. The *Kevala* tree in his case is *Priyaṁgu*. His Yakṣa is Tumbaru and Yakṣiṇī Mahākālī. His *cowrī* bearer is called Mitravīrya. Jaina traditional history describes Ayodhyā as Sumatinātha's native place. His father is called Megharatha and mother Maṅgalā.

Extant images of Sumatinātha agree with the rules of iconography. Besides the fundamental marks, his sculptures contain flying figures of garland bearers and sometimes miniature figures of other Jinas which with the main figure complete the number of twenty-four. The lion seat is borne by a pair of lions and two elephants are often seen either pouring water or merely standing at the top of the main figure. A *cakra* or wheel is represented on the pedestal. Images of Sumatinātha are found in many places of Northern India.

Padmaprabha: The Jaina literature assigns a red lotus as the recognition symbol of Padmaprabha. His *Kevala* tree is called *Chatrābha*. His Yakṣa is Kusuma and Yakṣiṇī Śyāma and the *cowrī* bearer is known by the name Yamadyuti. According to the *Jainapurāṇas* of both the sects, his native place was Kauśāmbi. His father's name was Susīma. Two interpretations of his name are given that his colour was of a red lotus, hence the name and secondly when he was in the womb of his mother she expressed the desire to sleep upon a bed of red lotuses, which was fulfilled.

The sculptures of Padmaprabha are very rare, but when seen in the light of iconography tally with the above description.

Supārśvanātha: According to the Jaina canon the emblem of Supārśvanātha is a *svastikā*. Jaina literature also gives him additional symbol of a serpent hood, the number of which according to *Sattvasāroddhāra* should be either one, five or nine. His *Kevala* tree is *Śirīṣa*. Śvetāmbara texts give the name of his Yakṣa Mātaṅga and Yakṣiṇī Śānti. Digambaras give the names Varanandī and Kālī. The name of his *cowrī* bearer is Dharmavīrya. *Jainapurāṇas* record his father's name as King Supratiṣṭha and mother as Pṛthivī. His birthplace was Kāśī. His name has a historical meaning. His mother was

suffering from leprosy in both her sides and before his birth she was completely cured.

The sculptural representation of this Jina fulfils the condition laid down by the canons. He is either seen in a group or single. The most important point regarding Supārśvanātha's image is the five-fold serpent hood as distinguished from the usual seven-fold serpent hood of Pārśvanātha.

Candraprabha: His *lāñchana* is the moon or the crescent (Plate 6). The *Kevala* tree of this Jina is *Nāga* or *Nāgakeśara*. His Yakṣa is Vijaya and Yakṣiṇī Bhrūkuṭi and the name of his *cowrī* bearer is Danavirya. Literally he was called Candraprabha because he had the lustre of the moon.

In sculpture, he is represented as either seated or standing. We have come across several images of Candraprabha from Northern India.

Suvidhinātha: He has two names Suvidhinātha (Plate 7) and Puṣpadanta. Some Jaina traditions say that his emblem is a *Makara* and others say that it is a crab (*Karkaṭa*). His Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī are Ajita and Sutāri respectively. His *Kevala* tree is the *Nāga* and the name of his *cowrī* bearer is Maghavatarāja and according to other authorities it is Malli. His father was Sugrīva the ruler of Kakandīnagara and mother was named Rāmā.

Separate sculpture of this Jina is not known but he appears with the other twenty-three Tīrthaṅkaras.

Śītalanātha: The Digambaras regard the *Aśvattha* as his emblem, the Śvetāmbaras *Śrīvatsa* for the same. He was born in a *kṣatriya* family of Malaya Kingdom. His parents' names were king Dṛḍharatha and queen Sunandā respectively. His *Kevala* tree is *Vilva*. The Jaina texts assigned to him the Yakṣa named Brahmā and Yakṣiṇī named Aśokā. His birthplace is named Bhadrikapura and his *cowrī* bearer was Rājā Sīmandhara.

A separate specimen of Śītalanātha's image has not been discovered so far.

Śreyāṁśanātha: The Jaina texts give him the symbol of a rhinoceros. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī are Yakṣeta and Mānavī and Digambaras give the names Īśvara and Gaurī respectively. His *Kevala* tree is *Tumbara* or *Tiṇḍaka* and Rājā Tripiṣṭa Vāsudeva is his *cowrī* bearer. The *Jainapurāṇas* record that his father was a *kṣatriya* prince of Ikṣvāku clan named Viṣṇu and his mother was called Viṣṇudrī. He was born at Siṁhapurī, the present Sarnath.

The sculptures of Śreyāṁśanātha closely accord with the above iconographic details. At Sarnath, in Varanasi, the traditional place of the Jina, there is a temple dedicated to him.

Vāsupujya: A buffalo is associated with Vāsupūjya as his emblem. His Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī are known by the names Kumāra and Caṇḍā respectively.

According to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* his *Kevala* tree is *Pāṭalika* and according to *Uttarapurāṇa* the tree is *Kadamba*. King Darpiṣṭa Vāsudeva is his *cowrī* bearer. From Jaina sources we gather that his father named Vāsupūjya was a *kṣatriya* king of Ikṣvāku clan and his mother was called Jayāvatī. His birthplace was Campāpurī.

Separate figure of Vāsupūjya has only been found from Northern India which tallies with the above description.

Vimalanātha: The Jaina canonical treatises attribute to Vimalanātha, the *lāñchana* of a boar. The names of his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī are Ṣaṇmukha and Vairoṭi respectively. His *Kevala* tree is *Jambu* and his *cowrī* bearer is king Svayambhū Vāsudeva. As for his parentage, his father's name is Kṛtavarman and mother's name is Suramyā. His birthplace is Kāmpilya, the Southern capital of Pāñcāla.

Anantanātha: According to the Śvetāmbaras, a hawk is a special symbol of Anantanātha and the Digambaras give him the bear as a symbol. The Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī connected with him are Pātāla and Anantamatī respectively. The tree associated with his enlightenment is *Aśvattha* and his *cowrī* bearer is king Puruṣottama Vāsudeva. According to the *Jainapurāṇas* his father was a *kṣatriya* king named Siṁhasena and his mother was Jayaśyāmā. Anantanātha's birthplace was Ayodhyā.

Dharmanātha: His recognition symbol is *Vajradaṇḍa*. His attendant Yakṣa couple are named Kinnara and Kandarpā respectively. His *Kevala* tree is called *Dadhiparṇa* or *Saptacchada*. His *cowrī* bearer is Puṇḍarīka Vāsudeva. Jaina tradition gives his father's name Bhānurāja and mother's Suvratā. His birthplace is Ratnapura.

The sculptures of Dharmanātha, so far known, correspond with the above description.

Śāntinātha: The special emblem of Śāntinātha is a deer (Plate 8). The Digambara tradition gives the names of his Yakṣa couple as Kimpuruṣa and Mahāmānasī and Śvetāmbaras give the names Garuḍa and Nirvāṇī respectively. His *Kevala* tree is *Nandī Vṛkṣa* and Rājā Puruṣadatta stands for his *cowrī* bearer. Regarding his parentage, Jaina texts record that King Viśvasena was his father and Acirā was his mother. His birthplace was Hastināpur.

Sculptures of Śāntinātha correspond with the iconographic features given above. In sculpture we notice his emblem a pair of antilopes between a wheel.

Kuṇthanātha: Jaina tradition connected the symbol of a goat with this Tīrthaṅkara. His Yakṣa is Gandharva and Yakṣiṇī Balā. The tree under which

he attained *Kevala* is a *Tilaka Taru*. His *cowrī* bearer is called King Kuṇāla. *Jainapurāṇas* give the names of his parents. His father was variously called according to different texts, Śūrasena, Sūrya, Śivarāja and his mother Śrīkāntā or Śrīdevī. His father belonged to the Kuru race and his capital was Hastināpur where the Jina was born.

Aranātha: He carries with him the mystic symbol of Nandyāvarta or a fish. His attendant Yakṣa is called Yakṣendra and the Yakṣiṇī named Dharaṇī Devī. His *Kevala* tree is *Cūta* or mango tree. His *cowrī* bearer is Govindarāja. Aranātha's father was a *kṣatriya* prince named Sudarśana and his mother was queen Mitrasenā. He was born at his father's capital Hastināpur.

Images of Aranātha discovered from Northern India meet the conditions of iconographic marks mentioned above.

Mallinātha: Jaina traditions assign Mallinātha with the emblem of a water jug. His attendant Yakṣa couple are Kubera and Dharaṇapriyā. His *Kevala* tree is *Aśoka* and his *cowrī* bearer is Rājā Sulumā. His father was the king of Mithila in Vaṅga and his name was Kumbha and his queen was called Prajāvatī. Śvetāmbara sect claims Mallinātha to be a woman. But the sculptures and the name ending with nātha are not in favour of this tradition. Separate sculptures of Mallinātha materially verify the descriptions given above.

Munisuvrata: His special recognition symbol is a tortoise. The attendant Yakṣa of Munisuvrata is Varuṇa and his Yakṣiṇī is Naradattā. His *cowrī* bearer is King Ajita and the sacred tree associated with his *Kevala* Knowledge is *Campaka*. His father was the king of Magadha named Sumitra and his mother had the name of Somā and Padmāvatī according to some texts. His dynasty is called the Harivaṁśa and the capital is Rājagṛha.

The sculptures hitherto discovered of this Jina show unmistakably the symbols etc. as described above.

Naminātha: The emblem of a blue lotus or an Aśoka tree is associated with this Jina. According to the Digambara sect Bhrūkuṭi and Gāndhārī are his respective Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī. His *Kevala* tree is *Bakula* and his *cowrī* bearer is Vijaya Rājā. The Jaina *Uttarapurāṇa* tells us that his father was a *kṣatriya* king of Mithilā in the land of Bengal and the name of the queen was Vappilā or Vaprā.

Neminātha: From the Jaina canonical texts his emblem is known to be a conch shell (Plate 9). His *Śāsana Devatās* are Yakṣa Gomedha and Yakṣiṇī Ambikā (Plate 10). His *Kevala* tree is called *Mahāveṇu* or *Vetasa* and his *cowrī* bearer is King Ugrasena. The Jina's parentage has a historical background according to the Jainas. His father Samudravijaya was the king of

Saurīpurī or Dvārakā. Neminātha's mother's name was Śivadevī. His race is known as Harivaṁśa and the interesting point in this connection is that Neminātha was a cousin of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva.

Neminātha's sculptural representation agrees with what is prescribed in iconographical canons.

Pārśvanātha: He was one of the greatest Tīrthaṅkaras of Jainism (Plate 11). His historicity is unquestioned and his date is almost precisely known, and his influence on the Jaina religion is of leading importance. From all sources it is gathered that his recognition symbol is a snake. His Yakṣa is called Pārśva or Vāmana or Dharaṇendra and Yakṣiṇī is called Padmāvatī (Plate 12). The *Devadāru* or *Dhātakir* is his *Kevala* tree and Ajitarāja is his *cowrī* bearer. Pārśvanātha's personal and family history is known from the *Jainapurāṇas* and *caritas*. He was probably born about 817 and died about 717 B.C. His father Aśvasena was the king of Varanasi and his mother's name was Vāmā or Brahmā. Pārśva was a brave warrior and married the daughter of Kośala king Prasenjit. But he left his family at the age of 30 to follow the life of an ascetic.

His sculptures are equal in number with those of Mahāvīra abundantly found in ancient places of Northern India. In sculpture several coils of the snake, which flank him, are to be noticed. Pārśva's Yakṣa carries a snake. The Yakṣiṇī also has the cobra as her vehicle.

Mahāvīra: Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth or the last Jina, is the greatest of all the Tīrthaṅkaras (Plate 13). His recognition symbol is a lion. His attendant Yakṣa couple are respectively known as Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā. His *Kevala* tree is called *Śāla* and his *cowrī* bearer is Magadhan king Śreṇika or better known as Bimbisāra. Regarding his life history, the Jaina books such as the *Kalpasūtra*, *Uttarapurāṇa*, *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*, *Vardhamāna caritra* give us abundant materials about his parental history. He was born of a royal family of Videha. His father Siddhārtha was the ruling prince of Kuṇḍapura. His mother is known by the name Triśalā. The auspicious legend connected with his birth is that the Tīrthaṅkara was actually born of Devanandā of the family of Jālandhara, wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, a Brāhmaṇa. Indra finding that a Jina should take his birth according to tradition, in a *kṣatriya* family, transferred the foetus through his general Harinegameṣī to the womb of Triśalā, a *kṣatriya* lady of royal family. The child Vardhamāna showed early signs of being destined to be a prophet.

A great number of statues of all sizes have been found in all Jaina places of Northern and Southern India. The complete images show in detail an accord to the description furnished above. Seated and standing figures have been met

with, which range in size from a miniature to a colossus. In most cases, the image is represented as seated rather than standing (Plate 14) in which posture other Tīrthaṅkaras usually appear in sculptures.

YAKSAS: *ŚĀSANA DEVATĀS*

When the Yakṣas (known as *Śāsana Devatās*) and their spouse Yakṣiṇīs (*Śāsanadevīs*) appeared in the Jaina pantheon is very difficult to determine. The Yakṣas as a class had existed in popular belief and in literary tradition of the Hindus much earlier than the rise of both Buddhism and Jainism. The Yakṣas are, in Indian tradition, regarded as the presiding spirits over wealth and therefore it is apparent that the Jainas who represent a mercantile class specially endeared themselves to this cult.

According to the Jaina belief Indra appoints one Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī to serve as attendants of each Tīrthaṅkara. The Yakṣa would be on his right side and Yakṣiṇī on his left. Thus, they also came to be called *Śāsana Devatā/Devī* or attendant spirits. Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā* states that a Yakṣa originates from the particular religious spirit of a Jina. Yakṣa and the Yakṣiṇī occupy the corner of the pedestal on which the Tīrthaṅkara figure is seated. In later development, the Yakṣa cult obtained greater veneration among the Jainas, hence we find detached independent images of the Yakṣas from different parts of India.

Gomukha: As first in order of the Yakṣas, Gomukha is attached to Ṛṣabhanātha. In respect of his attributes Jaina literatures of both the branches generally agree. Gomukha is bull faced and holds in his left hand *varadamudrā* and a rosary. His *vāhana* is an ox according to some texts and an elephant according to others. He is of golden colour. The Digambara books assign a *Dharmacakra* symbol to his head. Images of Gomukha are found in two types, one individually represented and larger in size and another miniature in form and as attendant of the image of Ādinātha. In sculpture the iconographic rule is not strictly followed.

Mahāyakṣa: Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts describe Mahāyakṣa as riding an elephant and having four faces and eight hands. The Śvetāmbara texts enumerate the weapons held by Mahāyakṣa as *varada*, club, rosary and noose in the right hands and citrus, *abhaya*, goad and Śakti in the left. His colour is green. The Digambaras give the list of weapons as disc, trident, lotus, goad for the left hands and sword, staff, axe and *varadamudrā* for the right hands. According to them his colour is golden.

Trimukha: Sambhavanātha's attendant disciple Trimukha is described by both the branches of Jaina religion as having three faces and six hands. He rides

on a peacock. According to the Śvetāmbara texts he holds a mongoose, club and *abhayamudrā* in his right hands and a citrus, garland and rosary in the left. Digambara texts give the following attributes for his six arms—a disc, sword, Śṛṇi, staff, trident and a dagger.

Yakṣeśvara: He is the attendant spirit of Abhinandana. His *vāhana* is an elephant. According to the Śvetāmbara canon he holds in his right hands a citrus and a rosary and in his left hands a mongoose and a goad. According to the other view, he has a bow, shield and a sword.

Tumbaru: He is the attendant spirit of Sumatinātha. Both the Jaina sects assign him with a Garuḍa *vāhana*. Śvetāmbara iconography gives him the attributes of *varada*, Śakti, club and noose while Digambaras assign him with two snakes, fruit and *varada*. They also give him a snake *yajñopavīta*.

Kusuma or Puṣpa Yakṣa: According to the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras his characteristic symbol is an antelope. Regarding his attributes, Śvetāmbaras describe him as having four hands and fruit, *abhaya*, rosary and *abhaya* held in them. Digambaras describe the Yakṣa as having a lance, *varadamudrā*, shield and *abhayamudrā* in his four hands.

Mātaṅga or Varanandī: Śvetāmbaras prescribe an elephant for his *vāhana* and the Digambaras assign him with a lion. Śvetāmbaras describe him as having *Vilva* fruit, noose, mongoose and a goad in his four hands. The other sect enumerates the same as having staff, spear, *svastikā* and a flag in his four hands. *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* of the Digambaras describes him as having two hands and a crooked face.

Vijaya or Śyāma Yakṣa: He has, in the Digambara version, three eyes. He holds fruit, rosary, axe and the *varadamudrā* in his hands. Śvetāmbaras represent him with three eyes, a swan as his vehicle and two hands holding a disc and a club. He is known to them by the name of Vijaya.

Ajita Yakṣa: Both the Jaina sects assign him with a tortoise *vāhana*. According to the Śvetāmbaras Ajita Yakṣa holds citrus, rosary, mongoose and spear in his hands. Digambaras describe him as holding Śakti, *varada-mudrā*, fruit and a rosary.

Brahma Yakṣa: He has four faces, three eyes and eight hands. He sits on a lotus seat. The Śvetāmbara Brahma Yakṣa bears a citrus, club, noose, *abhaya*, mongoose, mace, goad and rosary in his eight hands. The Digambara variants are: a bow, staff, shield, sword, *varadamudrā* etc.

Īśvara Yakṣa: Both the sects assign this attendant spirit of Śreyāṁśanātha, a bull vehicle, three eyes and four hands. Digambaras place on his hands the attributes of a trident, staff, rosary and a fruit. The Śvetāmbara icon of the same Yakṣa holds a mongoose, rosary, staff and a fruit.

Kumāra: Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras both the sects attribute him with a swan *vāhana* and white complexion. Śvetāmbaras describe him as having four hands holding citrus, arrow, mongoose and a bow. The Digambara view makes him three headed and six armed and wielding *mātuluṅga*, bow, fruit, club and *varadamudrā*.

Caturmukha or Ṣaṇmukha Yakṣa: He is known by the name of Caturmukha to the Digambaras and Ṣaṇmukha to the Śvetāmbaras. Both the sects assign to him a peacock vehicle. According to the *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha* Caturmukha has twelve arms and *Mandirapratiṣṭhāvidhāna* describes him as having eight arms holding an axe, *kaukṣeyaka, akṣamaṇi, kheṭaka*, staff etc. Ṣaṇmukha has twelve hands holding a fruit, disc, arrow, sword, noose, rosary, mongoose, discus, bond, fruit, goad and *abhayamudrā*.

Pātāla Yakṣa: Śvetāmbara and Digambara literatures describe Pātāla Yakṣa as having three faces, six arms and the vehicle of a dolphin (*makara*). Digambara texts assign this Yakṣa with a three-hooded snake canopy, and his attributes are a goad, spear, bow, rope, plough and fruit. Śvetāmbaras represent his hands as holding lotus, sword, noose, mongoose, fruit and a rosary.

Kinnara Yakṣa: Jaina literature of both the schools describes this Yakṣa as having three faces and six arms. Śvetāmbaras assign a tortoise as his *vāhana*, and the attributes held in his hands are a citrus, mace, *abhaya*, mongoose, lotus and a rosary. Digambaras on the contrary describe the attributes as a disc, *vajra*, goad, club, rosary and *varadamudrā*. They assign a fish as his *vāhana*.

Garuḍa Yakṣa: Pravacanasāroddhāra assigns an elephant as the *vāhana* of Garuḍa Yakṣa and Hemacandra in his *Śāntināthacarita* describes Garuḍa Yakṣa as riding a boar. Śvetāmbaras depicted this Yakṣa as holding a citrus, lotus, mongoose and a rosary in his four hands. The other sect describes him as holding lotus, fruit, *vajra* and a discus.

Gandharva Yakṣa: The Digambaras describe this Yakṣa as holding a. snake, noose, bow etc. in his four hands, and has a bird as his *vāhana*. The Śvetāmbara representation shows a swan as his *vāhana* and the attributes held in his hands are *varadamudrā*, noose, citrus and goad.

Khendra or Yakṣendra: Both the sects of Jainism conceive this Yakṣa as having six heads and twelve arms. Hemacandra of Śvetāmbara sect describes this Yakṣa with the vehicle of a conch shell and adorns his arms with a citrus, arrow, sword, club, noose, *abhaya*, mongoose, bow, fruit, spear, goad and rosary.

Pravacanasāroddhāra of the same sect gives him a peacock *vāhana*. Digambaras call this Yakṣa as Khendra. They describe him as bearing in his

twelve hands a bow, thunderbolt, noose, club, goad, *varada*, arrow, fruit, garland, etc.

Kubera (Plate 15): The iconographic marks of this Yakṣa is common to both the schools of Jainism. He is eight handed, four faced and has the colour of rainbow. He has an elephant as his *vāhana*. The attributes of the Śvetāmbara Kubera Yakṣa are a *varada*, axe, spear, *abhaya*, citrus, Śakti, club and rosary. The Digambara image has the attributes of a shield, bow, staff, lotus, sword, axe, noose and *varadamudrā*.

Varuṇa: The Śvetāmbaras represent this Yakṣa as having three eyes, crowned with matted hair and riding a bull. He has eight heads and eight hands holding citrus, mace, arrow, spear, mongoose, lotus, bow and axe. The Digambaras agree with the iconographic details of this Yakṣa as given by the Śvetāmbaras excepting the number of hands and the attributes held in them. They represent the Yakṣa as having four hands holding shield, sword, fruit and *varadamudrā*.

Bhrūkuṭi: Both the sects of Jainism describe this Yakṣa as having four faces, eight hands and a bull as the *vāhana*. The Digambaras give the following attributes to his hands—shield, sword, bow, arrow, goad, lotus, disc and *varada*. The other sect describes them as citrus, spear, mace, *abhaya*, mongoose, axe, thunderbolt and rosary.

Gomedha or Gomeda: He is the attendant Yakṣa of Aśiṣṭanemi or Neminātha. Both the sects describe him as having three faces, six hands and the vehicle of a man (*naravāhana*). Śvetāmbara texts prescribe for his hands a citrus, axe, disc, mongoose, trident and Śakti while the Digambara texts give him the attributes as a hammer, axe, staff, fruit, *vajra* and *varadamudrā*.

Pārśva or Dharaṇendra: This Yakṣa of Pārśvanātha is one of the most important amongst the members of his class. Both the sects have the common point of having his images with snake attribute, snake-hood and a tortoise as *vāhana*. Śvetāmbara books make him appear with four hands holding *vījapūraka*, snake, citrus and again a snake. The Digambaras, in turn, give his hands snake, noose and *varadamudrā*.

Mātaṅga Yakṣa: He is the attendant spirit of Mahāvīra. The two sects more or less agree regarding the matter of his iconographic descriptions. Both the sects describe him as having two hands and riding an elephant. The Śvetāmbara school gives a mongoose and a citrus as his attributes while the Digambaras make them *varadamudrā* and a citrus. They also add a *dharmacakra* symbol for his head.

YAKṢIṆĪS: ŚĀSANADEVĪS

The Yakṣiṇīs are the female attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras, being the leaders of the women converts. They are also endowed with semidivine attributes. The character of these Yakṣiṇīs or *Śāsanadevīs* symbolism was carefully taken into account by the sculptors as they represented them in images.

Cakreśvarī: The two sects of Jainism describe this Yakṣiṇī as holding a disc and riding a Garuḍa (Plate 16). The Śvetāmbara image has eight hands which hold *varadamudrā*, arrow, disc, noose, bow, thunderbolt, disc and goad. The Digambara image on the other hand is represented as having either twelve hands or four hands. In case of twelve hands she holds eight discs, citrus, *varadamudrā*, and two *vajras*. The four-handed figure holds two discs.

Ajitā or Rohiṇī: Most of the Śvetāmbara texts in agreement with the Digambaras give this Yakṣiṇī an iron seat or *lohāsana*. But Śvetāmbara text *Ācāradinakara* makes her vehicle a bull. Śvetāmbaras give her the attributes of *varadamudrā*, noose, citron and goad and Digambara texts furnish her hands differently with *varada*, *abhaya*, conch and disc.

Duritārī or Prajñapti: The first name belongs to the Śvetāmbara representation, who rides a ram and holds in her four hands *varada*, rosary, fruit and *abhaya*. The Digambara Prajñapti places herself upon a bird and has six hands. She holds an axe, crescent, fruit, sword and *varadamudrā*.

Vajraśṛṁkhalā or Kālī: Digambaras represent this Yakṣiṇī Vajraśṛṁkhalā of Abhinandana as riding on a swan and holding a snake, noose, rosary and fruit in her four hands. The Śvetāmbara variant of the same Yakṣiṇī named Kālī is described as seated on a lotus and holding in her four hands *varadamudrā*, noose, snake and goad.

Mahākālī or Puruṣadattā: Mahākālī of the Śvetāmbaras is shown seated on a lotus and holding *varada*, noose, citrus and goad in her four hands. Puruṣadattā in her Digambara aspect rides an elephant and holds in her hands a disc, *vajra*, fruit and *varadamudrā*.

Acyutā or Śyāmā, Manovegā: Śvetāmbaras describe this Yakṣiṇī of Padmaprabha as Acyutā or Śyāmā and to the Digambaras, she is Manovegā. Śvetāmbara images are represented as riding a man (*Naravāhanā*) and holding in her four hands *varada*, vīṇā, bow and *abhaya*. The Digambara Yakṣiṇī has a horse as her vehicle and holds a sword, lance, fruit and *varadamudrā*.

Śāntā or Kālī: The Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Śāntā is shown riding an elephant and holding *varada*, rosary, lance and *abhayamudrā* in her four hands. The Digambaras on the other hand describe her as seated on a bull and carrying in her hands a trident, fruit and a bell.

Bhrūkuṭi or Jvālāmālinī: The Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Bhrūkuṭi's *vāhana* is a cat or swan and her hands are adorned with a sword, club, spear and an axe. The Digambara *Śāsanadevī* Jvālāmālinī has a buffalo as her *vāhana* and holds in her hands disc, arrow, noose, shield, trident, sword, bow etc.

Sutārā or Mahākālī: Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Sutārā is described in their books as riding a bull and holding *varada*, rosary, urn and a goad in her four hands. Digambara variant of this Yakṣiṇī sits upon a tortoise and holds *vajra*, club, fruit and *varadamudrā* in her hands.

Aśokā or Mānavī: Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Aśokā is described as seated on a lotus and holding *varada*, noose, fruit and goad in her hands. The Digambara texts describe Mānavī as riding a hog and holding the attributes fruit, *varada*, bow etc in her hands.

Gaurī or Mānavī: The Digambara representation of the Yakṣiṇī Gaurī rides an antelope and bears a club, lotus, urn and *varadamudrā* in her hands. The Śvetāmbara variant of this Yakṣiṇī in the name of Mānavī or Śrīvatsādevī is described as riding a lion and holding *varadamudrā*, club, urn and goad in her four hands.

Caṇḍā or Gāndhārī: This Yakṣiṇī Caṇḍā or Pracaṇḍā of the Śvetāmbara sect rides a horse and carries the symbols of *varada*, spear, flower and club in her hands. The Digambaras assign this Yakṣiṇī a tortoise *vāhana* and a club, two lotuses and *varadamudrā* as her attributes.

Viditā or Vijayā, Vairoṭi: The Śvetāmbaras know this Yakṣiṇī as Viditā or Vijayā and represented her as seated on a lotus and holding arrow, noose, bow and snake in her hands. Digambara Vairoṭi appears in representation as riding on a snake and bearing in her hands two snakes, bow and arrow.

Aṅkuśā or Anantamālī: Yakṣiṇī Aṅkuśā of the Śvetāmbaras is shown seated on a lotus and holding a sword, noose, spear and a goad in her four hands. The Digambaras, to whom this Yakṣiṇī is known as Anantamālī, describe her as having a swan *vāhana* and holding in her hands a bow, arrow, fruit and *varadamudrā.*

Kandarpā (Paṇṇagadevī) or Mānasī: Śvetāmbara books describe her riding a horse or a fish and her four hands wields two lotuses, goad and *abhayamudrā*. Digambara Yakṣiṇī Mānasī rides a tiger and holds in her six hands a lotus, bow, *varada*, goad, arrow and lotus.

Nirvāṇī or Mahāmānasī: Nirvāṇī in Śvetāmbara accounts is represented as seated on a lotus. Her four hands hold the attributes as follows—a book, lotus, *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus bud. The Digambara books supply the description of Mahāmānasī as having a peacock *vāhana* and the attributes held in her hands are a disc, fruit, sword and *varadamudrā.*

Balā (Acyutā) or Vijayā: Yakṣiṇī Balā or Acyutā is described in the Śvetāmbara canonical texts as riding a peacock and having four hands holding the attributes of a citron, spear, *bhuṣuṇḍi* and a lotus respectively. The Digambara counterpart Vijayā Yakṣiṇī has a black boar as her *vāhana* and conch, sword, disc and *varadamudrā* as her attributes.

Dharaṇī or Tārā: The Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Dharaṇī is described as seated on a lotus, and her four hands hold citrus, two lotuses and a rosary. Digambara Yakṣiṇī Tārā appears as riding on a swan and holding a snake, *vajra*, deer and *varadamudrā*.

Vairoṭi or Aparājitā: According to the Śvetāmbara school Yakṣiṇī Vairoṭi should be represented as seated on a lotus, and carrying *varadamudrā*, rosary, citrus and *śakti* in her hands. Aparājitā, the Digambara counterpart, is represented in their texts as riding a lion and holding a citrus, sword, shield and *varadamudrā*.

Naradattā or Bahurūpiṇī: Naradattā is described in the Śvetāmbara literature as seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture, showing four hands holding *varadamudrā*, rosary, citron and trident or urn. The Digambara Yakṣiṇī rides a black snake and holds a shield, fruit, sword and *varadamudrā* in her four hands.

Gāndhārī or Cāmuṇḍā: The Śvetāmbara Yakṣiṇī Gāndhārī is described as riding a swan and holding *varadamudrā*, sword, citron and spear in her four hands. The Digambara Yakṣiṇī Cāmuṇḍā rides a dolphin (*makara*) and holds rosary, staff, shield and sword in her four hands.

Ambikā (*Kuṣmaṇḍī*) *or Āmrā* (Plate 17): This Yakṣiṇī of Neminātha has the Śvetāmbara description of a goddess riding a lion and carrying a bunch of mangoes, noose, a child and goad in her four hands. The Digambara Yakṣiṇī Āmrā also rides a lion and has two hands. She carries a bunch of mangoes and a child in her hands.

Padmāvatī: The name of this Yakṣiṇī is common to both the sects. Śvetāmbara Padmāvatī has a snake and cock as her *vāhana* and she holds lotus, noose, fruit and goad in her four hands. The Digambara Padmāvatī is described to be of four types according to the number of her hands. Some texts give her a snake and cock as her vehicle, others give her a lotus seat. The four handed figure is described as holding a goad, rosary, and two lotuses. The attributes of the six handed type are noose, sword, spear, crescent, club and staff. The eight handed figure should have a noose and other attributes of this Yakṣiṇī. The twenty-four handed figures hold a conch, sword, *cakra*, crescent, lotus, blue lo'us, bow, spear, noose, *kuśa* grass, *bell*, arrow, staff, shield, trident, axe, *vajra*, garland, fruit, club, leaf, stalk and *varadamudrā*.

Siddhāyikā: This Yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra according to the Śvetāmbaras should ride a lion and four hands carrying a book, *abhaya*, citrus and *vīṇā*. The Digambara counterpart of this goddess is represented as riding a lion and holding *varadamudrā* and a book in her hands.

THE DIKPĀLAS

Both the sects of Jainism made room for an important class of divinities under the designation Dikpāla like the Brāhmaṇic pantheon. They are the guardian deities of different quarters. They are also called Lokapālas and are worshipped as *Vāstu Devatās*. The iconography of the ten Dikpālas are described in the texts of both the Jaina schools.

Indra: Both the sects Śvetāmbara and Digambara regard Indra as the guardian of the eastern region. His *vāhana* is an elephant called Airāvata and *vajra* is his recognition symbol. His wife is called Śacī.

Agni: Texts of both the sects of Jainism describe Agni as riding a ram, holding a Śakti and bearing seven flames. He is the guardian of the south-eastern region and his wife is called Svāhā. One Śvetāmbara text gives him a bow and arrow while a Digambara text adds a sacrificial pot to his attributes and makes rosary as his armlet.

Yama: He is the god of death and governs the southern region. Both the schools of Jainism assign him a buffalo as his *vāhana* and a staff as his attribute. He is known to be the son of Sūrya and is accompanied by his wife called Chāyā.

Nairṛta: He is the guardian deity of the south-western region. According to the Śvetāmbara texts he rides a corpse or a goblin. He wears a tiger skin and holds a club or a sword and a bow. The Digambaras represent this god as riding a bear and holding a club.

Varuṇa: He is the guardian god of the western region. Some Śvetāmbara texts assign him the vehicle of a dolphin and others a fish. He is unanimously represented as bearing a noose and wearing the ocean (*Samudra Vāsāya*). The other sect describes him as bedecked in pearls and corals, riding a dolphin and bearing a noose.

Vāyu: All Jaina authorities assign him the deer *vāhana*. Some Śvetāmbara texts give him the attribute of a *vajra* and others give him a banner. Vāyu is the lord of the north-western quarters.

Kubera: He is the protector of the northern region. Śvetāmbara authorities hold him as the treasurer of Indra, the king of Yakṣas and he controls over Kailāsa. He rides a man and bears gems and a club. He also rides the chariot named Puṣpaka.

Īśāna: He is the guardian god of the north-eastern quarter. Śvetāmbara texts represent him as riding a bull and holding a bow and trident. He has matted hair and snakes as his ornaments. The Digambara texts agree with the above description of Īśāna, and adds the symbol of a skull along with it.

Brahmā: Dikpāla Brahmā has been given the charge of the upper regions. The Śvetāmbara texts describe him as four-headed, riding on a swan and holding a book and lotus.

Nāga: He should be represented as seated on a lotus and having a snake in his hand. He rules over Pātāla, the region of the snakes.

The Digambaras accepted only eight Dikpālas and accordingly left out Brahmā and Nāga from their descriptive list.

THE NAVAGRAHAS

The Jainas following the Brāhmaṇic tradition constituted an important class of Gods known as Jyotiṣka devas. In most of the cases the images of these planet Gods look like their originals though there are distinct characteristics by which we can recognize them as purely Jaina creations. The images of the planets used to be constructed either separately or in a group like the panel of Brāhmaṇic art representing Navagrahas (Plate 18). Jaina iconographical literature noticeably stressed the supremacy of the planets over the different quarters.

Sūrya: He is the deity of the east. Śvetāmbara texts describe him as riding on a chariot drawn by seven horses. He holds two lotuses in his two hands.

Candra: He is the master of the stars and rules over the north-western region. Śvetāmbaras describe him as driving a chariot drawn by ten white horses. He holds in his hands an urn of nectar.

Maṅgala: He is known as the son of the earth and ruler of the South. Śvetāmbara texts describe him as having four hands holding *varadamudrā*, *Śakti*, trident and club. In another form he stands upon the earth and holds a shovel.

Budha: He is known as the son of the Moon and the ruler of the North. Śvetāmbaras describe two types of Budha figure. According to one he rides a swan and holds a book in his hand. The other type rides a lion and holds sword, shield, club and *varada* in his four hands.

Bṛhaspati: He is the ruler of the north-eastern quarters. Śvetāmbara literature furnishes two different accounts. In one, the image should bear a book and ride a swan; in the other he should hold the attributes in his four hands, a rosary, staff, *kamaṇḍalu* and *varadamudrā*.

Śukra: He is known as the teacher of the demons and ruler of the south-eastern region. Śvetāmbaras assign him a snake vehicle and he holds an urn as

his symbol. The Digambara canon makes him hold a threefold thread, snake, noose and rosary.

Śani: He is the ruler of the West. Śvetāmbara canon describes him as riding a tortoise and bearing the attribute of an axe.

Rāhu: He is in charge of the south-western quarters. Śvetāmbaras describe him as the rider of a lion and bearer of an axe. The Digambara Rāhu has the symbol of a flag.

Ketu: Śvetāmbaras describe Ketu as a snake deity. He rides on a cobra and bears the attribute of a cobra. Ketu has no direction to rule over.

ŚRUTADEVĪ AND VIDYĀDEVĪ

Vidyādevīs or the goddesses of learning are sixteen in number. Besides these deities Jainas of both sects admit into their pantheon, one Śrutadevī or Sarasvatī closely resembling the Brāhmaṇical goddess of the same name. She seems to be at the head of the collective body of the sixteen devīs. The Jainas, like the Brāhmaṇas, make a special ceremony of her worship on the Śuklāpañcamī day of the Kārttika month, which they call Jñāna Pañcamī. Through the worship of Vidyādevīs the devotee gets knowledge, character, religion, mental qualities etc. Most of the names of the Vidyādevīs are in common with those of the Yakṣiṇīs, the attendant spirits of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Sarasvatī or Śrutadevī (Plate 19): Śvetāmbaras viewed this goddess as riding a swan, having four hands holding lotus, *varada*, book and a rosary. The Digambara texts give her a peacock vehicle.

Rohiṇī: The Śvetāmbaras describe her as riding a cow and holding conch, rosary, bow and arrow in her four hands. The other sect describes her as bearing the attributes of urn, conch, lotus and fruit.

Prajñapti: In her Śvetāmbara aspect she rides on a peacock and holds a lotus and a Śakti. Another text of the same sect describes her as having *varadamudrā*, Śakti, citrus and Śakti again. The Digambaras represented her as bearing a sword and a disc.

Vajraśṛṁkhalā: Śvetāmbaras describe this deity in two forms. In one form she is seated on a lotus and carries a chain and lotus in her two hands. In another form, she has four hands holding *varadamudrā*, chain, lotus and chain again and seated on a lotus. The Digambaras mention only a chain as the attribute of this deity.

Vajrāṅkuśā: Śvetāmbara texts describe her as riding an elephant and the attributes held in her hands are sword, *vajra*, shield, and spear. Some other texts describe her attributes as *varadamudrā*, *vajra*, citrus and goad.

According to the Digambaras this deity rides in an aerial car (*puṣpayāna*) and holds in her hands a goad and a lute.

Apraticakrā or Jambunadā: According to the Śvetāmbaras she rides a Garuḍa and all her four hands are armed with discs. Digambaras call her Jambunadā and describe her as riding a peacock and holding a sword and spear.

Puruṣadattā: In Śvetāmbara literature she is differently described. In one aspect she holds a sword and shield, in another she rides on a buffalo and carries in her four hands *varada*, sword, citrus and shield. The Digambara texts describe her riding a peacock and holding the symbols of *vajra* and lotus.

Kālī: Śvetāmbaras describe her two forms. She is seated on a lotus and holds either in two hands a club and *varada* or in four hands rosary, club, *vajra* and *abhaya*. Digambaras make her ride a deer and furnish her hands with a staff and a sword.

Mahākālī: Śvetāmbaras have two descriptions for this goddess. According to one she rides on a man and holds a rosary, fruit, bell and *varadamudrā*. According to another she has the same *vāhana* but holds in her hands rosary, *vajra*, *abhayamudrā* and a bell. Digambaras make her standing on a corpse and bearing in her hands bow, sword, fruit and weapon.

Gaurī: Both the sects of Jainism make her ride an alligator (*godhā*). Śvetāmbaras give her attributes as *varada*, club, rosary and water-lily. In Digambara form she holds lotus as her symbol.

Gāndhārī: The Śvetāmbara Gāndhārī is to be represented either as seated on a lotus and holding a staff and *vajra*, or holding *varada*, staff, *abhaya* and *vajra*. Digambara goddess rides a tortoise and holds a disc and sword.

Mahājvālā or Jvālāmālinī: Ācāradinakara of the Śvetāmbara sect describes this goddess as riding a cat but mentions no attribute. The *Nirvāṇakalikā* of the same sect assigns her with a boar vehicle and many weapons without description. The Digambara type should ride a buffalo and bear such weapons as bow, shield, sword and disc.

Mānavī: According to some Śvetāmbara texts she is of blue colour, sits on a blue lotus and holds a twig. Another text of the same sect makes her sit on a lotus and furnishes her four hands with *varada*, rosary, and the twig of tree. Digambaras describe her as riding a boar and bearing a trident.

Vairoṭī: The Śvetāmbara texts represent her as riding on a snake and carrying in her hands a sword, snake, shield and another snake. The Digambara Vidyādevī rides a lion and has a snake symbol.

Acyutā: According to the Śvetāmbaras she rides a horse and holds a bow,

sword, shield and arrow. Digambaras also make her ride a horse and assign the symbol of a sword.

Mānasī: Mānasī of the Śvetāmbara conception has two types. According to one she rides a swan and bears the attributes of *varada* and *vajra*. In the other form she sits on a lion and has four hands which carry *varada*, *vajra*, rosary and again *vajra*. The Digambara Mānasī sits on a snake vehicle.

Mahāmānasī: The Śvetāmbaras describe this sixteenth Vidyādevī as riding on a lion and bearing in her four hands *varada*, sword, *kamaṇḍalu* and lance. The Digambaras describe her as sitting on a swan and holding a rosary, *varadamudrā*, goad and garland.

MISCELLANEOUS JAINA DIVINITIES

There are certain deities figured in Jaina temples and rock sculptures, who do not prove to be constituent of a distinct class of importance. The models of their representation must have been originally Brāhmaṇic but modified in Jainism.

Harinegameṣī or Naigameṣa: In Jaina religious art, he is represented as a male figure, with the head of a goat or deer. In the Jaina antiquities of Mathurā the figure of this god is represented as having a goat's head. In the *Kalpasūtra*, *Nemināthacarita* and *Antagaḍadasāo* various names of this god are mentioned. He is the captain of Indra's foot force. Indra commanded him to transfer the embryo of Mahāvīra from the body of Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to the womb of Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā. Later on he acquired the power of granting the boon of childbirth.

Kṣetrapāla: Śvetāmbara texts *Ācāradinakara* and *Nirvāṇakalikā* give two descriptions of this god. In one form he has twenty hands bearing many weapons, matted hair, a snake as his *yajñopavīta* and a dog as his *vāhana*. He is the leader of sixty-four *Yoginīs* and is surrounded by Ānanda and other Bhairavas. In the other form he is six-handed, and his attributes are club, noose, *Ḍamaru*, bow, goad and *geḍikā*. Kṣetrapāla is a Bhairava and seems to be the master of the *yoginīs*. The function of this deity is to protect the fields.

Gaṇeśa: Jaina texts give various descriptions of this God as having two, four, nine, eighteen, and one hundred and eight hands. *Ācāradinakara* describes Gaṇapati as having four hands and bearing in them an axe, *modaka*, *varada* and *abhayamudrās*. He should be pot-bellied and a mouse is assigned as his *vāhana*.

Śrī or Lakṣmī: Digambaras describe Śrī or the goddess of wealth as having four hands holding lotus. Śvetāmbaras describe her as riding an elephant and

holding lotuses as her symbol. The worship of Lakṣmī has a great hold upon the orthodox Jainas of both communities.

Śāntidevī: Nirvāṇakalikā of the Śvetāmbaras describes this goddess as seated on a lotus and bearing in her four hands *varada*, rosary, *kamaṇḍalu* and a pitcher. The idea of this female deity is conceived by the Jainas. No parallel of this deity is found in Buddhism or Brāhmaṇism. She is believed to improve the origination of the four-fold Jaina church (*caturvidha saṁgha*).

In several Jaina texts the number of *Yoginīs* is mentioned to be sixty-four. The list, though long, does not exhaust the number of sixty-four. Some of the names are in common with the Brāhmaṇic names of *Yoginīs* but majority of them are quite original to Jainism. How the cult of Tāntric *Yoginīs* originated among the Jainas is not known. The *Yoginīs* are known as attendants of Śiva and Pārvatī, but in the case of Jainism they are subordinates to Kṣetrapāla.

ĀYAGAPAṬAS

Apart from the above mentioned Jaina divinities, *āyāgapaṭas* have occupied an important place in Jaina iconography. The Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā of Mathurā yielded among other sculptures some *āyāgapaṭas* of very early age (Plates 20, 21, 22). The Jina or the Tīrthaṅkara figure is sculpted seated with hands laid in the lap in the centre. The important feature of these representations is the inclusion of some of the Jaina *Aṣṭamaṅgala* symbol such as a pair of fish, a *svastikā* etc. in a serial row around the main figure. There is hardly any mark or *lāñchana* by which one can recognize the particular Jina figured in these tablets of homage.

JINA QUADRUPLE

In place of Brāhmaṇic Trimūrti there is the Jina quadruple popularly known as *caumukha* (Plates 23, 24, 25). These images have another name of *Sarvatobhadra pratimā*, i.e., auspicious from all sides. There seems to be no set rule to figure any particular Jina in the quadruple. The symbols and descriptions of the Jinas in such groups followed the iconographic rules of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

The developed iconometry of the Jaina pantheon and the profuse number of Jina images during the medieval period tend to indicate the growing Tāntric influence which had gained ground during this period. It also shows that the Hindu Purāṇic religion had its inter-action on the medieval Indian culture including the field of sculptural art.

Year of writing: 2003

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY



Plate 1 Jina or Tirthankara, Chausa, Bhojpur c. 3rd century A.D.



Plate 2 Tirthankara, Rsabhanatha, Chausa Bhojpur, Bihar c. 3rd century A.D.



Plate 3 Rsabhanatha, Mathura, early 4th century A.D.



Plate 4 Sambhavanatha, Khandagiri, Orissa c. 100 B.C. 150 A.D.



Plate 5 Abhinandananatha, Khandagiri, Orissa, c. 100 B.C.–150 A.D.



Plate 6 Candraprabha, Chausa, Bhojpur, Bihar, c. 3rd century A.D.



Plate 7 Suvidhinātha, Sravasti, c. 6th century A.D.



Plate 8 Śāntinatha, Charampa, Balasore, Orissa, 9th/10th century A.D.



Plate 9 Neminātha, Bharatpur, Rajasthan, *c.* 976-999 A. D.



Plate 11 Parsvanatha, Chausa, Bhojpur, Bihar, 3rd century A. D.



Plate 10 Yakṣiṇī Ambikā, Khandagiri, Orissa, *c.* 100 B. C.-150 A. D.

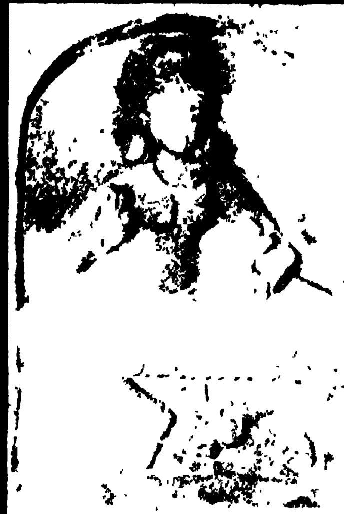


Plate 12 Yaksinī Padmavati, Khandagiri, Orissa, *c.* 100 B. C.-150 A. D.



Plate 13 Seated Mahavira, Khajuraho, Chhatarpur, M. P., c. 900-999 A.D.



Plate 14 Gomatesvara (Bahubali), Karnataka, c. 983 A.D.



Plate 15 Yaksa Kubera, Ranmaha Bansi, Chittor, c. 600-699 A.D.



Plate 16 Cakreśvarī Pratihāra Mathura 10th century A.D.



Plate 17 [illegible] Mathura 10th century A.D.



Plate 18 Navagraha panel from Bengal [illegible] A.D.

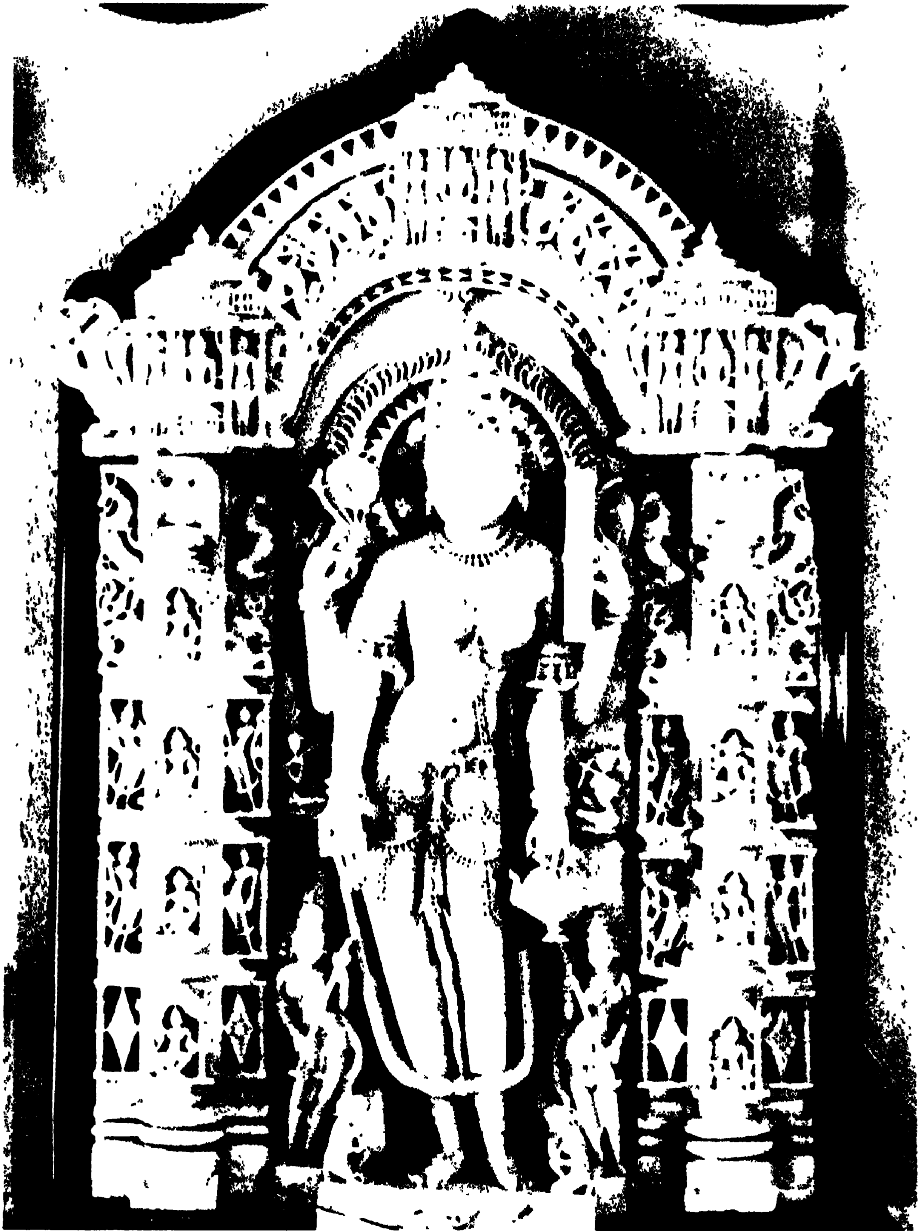


Plate 19 Sarasvatī or Śrutadevī, Pallu, Ajmer, 12th century A. D.

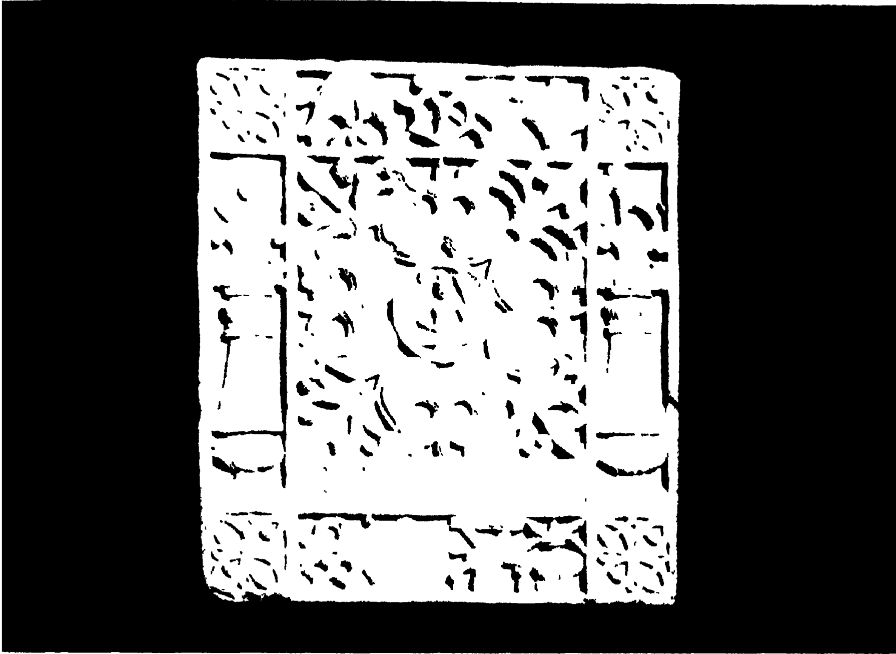


Plate 20 Jaina *Āyāgapaṭa* Mathurā, 1st century A D

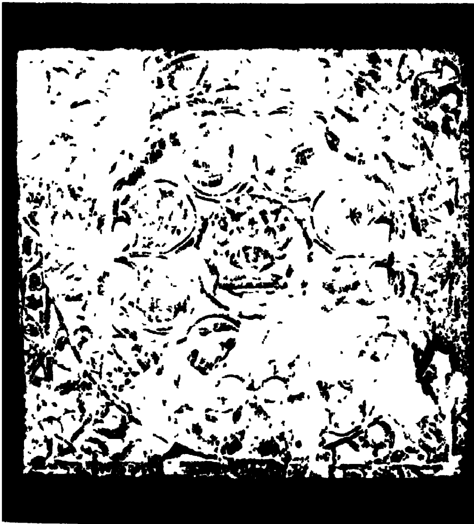


Plate 21 *Āyāgapaṭa*, Mathurā, first half of 1st century B C



Plate 22 *Āyāgapaṭa*, Mathurā 1st century A D



Plate 23 *Caumukha*, Deulia Burdwan West Bengal, 10th century A.D.

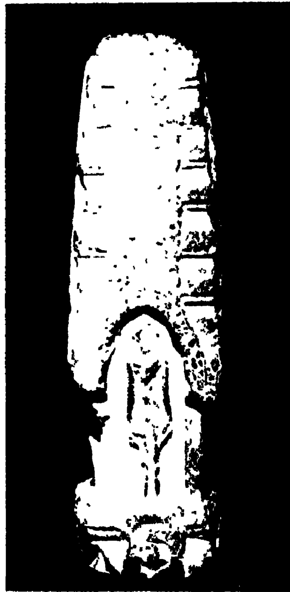


Plate 24 *Caumukha*, Purulia West Bengal 10th century A.D.



Plate 25 *Caumukha*, Deolia Burdwan West Bengal, 10th century A.D.

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* *Courtesy:*

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V. P. Dwivedi

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LATE JAINA WOOD-CARVINGS

INTRODUCTION

SOME of the most intricate and charming wood-carvings which have survived the ravages of time are found in Gujarat and Rajasthan and mostly belong to a period ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The best examples out of these owe their origin to Jainism. The dry climate of Gujarat and Rajasthan, in which the wooden things could last much longer than the other parts of the country, must have provided the incentive for the extensive use of wood in this region. Another important reason of its patronage could have been its heat-resistant quality. Moreover, wood was readily available in the forests of the neighbouring Madhya Pradesh and could be transported easily. The artist-carver must have realized that it was easy to carve figures, lattices, perforations and other minute details in wood and its embellishment took less time than other media like stone. Wooden balconies of the houses of Gujarat and Rajasthan not only looked elegant but provided more air also. The use of wood had another advantage, namely, that of reducing weight without affecting the strength of the structure, which was amenable to elaborate ornamentation on diverse parts not possible in brick or stone.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE

A Jaina domestic house usually has either a Tīrthaṅkara image or *maṅgala-cihna* (fourteen dreams, etc.) carved on its door-lintel or window-frame to give it an auspicious aspect. Other decorations on the frame include depiction of the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, floral and creeper patterns,[1] *dvāra-pālas*, etc. A wooden facade is a quite common characteristic of a Jaina house. The structure is usually erected on a raised plinth and has a small *ottā* (platform) in front, where pillars supporting the upper storey stand on stone bases. The front wall is divided into various sections of wooden bands filled in between by brickwork. The various parts decorated in a dwelling-house are pillars, window- and door-frames, door-lintels, brackets, arches, ceilings, wall-panels, etc. Any person of some means would have some carving at least either on the pillar or on the door or window-frames of his house, the extent of the elaboration increasing with the financial status of the builder.

The large number of parts wherein wood was used in a Jaina house in Gujarat and its neighbourhood made it possible for the wood-carver to devise

various artistic forms and designs, which were, from time to time, elaborated and refined under the impact of various styles that influenced the art and architecture in this region. The stone-carver has assimilated all the various motifs formerly worked in wood; conversely, domes and arches which are the special features of constructive art in stone and brick have been successfully adopted and executed in wood. The really unique feature, however, where the wood-carver has had the greatest play because of the possibility of deep undercutting, which is possible in wood alone, has been the *madal* or bracket which is the most notable speciality of a Jaina house. A fanciful combination of floral scrollwork, animals, birds, human figures and deities intermixed with intricate geometrical designs is the distinctive feature of wood sculpture, as expressed in the carving of brackets.[2] The brackets are, no doubt, utilized in temples also but there the subjects treated are limited only to figures which portray heavenly musicians and dancers, carrying musical instruments and standing in different poses of classical dance.

The entire construction was so devised as to combine art with utility, regulated by climatic conditions, the mode of living and social and economic status of the people. Doors, windows, pillars, beams and brackets were the main parts on which the wood-carvers lavished their skill. The door is divided either into square or rectangular panels enclosed by thick wooden frame running vertically and across-wise. The door-panels are either plain, carved or perforated with *jālī*-work. The windows are either built-in or projecting. The window-frames on the ground floor are done in a comparatively simple style, but on the upper storey the ornamentation is profuse and varied. In some cases, we get windows of the usual type, having two plank-leaves which can be opened and closed at will. But in most of the cases the upper-storey windows are without leaves to let in air and light directly. When *jālī* or screen is worked in wood, it has exquisite floral designs carved with interstices left for air and light. Such windows were quite popular in and around Patan.

Muslim influence infiltered into Jaina architecture as well, and we often find arched windows in houses. One such example (Plate 1), belonging to the nineteenth century, is displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi (size 180 x 128 cm.; accession no. 60.1152). The window-frame has a running floral and scroll design interspersed with human and animal figures. The upper band shows a Tīrthaṅkara in a shrine towards which a number of people are going to pay their homage. The arch has winged figures, another Muslim feature. The beaded decoration on the top band is a common feature of this period.

The pillars which support the upper storey either stand on a raised *ottā* or are built into the wall. They are generally square but not infrequently round and

fluted, sometimes tapering as they go upwards. In the elegant tapering pillars, we have a reminiscence of Mughal architecture. The architraves and beams which support the upper storey are decorated with festooning, lotus-flowers, string-frieze and foliated designs. Most of the houses have a balcony, which helps relieve the monotony of plain walls and thus provides distinctiveness to the storey to which it belongs. The lower storey is marked by the greatest simplicity, except for stringed friezes or some fluted supports or lightly-ornamented brackets. However, the leaves and frames of the ground-floor doors are usually heavily worked and compensates for the other simplicity.

Followers of *ahiṁsā*, the Jainas can be often seen feeding pigeons or taking care of wounded birds. This is why quite often we find that a Jaina establishment in Gujarat has a *pārābāḍī* or pigeon-house made of wood which serves as a watering and feeding place for domesticated birds—pigeons, sparrows, parrots, peacocks, etc. Some of these are exquisitely carved and ornamented with statuettes worked in wood.[3] These pigeon-houses are influenced by Muslim architecture and have domes and brackets, of course on a much smaller scale.

Pat, bajoth or bedstead and *jhūlā* or hammock are some of the common wooden objects used in Jaina houses. Decorative furniture that came into use was restricted to articles limited in number. Some of these, viz., the *traṇ-khaniā*, the *nav-khaniā* (built-in cupboards), *paniārā* for keeping water-jars, *pataras* (chests), etc., are exquisitely carved.

TEMPLE-ARCHITECTURE

Jaina temples can be divided into two distinct categories: (i) *gharderasars* or home-shrines, and (ii) stone and wooden temples. The former is a special feature of the Gujarati Jaina community and almost every house of any means has a shrine of its own. Although in Gujarat and south India even Hindu houses have home-shrines, the Jaina *derasars* have their own distinct characteristics. Those are the exact small replicas of their wooden and stone prototypes which are reproduced in a miniature form for family-worship. Most of these are embellished with minute carvings which varied with the richness of the family.

One of the earliest dated *derasar* is the Śāntinātha *derasar* in Haja Patel's Pol, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. According to a stone inscription, the temple was completed in Vikrama-*saṁvat* 1446 (A. D. 1390) by one Sheth Somji.[4] The entire temple is a wooden structure with a *maṇḍapa* enclosed by a dome, 3.35 m. square, which has seventeen concentric layers of carvings, made of two hundred and forty-eight pieces. Though the pillars supporting the dome are

plain, they are adorned by brackets and architraves which are richly carved with animals, chariots, Dikpālas, celestial musicians and dancers in classical poses.[5] Many more early *derasars* exist in Jaina houses in Gujarat, but most of them are unpublished so far and their exact date is not known. In fact, periodical repairs bar any guess on their exact date. The Śrī Pārśvanātha *derasar* in Śrī-Sameta-Śikharajī's Pol, Mandavi Pol, Ahmedabad, is said to be about three hundred years old, i.e. of the seventeenth century. Ahmedabad, being the hub of the Jaina community, has several noteworthy *derasars*: Śrī-Ajitanātha *derasar* in Vaghan Pol, Zaverivad; Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha and Sahasra-phaṇa Pārśvanātha *derasars* in Nisha Pol; Śrī-Vāsupūjya-svāmī and Śrī-Śītalanātha-prabhu *derasars* in Shekhpada, Zaverivad; Śrī-Supārśvanātha *derasar* in Śrī-Rāmjī's Pol; and Haja Patel's Pol.[6]

Ghar-derasars are known from other parts of Gujarat as well. Patan is an important city having many Jaina residents and the family-*derasar* of Śrī-Lālubhāi Danti at Maniati Pada and Śrī-Ṛṣabhadeva-svāmī's *derasar* at Kumbharia Pada are famous examples of house-shrines in that city. Similar examples exist at Palitana, Ralhanpur, Cambay and other cities of Gujarat.

The National Museum, New Delhi, has an intricately-carved *maṇḍapa* (accession no. 60-148) of some home-shrine which was, in all probability, made at or in the vicinity of Baroda, as is evident from the Maratha influence on its carvings, specially seen in the elephant with riders with typical *pagrī* (turban) on its four outer corners, which are carved in the round (Plates 2 and 3). Like all other *maṇḍapas*, this is of several pieces joined together. Two of the four other sides of the main beams show seven seated Tīrthaṅkaras (Plate 2). The perforated *jālī* as well as the curved niche show Muslim influence. The elephant, covered with a nicely-decorated *jhūlā* and *howdāh*, has *ghaṇṭā*, headgear, necklace and anklets and has a natural air about it.

The ceiling of the octagonal *maṇḍapa* reminds us of the famous Mount Abu temples (Plate 4). Sixteen *apsarases* adorn the dome. From its centre hangs a piece with a decorated floral pattern. The lowermost bearer of the dome shows a continuous procession which terminates at a Tīrthaṅkara shrine (Plate 5). The procession gives a glimpse of the contemporary social life. The *apsarases*, other figures, the elephants with riders, etc., point to a sixteenth-seventeenth century date and a provenance around Baroda. Another example of interest in the National Museum is a door-frame (*caukhaṭ*) of some Jaina household-shrine (accession no. 60.1153), evident from a seated Tīrthaṅkara figure in the centre of the top panel. The flywhisk-bearers, one on each, flank him and nine garland-bearers on each side are seen carrying garlands forming an interesting

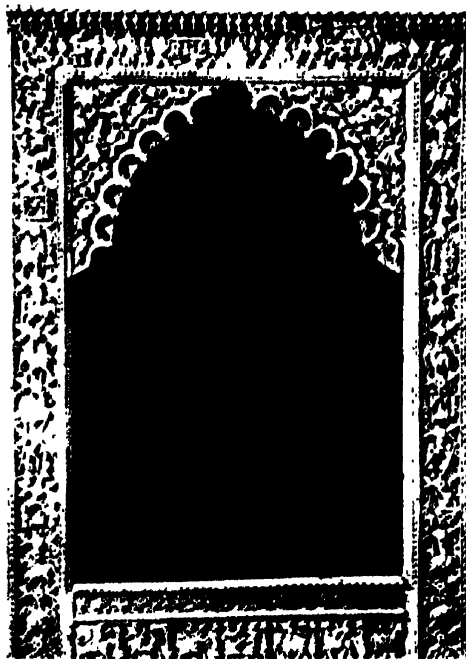


Plate 1 Wooden window-frame, Gujarat, 19th century



Plate 2 Polychrome wooden *maṇḍapa*, outer part, Baroda, Gujarat, 16th/17th century

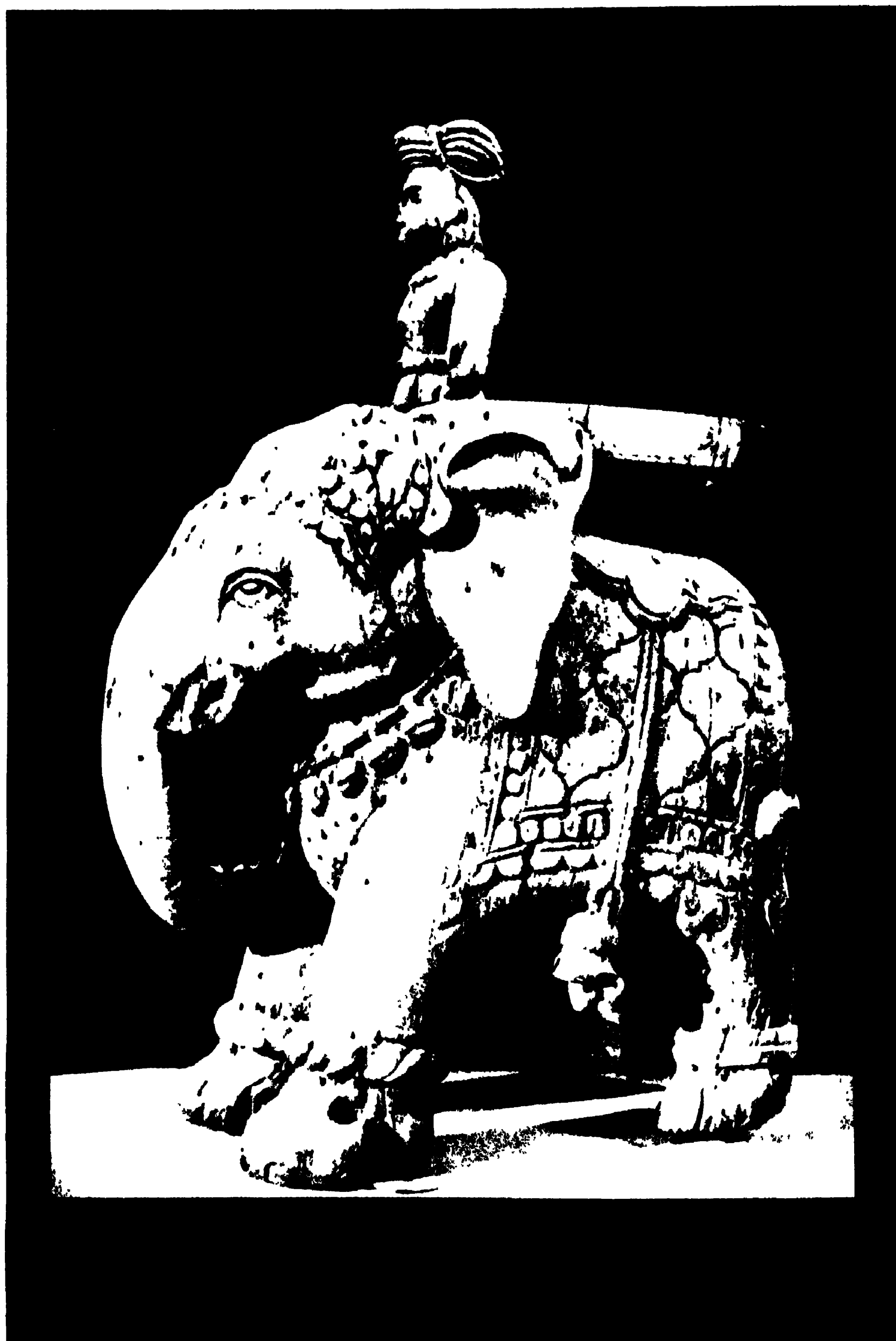


Plate 3 Polychrome wooden *maṇḍapa* (Plate 2), detail of elephant-rider

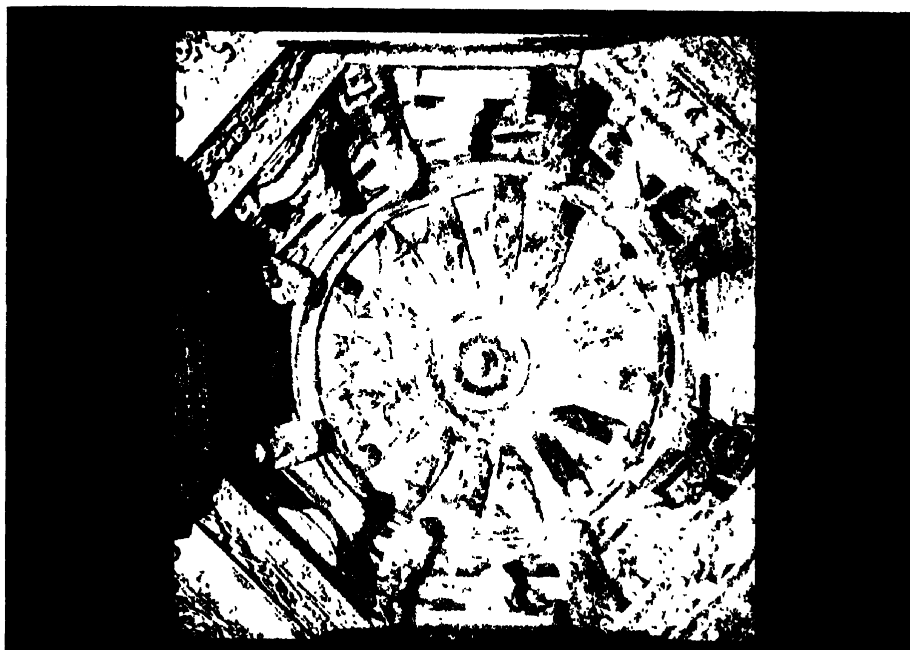


Plate 4 Polychrome wooden *mandapa* (Plate 2), ceiling

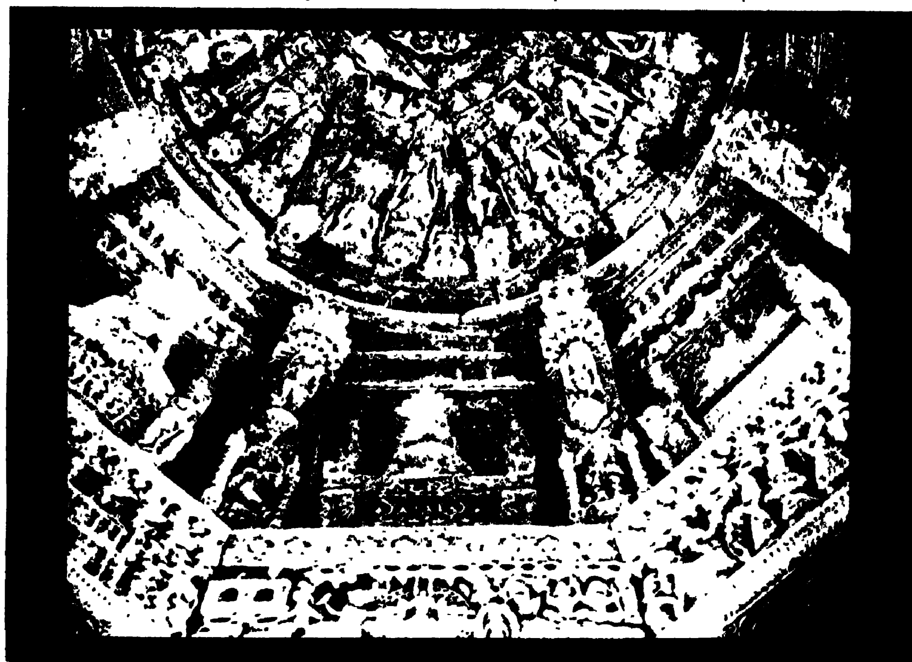


Plate 5 Polychrome wooden *mandapa* (Plate 2), detail of ceiling (Plate 4)

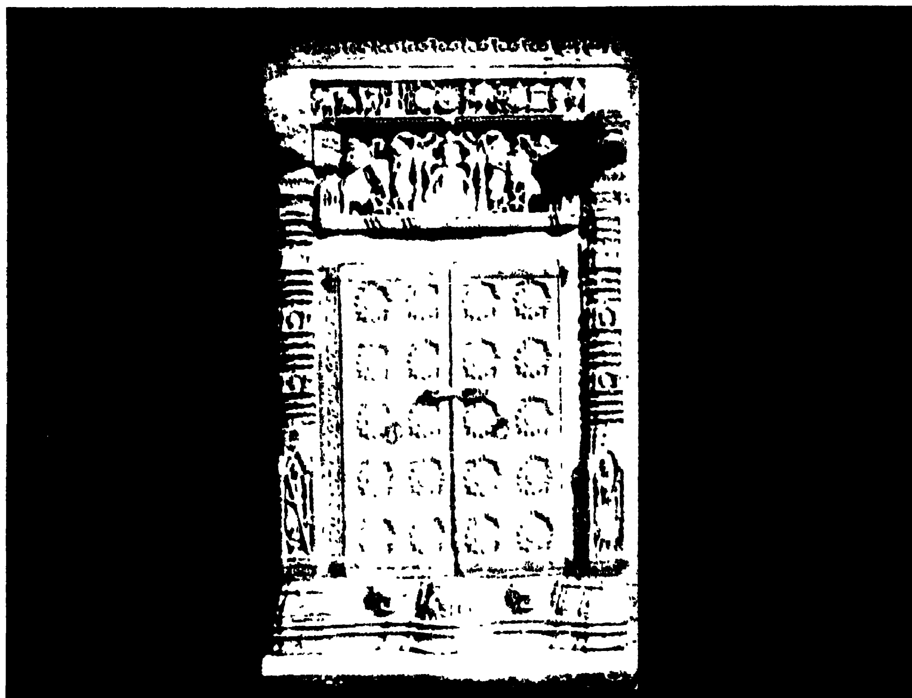


Plate 6 Door of a wooden house shrine, Gujarat, 18th century



Plate 7 Door of a wooden house shrine (Plate 6), detail with auspicious dreams and Gajalaksmi

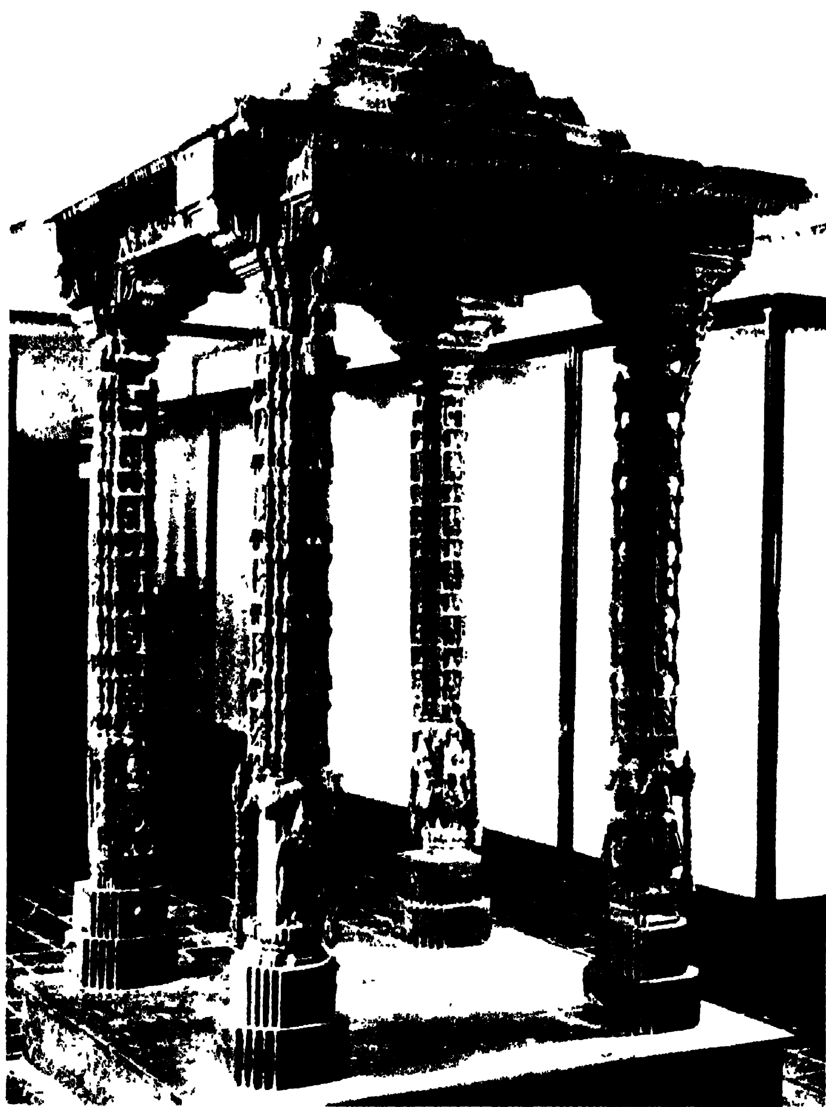


Plate 8 Wooden *mandapa* Gujarat 1600 A D



Plate 9 Wooden *maṇḍapa* (Plate 8), frieze of dance, music and other scenes

Plate 10 Wooden *maṇḍapa* (Plate 8), ceiling

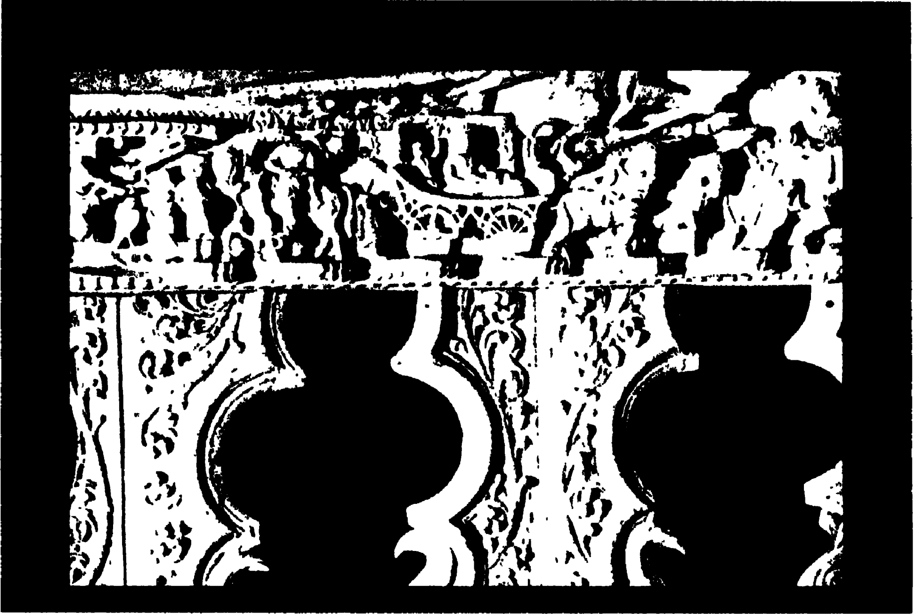


Plate 11 A house-shrine, detail of a royal procession, Gujarat, 16th/17th century A.D



Plate 12 A house-shrine, an Ācārya welcomed by devotees, Gujarat, 16th/17th century A. D

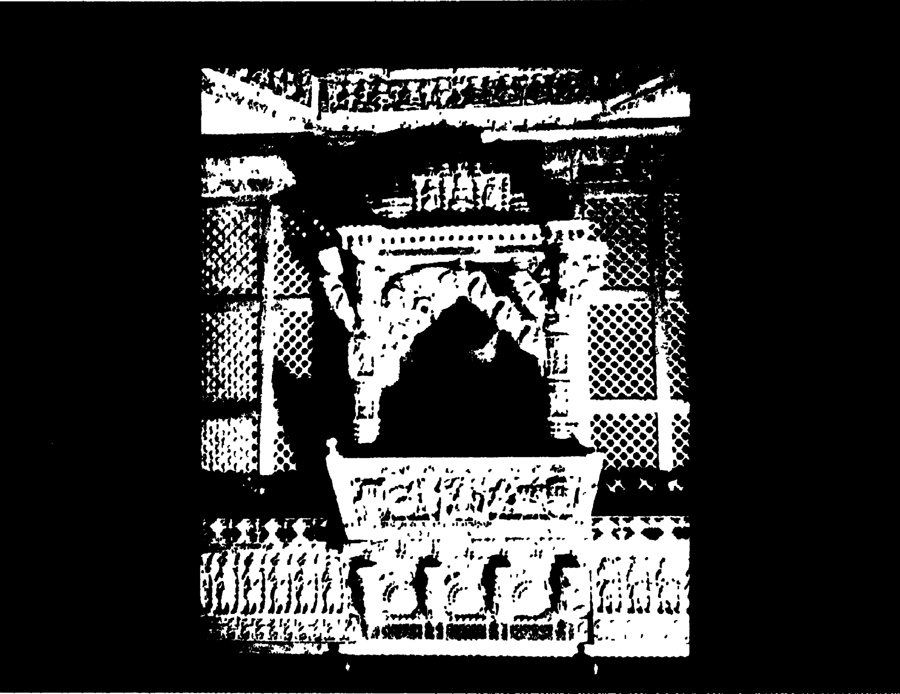


Plate 13 Wadi Parsvanatha temple, *jharokha*, Patan, 1594

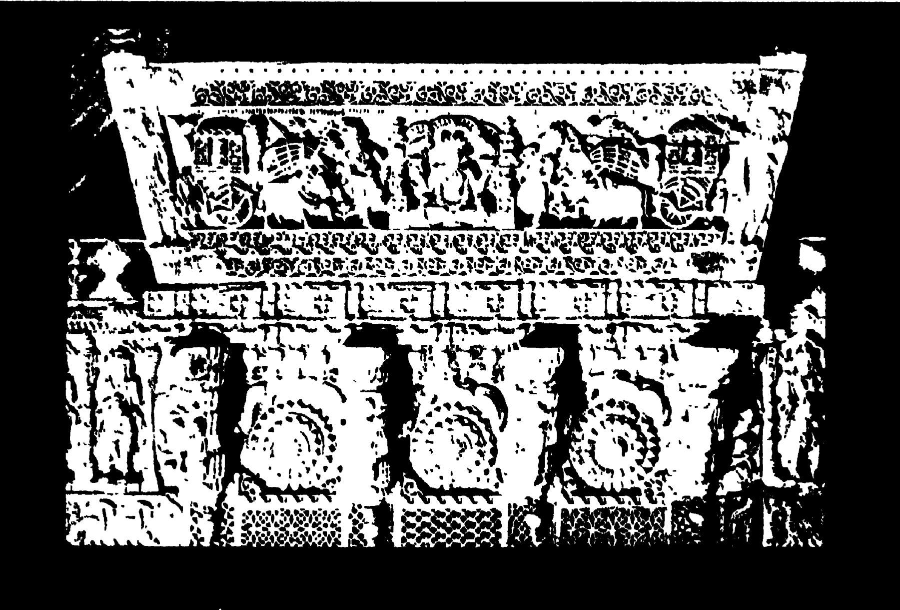


Plate 14 Wadi Parsvanātha temple (Plate 13), detail



Plate 15 Polychrome wooden *danseuse*, Gujarat



Plate 16 Wooden nymph, Gujarat



Plate 17 Wooden nymph Gujarat



Plate 18a Frieze depicting welcome of Jaina monks Gujarat



Plate 18b Frieze depicting a procession Gujarat



Plate 18c Frieze depicting a royal procession Gujarat

pattern. The two side-posts, besides showing the four-armed figures of *dvāra-pālas*, one on each side, show four niched figures attending the Tīrthaṅkara. Creeper-motifs run through the whole door-frame. Although badly damaged, the figures point out to a seventeenth-century date and an Ahmedabad provenance.

Yet another example in the National Museum is a small door (accession no. 47.111/1; size 100 x 60 cm.) of a household-shrine (Plate 6). Though smaller in size, it has all the details which a large door usually has. It has a two-leaf doorway which can be opened and closed. Both the leaves are carved with beautiful floral patterns set in big and small squares. The top lintel shows fourteen auspicious dreams (Plate 7), a typical feature of the Jaina carvings. Below this panel is seen a four-armed seated Lakṣmī flanked by standing female *caurī*-bearers. The bottom panel shows two elephants and the two side-posts show a *dvāra-pāla* flanking the shrine on each side. Above the *dvāra-pāla* are seen peeping human heads from niches giving the impression of a multistoreyed building. A similar miniature door-way exists in the Baroda Museum[7] —it shows intricate and minute carvings and has been dated to the sixteenth century. The National Museum door-frame, however, can be dated to the eighteenth century, as its execution of floral patterns and figures is much bolder and lacks the fine quality of the Baroda Museum specimen.

The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, has yet another wooden *maṇḍapa* of a house-shrine[8] (Plate 8). Standing on a double-stepped platform, 188 cm. long, 156 cm. wide and 39 cm. high, the *maṇḍapa* is supported by four elaborately-decorated and slightly-recessed pillars which were once painted. These pillars have miniature niches enshrining the dancing-figures of heavenly musicians and male and female deities. The bottom of these pillars shows figures of Viṣṇu and Brahmā with attendants. The capitals are profusely carved with Mughal and indigenous motifs including the figures of birds and musicians in niches and recessed ornamentation. Of the three surviving bracket-figures two show female heavenly musicians and the third a *mṛdaṅga*-player. The female musicians are dressed in a short *colī*, a tight skirt, *pāijāmā* and a long thin brocaded scarf which comes down the shoulders in a loose knot between the legs. The *mṛdaṅga*-player also shows a Mughal-period costume—*jāmā* with six points, *paṭkā* and *aṭpaṭi* turban.

On the top of the capitals are fixed four entablatures which support the dome. The *maṇḍapa* being Jaina, the carver has embellished it with stories of Tīrthaṅkara's lives. The friezes represent processions with elephants, horses and riders, footmen with palanquins, chariots driven by horses and oxen, male drummers riding camels and horsemen blowing trumpets vigorously (Plate 9). An Ācārya preaching to the monks is also a favourite theme.

Above the friezes rises an octagonal dome (Plate 10) reaching a height of 46 cm. decorated with concentric circles from inside. Externally, the dome has the appearance of a receding stepped pedestal with simple ornamentation consisting of the figures of Gajalakṣmī and *pūrṇa-kumbhas* in miniature niches. Fourteen dreams and other auspicious symbols also occur. The *maṇḍapa* can be safely assigned to the Akbar period, i.e. about 1600, on the basis of the costumes and the style of carving.

The Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, also has an excellent example of a wooden house-shrine.[9] Goetz believes that it once formed a part of the house of a rich Jaina merchant of the Broach area. The *maṇḍapa* is 6.6 m. long, 3.3 m. broad and 3.1 m. high. It is supported by six columns and two pilasters, and, at present, is open in every direction. The central dome rises from an octagon on top of a square supported by four architraves measuring 3.3 m. The two wings have flat ceilings. The columns rise from very late Mughal bases and go over into late Gujarati capitals. The pilasters are decorated merely with rich friezes of lotus-roundels. The architraves around the central dome are covered with relief-panels showing some Jaina legends, those around the lateral ceilings with ornaments of various types and times, one with peacocks, others with single figures or panels representing Lakṣmī or Ambikā. The central dome, rising on top of two circles of stylized lotus-petals, is covered with multitude of single figures and relief-panels, some originally belonging to it, more, however, added at later dates. These show the usual figures of godlings playing musical instruments, females, processions (Plate 11), Dikpālas, *apsarases* and heavenly dancers, Jaina saints being worshipped (Plate 12), etc.

The *maṇḍapa*, however, does not form one uniform work, but is the product of successive alterations, repairs and additions, most of which have developed organically one from the other. The whole structure can be reduced to two main phases, an older shrine of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and a reconstruction in the sixties or seventies of the nineteenth century during the times of the Maharajas Khande Rao (1856-70) and Malhar Rao (1870-75) of Baroda.

The Jaina stone and wooden temples are generally enclosed by a wall, the inner side of which has niches for the various Tīrthaṅkaras. The main temple is thus well-protected from rain and water. This peculiarity has tended to protect some of the wooden structures of Jaina temples to the present times by sheltering them from the onslaught of weather.

A Jaina shrine, like any Hindu temple, consists of two essential parts, namely, the *maṇḍapa* where the devotees congregate and the principal shrine

where the deity is installed. It is the former of the two which shows profusion and details of carving and has given the greatest scope for expression in wood and stone. George Watt is of the opinion that 'a grammar of decorative art might, in fact, be written from the study of wood-carving alone, and the circumstance that the wood and stone-carvers belong to one and the same caste may be accepted as an additional evidence in favour of the gradual production of the one from the other and that at no very ancient date.'[10]

Most of the Jaina temples are the gifts of single wealthy individuals of the middle class and that is why these buildings are generally small and deficient in that grandeur of proportion that marks the buildings undertaken under royal command. It may, however, be also owing to this fact that their buildings are more elaborately finished than those of greater importance.

The *maṇḍapa* is erected on a series of pillars which support a beautiful and exquisitely-carved dome on architraves and beams, all of which are elaborately ornamented. Every inch of the *maṇḍapa*-portion is full of rich carvings. The dome is made circular by the arrangement of pillars, twelve in number, erected equidistant and bridged by architraves. Bracketed capitals and struts were further devices, which, while meeting the architectural needs of the edifice, provided a very fertile field for the presentation of the most ornate features of wood-carving.

One of the most exquisite examples of a wooden Jaina temple is provided by the Wadi Pārśvanātha temple from Patan, now housed at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Built in 1594, it was in Patan's Zaverivad locality when Burgess and Cousens[11] carried out their survey of the architectural antiquities of northern Gujarat about the year 1890 but was later on acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. Its roof is in the form of a dome rising to the height of 3.4 m. and with a diameter 3.3 m. It is decorated in concentric circles with figures and bands of ornament and has a lotus-shaped pendant hanging from the apex. Eight large bracket-figures are placed at equal intervals round the inside. There are female musicians and dancers, and between each pair of these is a seated male figure with two attendants. There are the eight Dikpālas under the dome and helping to support it are four balcony-windows, projecting inwards from each side of the apartment, which are very delicately worked (Plate 13). Lower still is a dado running round the four walls and carved with musicians and dancers in niches, with rows of geese and other ornamented carvings below. The rosettes in the spaces between the brackets below the window-stills are rich and effective (Plate 14).

SCULPTURE

The Jainas believe that a sandalwood portrait-sculpture of Vardhamāna was carved in his life-time when he was meditating in his palace about a year prior to his renunciation.[12] In spite of the tradition, no wood-carvings in the round depicting Tīrthaṅkaras have been found so far. At what time the transformation from wood to stone or bronze took place it is difficult to say. But those who are conversant with the ritual of Tīrthaṅkara worship will immediately understand the reason for abandoning the wood-sculptures. The daily washing of images by water and milk, the application of sandal-paste, etc., do not allow the use of wooden sculptures for worship. However, subsidiary and allied carvings as part of architecture have a better continuity in wood and quite a few of these can be seen in different museums and private collections.

Most of such sculptures which once formed part of the architecture of Jaina *maṇḍapas*, home-shrines and temples belong to the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, carlier examples having disappeared long ago because of the perishable nature of the material. All such examples share the following common features: (i) they are smaller in size when compared to their counterparts in stone; (ii) once detached from the structure, most of these look as if carved separately and independently; (iii) they are carved in such a way that one side, which was earlier attached to the architectural piece, is not finished properly; (iv) usually they are coloured; and (v) they come from one or the other parts of Gujarat and Rajasthan, thus inheriting the characteristic features of that region. The dry climate of the region helped in preserving these sculptures. To illustrate these points we will discuss here some of the Jaina wooden sculptures.

Almost all the Jaina *maṇḍapas* have several beautifully-carved female figures, either playing on various musical instruments (Fig. 1) or in various dance-poses (Plate 15). Charming figures putting on anklets (*pāyal*) is yet another motif seen among these nymphs (Fig. 2). Sometimes a miniature figure is seen imitating a bigger figure at its footsteps (Plate 16) or a mother is seen carrying her child in the typical Indian way (Plate 17). As already stated, almost all these examples were once coloured, some still retaining traces of paint. Although they were meant to be seen as part of *maṇḍapas* (these come from more than one *maṇḍapa*), they have been carved in round. However, their back lacks the finish of the front.

Rectangular panels, once part of wooden shrines, are still more interesting as they provide us a peep into the contemporary life. One such panel shows Jaina monks (with cloth-pieces tied on their mouths) being greeted by villagers who are offering them numerous things (Plate 18a). An equestrian figure, in the

lower right corner, supervises the ritual and many other followers are seen bowing to the saints with folded hands. While one man is holding a garland, another stands by his side holding a *pūrṇa-kumbha* and rosary. A pair of dogs, seen in the lower right corner, provides a realistic touch to the whole scene.

It is interesting to note that Jaina wooden panels[13] often depict bullock-carts in their procession (Plate 18b). These carts are always carved with an utmost care and show bullocks in walking-posture accompanied by figures in front and back. Yet another mode of travel in the ancient days, especially for the royal persons—the palanquin—also finds depiction on these panels. The example illustrated here (Plate 18c) shows a royal couple seated in the palanquin accompanied by elephant-riders in front and horse-riders in the rear, making it clear that the figures are royal indeed. The way the male figure has tightly held a support to hold his balance is noteworthy and shows the minute observation of the wood-carver. The pole-bearers have also been depicted with a rare sense of realism.

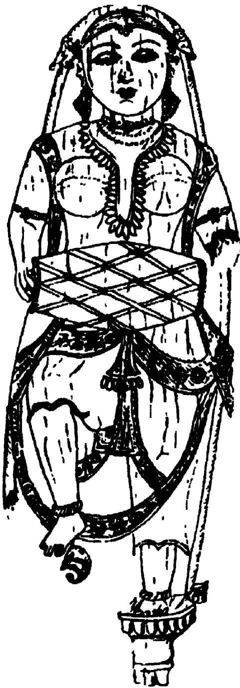


Fig. 1
Female musician, wood-carving, Gujarat



Fig. 2
A nymph putting on anklets, wood-carving, Gujarat

Another very interesting frieze showing the marriage-procession of Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha has recently been acquired by famous art-connoisseur of Bombay, Shri Haridas K. Swali. It is 2.28 m. long and 25 cm. high and still retains a thick coating of paint. From left to right, it shows two equestrian figures and a bullock-cart, trumpet-blower and drummer, a royal figure holding garlands in both hands accompanied by female figures, marriage-*maṇḍapa*, house-scene, animals and a scene showing preparation of sweets for marriage. The *maṇḍapa* scene showing piled-up pots, festive hangings and sacred fire is quite interesting and gives us a glimpse of sixteenth-seventeenth-century Patan (Gujarat), its probable date and place of carving. The other scene showing preparation of eatables is quite amusing. While two figures are busy stirring up some thing in a large bowl on fire, a figure is seen quietly picking up some sweets unnoticed from the rack near by.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion shows the wide range and variety of Jaina wood-carvings. They not only help us to reconstruct the social history of the period but also fill up the lacunae of art-history. All these carvings, though small in size, reflect the tastes of their rich Jaina patrons who believed in embellishing every inch of space available on their house-shrines or temples. As a medium, wood lent its support to the carvers to carve highly decorative scenes, thereby preserving a rich heritage for posterity. Though mostly religious, these carvings provide us with interesting social gleanings of the contemporary life. In wood-carvings, the Jaina patrons took a lead over their Hindu or Buddhist counterparts.

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ASHOK K. BHATTACHARYYA

28

TEMPLE TERRACOTTAS OF BENGAL

AS early as the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods temples in Bengal have been found to have been embellished by terracotta slabs and panels. Of these, more famous are those at Paharpur, Mahāsthāna, Rāṅgāmāṭi, Mainamati (Bangladesh) and Sābhār (Bangladesh). Some pre-Gupta terracottas are also available from Tāmralipti, Murshidabad, and a few from Mahāsthāna. The most prolific in number and variety are those uncovered at Paharpur where the plaques represent, among other themes, mostly Hindu and some Buddhist deities. The Hindu deities include Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Vidyādharas and quite a few semi-human and semi-divine figures, while the Buddhist deities represented are the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. The above-noted finds apart, terracotta ornamentation in temples seems to have received no wide and popular attention until we come to the late medieval period with a conspicuous interregnum in the Sena period of Bengal's history.

The comparative paucity of stone temples in the Bengal area from the very beginning of the history of this part of the sub-continent and the easy availability of the more pliable riverine soil in adequate quantity, allured the artists here to mould figures for embellishment on plain surfaces. It seems, further, that stone images, not abandoned completely, were considered as more in the nature of work of the aristocracy and of considerable expense, and therefore reserved for special worship. Stone was also most often used for dedicatory inscriptions.

Clay thus came to be considered as the common man's material, cheap and allowing easy handling to make any shape. After being fired or baked, decorative clay objects become automatically lustre-bound, and thus fit for being put on the outer walls of a temple. In most instances, except perhaps in front facades of temples with wider space available and meant to depict continuous themes, individual figures or scenes in relief were moulded, cast and fixed in deep incuse, mostly square, kept reserved for them. They are generally bordered by bands of floral or geometrical patterns. Although their use is wide-spread in temples, we may draw attention to one temple, the Rāmacandra temple at Guptipara, Hooghly, where this technique and practice are followed

for Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā figures and episodes in plaques set most beautifully for their setting.

In Bengal the terracotta panels reveal innumerable varieties, both in shape and size, as also in the themes depicted, and show no religious sectarianism in that Śaiva shrines have Vaiṣṇava or Śākta deities in plaques on them and *vice versa*. Apart from religious or epic scenes and entities, the plaques show artistic delineation of birds and animals, in static or moving pose. In a few cases erotic scenes, and still rarely, a queer composite form, known as *Navanārī-kuñjara* are also found. Contemporary life, depicted for artistry and for reflecting life as it was at the time it was portrayed, was varied as much as it was interesting.

In style, several phases and regional differences can be discerned in the numerous specimens still available on the temples concerned. In temples dated until early seventeenth century A. D., we have very little of terracotta embellishments on religious structures in Bengal. The Rudra temple on the bank of the Ganges at Burosivtala, Khamarpara, Hooghly, dated 1625 A. D., itself in terracotta bricks, has, however, very little to offer by way of embellishments which are mostly worn. At Ghurisa, Sripur, Birbhum the temple to Raghunāthji, dated 1633 A. D., has some beautiful and well-preserved iconographic concepts, of which the images showing Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, Tribhaṅga Kṛṣṇa and Kāliya-damana Kṛṣṇa are exquisite. The clean modelling of these plaques speaks well of the easy pliability of the clay used. This technical excellence also re-appears in some of the early nineteenth century plaques on temples some of which are not quite dated. On the Śyāmarāi temple, Vishnupur, Bankura, dated 1643, the finely modelled miniature dancing figures of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā within square-bounded slabs only match the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā couples in stone, set beside them, one standing, the other couple seated. Besides, this dated temple has a number of individual figures of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Balarāma, dancing by the side of flowering small trees. Here, Kṛṣṇa as flute-player, as Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, similarly with standing flowery trees on the sides, make up variations in the presentation of the divinity. The Śyāmarāi temple, in fact, has more of figurative decorations in terracotta inside and on the pillars supporting the entrances than the main facades of the temple which are overcast with rectangular patterns, a few of which, however, do contain miniature figures presenting deities and their divine sports. Of the latter, the most popularly known *Rāsalīlā* of Kṛṣṇa is exquisitely presented as *Rāsamaṇḍala* (Plate 1) in deftly arranged three concentric circles with Kṛṣṇa with the flute at the centre, flanked by a *gopī* on each side, dancing hand in hand. Of the four corner spaces, the two upper ones show musicians before Kṛṣṇa dancing, while the two lower ones are occupied

with finely moulded figures of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, with enchanted deer and peacock, thus providing the composition together with the fully attired and ornamented figures, as a superb example of miniature art in terracotta in this single example.

About twelve years later, the Malla king Raghunātha Siṁha, in 1655, devoted himself very freely to embellishing the temple, Joḍ-Bāṅglā that he had set up, with decorative plaques all over. These include *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* scenes, individual deities, episodes of the common man's life—all decorated under floral patterns, as also often geometrically patterned lines. Most of these were individually prepared in baked or fired clay and set in the intended spaces already kept reserved for them. Examples of all these are mostly preserved in pristine condition. The front facade of the Joḍ-Bāṅglā temple at Vishnupur shows, in fact, the high-water mark in terracotta mouldings through the finely finished figures, their immediate linear outlines and still outer floral borders. The floral borders in the precision of mouldings of petals in layers and alternating designs remain unsurpassed in clay modellings on Bengal temples in the late medieval period. Encased in these, in a group of eight frames, various episodes of *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* are depicted. (Plate 2) From top left downwards the scene of Yamalārjjuna(?), highly eroded and damaged, where the twin Arjuna-trees, Nalakuvara and Maṇigrīva, sons of Kuvera born as such on earth being cursed by Nārada, were released from the curse by Kṛṣṇa dashing against them, is perhaps depicted here. It is followed downwardly by the scene of the churning of curd by Yaśodā[1] and a *gopī* flanking the pot. The third panel further below shows Kṛṣṇa as a child killing the Chariot-demon (Śakaṭāsura), lying under a thatched roof of Bengal style, to the astonishment of Yaśodā standing beside. The fourth and last rung depicts Putanā, the demoness, being sucked to death, unusually shown seated. The next four at right, depicts, also in a very rare way, from topmost one, the killing of the Serpent Kālīya, the destruction of the Crane-demon, Vakāsura, a man and a woman seated side by side, with a female attendant at side, and holding a child at breast each, the lowermost one showing a crowned dancing figure (Kṛṣṇa?) with a female figure (Rādhā?) watching from a side. In decorative designs, the Joḍ-Bāṅglā has perhaps no equal. In another vertical row of single panels here, the leaf-and-flower design on the four sides of the built-in panels, reaches its high-water mark in border decoration almost as the frame of a picture, with a meandering double-line in the middle and the lowermost adding beauty to the composition. While the topmost panel depicts Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in their typical cross-legged standing pose, with the former with a flute and the latter holding the plough over the

shoulder, the middle panel takes up probably only a part of the story of the killing of Dhenukāsura when the demon in the guise of an ass intended to kill the *gopa*-boys in a palmyra-grove. It may as well represent a different story not easily explainable. The lowermost panel is equally difficult to describe as, except for a standing figure at the centre, the rest is badly broken. Nevertheless, what makes this part of the decorated panels noteworthy is the ornamentation around. Apart from the immediate floral and leafy decorations, the outer decorations with their sparsely made flower-patterns and continuous double-rowed thread decorations in extremely symmetrical arrangements seem an innovative art motif nowhere else noticed.

At the Joḍ-Bāṅglā temple, one would also notice a sequential treatment of subjects that surely make the art involved appear complete with all its details of decorations and details of subject-matter. A very important such example here is the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which leads to the birth of the four brothers—sons of King Daśaratha. In a group of four panels Daśaratha is shown as proceeding for a hunting expedition at lower left, shooting from his decorated chariot with fluttering flags unknowingly into the body of Sindhuka, the only son of the Ṛṣi Andhaka, while he was dipping his pitcher in a forest stream for his parents. The forest is indicated by a tree above him and the stream by wavy lines. The boy's head-dress is a small coiled turban and the moving chariot has marks of wheels below, while Daśaratha is conspicuous by his royal crown, his belted upper coat, his bow with a hanging row of pearls and a royal shoe. The drummer at his back on the same chariot is shown active in his own job, though the upper part of his body is highly mutilated. The innocence and the surprised look back, at the sudden and unexpected onslaught is deftly moulded with the king's upper body left bare though with ornaments on the arms and wrists. The panel upper to this narrates the poignant scene of the repentant King Daśaratha himself carrying the dead child before the parents (Plate 3) seated under an arched canopy and, apparently, as the story goes, cursing the king with his right hand raised, that he would also die of grief on account of separation from his son. The remorseful king is shown with his head downcast, as he comes to the blind parents leaving his royal chariot behind. The next slab, anti-clock-wise, shows Daśaratha and his chief queen, Kauśalyā, with the four brothers, three of whom occupy the laps of the royal couple. Seated on a decorated arched canopy that has the fluttering flags to indicate the royalty, with a *ṛṣī*, apparently Vīśvāmitra, in conversation with them. In another group of four panels close to the above, there are the scenes of *Putreṣṭi*-sacrifice at the upper one and the appearance of the sacrificial *Caru* (oblation) out of the Fire, in both of which

the priest is Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-Ṛṣi with the face of a horned deer set at right and left respectively. Similarly, at right and left in the lower row, respectively are the scenes of *Caru* being carried by the king and that being held before queens Kauśalyā and Kaikeyī, the Chief and the Favourite, by King Daśaratha himself, with a priest behind. With these and other scenes from the great epic, like the fight between Bāli and Sugrīva, (Plate 4) the terracotta art on the Joḍ-Bāṅglā has been endowed with a special sanctity and a source of religious visuality for the common man. Of the scenes from the other great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, an interesting and lively one, namely, with Bhīṣma lying on arrows and Arjuna with bent knees shooting out water from the earth for quenching the thirst of his *pitāmaha* (grandfather) reveals dynamism of the act and naturalness of the pose of a rare type. Another episode from the same epic delineated here rests on the popular story of Arjuna hitting the mark (*lakṣya-bheda*) for winning the hands of Draupadī.

The most artistic attempts at making realistic figures of war-boats and 'pleasure-boating' (*naukā-vilās*) are examples at Joḍ-Bāṅglā as successful miniature art in terracotta. In delineating scenes of warfare or individual shooting scenes, the shooter of arrows is shown in relevant attire and with necessary equipment, such as, armour, high boots, the quiver, the bow-and-arrow, etc., and appears as lively and firm by the expression as favourably comparable to a drawn picture. The congested war-scenes, as in the Kurukṣetra or the *Rāmāyaṇa* war, are not in any sense works of great art, yet, some individual figures of a fighting royal fighter or of a monkey in the army of Rāma, can be singled out as a special work of artistic figurisation.

As perhaps no single slab-space was left blank without any decoration, except through erosion or later pilferage, the variety of motifs and subjects, in this one single temple, the Joḍ-Bāṅglā, remains unsurpassed. The scene of hunting with hunter's headdress in Mughal style, the caressing and dancing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in different poses, the prankish Kṛṣṇa stealing the clothes of the *gopī*-s while engaged in bathing, the study of animals in individual portraiture or as part in an episode, of birds—the peacock in particular— are some of the interesting contributions made by the artists who wrought art on this temple.

Raghunātha Siṁha's next venture in temple building, in the year 1656 A. D., was to set up the Kālācānd temple in Vishnupur, did not inspire him so much to embellish the structure with any noteworthy sculpture, mainly because this was only a new attempt at laterite stone. This observation also applies in respect of the last of the temples that Raghunātha built in 1659, in Baital, Bankadaha, Bankura. Yet, in between, Śrī Vīra Siṁha, the son of Raghunātha

Siṁha, assuming power and calling himself as '*nṛpa*' (king) in 1658 A. D., built a temple, known as Lālji, in Vishnupur, Bankura, and embellished it with quite a few terracotta panels. By coincidence another temple of the same name in Kalna, Burdwan, though built much later, in 1739 A. D., probably by Kīrtticandra, may be referred to for its remarkable terracotta motifs and themes. The *Gaja-Vyāla* motif, (Plate 5) which has variations, occupies the corner slabs, true to its traditional character. The lowermost panel at the north-east corner shows the elephant fully caparisoned and with its trunk raised as being attacked by a lion. This motif from olden times is known as *vyāla*. *Vyāla* in the mythical form with its peculiar paws, its stamped thighs, its hair arranged in tiara and jewelled tassel running down along the neck bent backward and mouth agape and nose typically roundish and depressed at the root is all set to attack the arch-enemy, the elephant below. The dynamic nature of the suggested movement together with the full ornamentation of the figures seem to preserve faithfully the older carvings in stone of the same motif dating from about the 4th-5th centuries A. D. Apart from this, the Lālji temple, Kalna, has a number of other themes set in terracotta, such as that of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā with the usual accompanying deities, Kālī flanked by men, apparently donors, one holding a dog by a strap, and in addition, at sides of standing pillars hunters on horses speeding at the prey. Scenes of *naukā-vilās* (pleasure-boating) and a few others, though highly eroded, reveal the sense of variety. Better preserved, however, are the *naukā-vilās* scene with a continuous series devoted to exploits of Kṛṣṇa on the immediate upper panel, in the Kṛṣṇacandra temple in Kalna itself, on its south face, right corner bottom. The floral designs, geometrically drawn, relieve the monotony of the *naukā-vilās* and the other scenes here, separating the exquisite episodic scenes also by a row of florals and an overlapping line of *jālī*-tiles set in almost a perfect symmetry. Most interesting, however, among the popular *naukā-vilās* scenes, is the one in the Vāsudeva temple at Bansberia, Hooghly (1679 A. D.), where the ornamented boat has six rowers below and two at each corner at an upper deck on which two couples appear to be playing some musical instruments. A couple of boats, one bigger and more ornamented, has a fluttering flag at one end and a few riders with European hats and cross-wise ropes to protect those on board, while the other one, a simpler one, a country boat, shows a few similar passengers, two with guns in hand. Here, in this instance, from the Rādhākānta temple at Akui, Indas, Bankura, dated 1764 A. D., the water below is marked very stylistically by simple wavy lines. The popularity of the boat-motif is also proved by the depiction of one with only female boarders carrying baskets on head, water being indicated also by wavy lines but with head of an alligator

peeping up. This panel, from the Lakṣmī-Janārdan temple of the Pāl family at Daspur, Midnapur, has an immediate upper row separated by a beautifully moulded floral design of twelve petals arranged in a perfect circle surmounted by another flower in pattern with opened up petals. On the two sides of this are two interesting scenes of *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. At the proper right, Kṛṣṇa is dancing on the serpent Kālīya with two serpent women supplicating for the life of the serpent-demon and worshipping the Lord for his kindness in releasing him from the curse. The other panel, at left proper, shows Kṛṣṇa on the *Kadamba* tree, playing on his flute, while the nude *Gopikā*-s with shame protected by hands requesting the Lord to return their clothes. On the panel still above, at the centre, there is a most lively scene of Kṛṣṇa milking the cow, with the calf standing beside, and Yaśodā coming out of the house with a milk-pot. This favourite scene of milking the cow is depicted (Plate 6) in a delicately moulded slab framed by floral bands on one of the Śiva temples, dated 1831 A. D., at Surul, Birbhum. Here, beside a tree signifying all vegetation, Kṛṣṇa seated on toes and with his typical head-dress, milks the cow which is being fed by Yaśodā by the right hand while with her left, she holds back the calf by one ear. The soft and shining figures presented here is a unique instance of almost animated terracotta resulting in a most lively art of all times. This, however, represents the later phase mostly developed in Birbhum areas of the north. In this group of temples of the same date is a horizontal line of highly decorative florals that appears as three dimensional wreath. From the same Śiva temple at Surul is a Vaiṣṇava scene of Rāma-Sītā seated on a pedestal (Plate 7) flanked by two other brothers, one at the couple's right holding a *chatra* (umbrella) and the other at left fanning by a *cāmara* (fly-whisk), with a small figure of Hanumān in between. Beyond, at their right, is the Bear-chief (*Ṛkṣa-pradhān*) with folded hands and wearing a kerchief round the neck, followed by a few other supplicators. The next panel below perhaps indicates closer stylistic affinity with the milking scene described before. The one at proper right shows a homely scene of a lady within a square frame looking at a mirror held by her in preparation of her cosmetic exercises, while that at proper left, for the same purpose another lady puts the vermilion on her forehead holding the mirror in the left hand, the scene being encased within a temple-like structure. In between these extreme ends are ladies in diverse activities with one in a square room, standing and combing the hair of another seated lady who holds the mirror in her right hand. These series of scenes are quite well-preserved but in their movements and actions present not only a cross-section of homely life but are superb delineations in a soft and pliable material. The hand-made moulds show

a perfection in proportion and diversity in expression never to be met with elsewhere except in a few cases of the early nineteenth century, and from Birbhum. The artist responsible for this was equally adept in creating moulded forms of birds as well. In the lowermost panel figured here, he has shown his skill not only in the exquisitely beautiful flowers he has put in between the miniature temples with fluttering flags, but also in setting two parrots at two ends. These birds, pets in Bengal, are depicted here in so natural a form and position, with their beaks and wings, that they appear in their three-dimensional mouldings as living creatures. As in the foregoing front facade, which generally shows crowded episodes, at Ilambazar, from the same or similarly trained hand, is the front elevation of the Lakṣmī-Janārdan temple where the lay-out technique is differently conceived. The upper part of it reveals individual frames flanking the record giving its date of construction as S(Ś)aka 1768 and S(Ś)an 1253 i.e., 1846 A. D., invoking Śrī Hari, the Lord, with men and women in different poses of sitting and dancing. This is followed downwardly by two rows of geometric patterns and floral compositions to show the skill and relieve the monotony, as usual. The perfection, still preserved, surely calls for a special technique followed in firing the clay slabs and perhaps putting a coating on them, which all are lost now. Working with an easily erosive material and yet, desiring a long life for the creations, the artists must have adopted a method chemically sound, that would ensure their wishes. However, the next panel in the lower rung, which is a continuous one, unlike many individual frames in most early examples, shows a lively scene of devotees to the Bhakti cult spread in Bengal after Śrī Caitanya and given occasional impetus by the appearance of saints, singers, devotees and patrons from time to time. Birbhum, of all other areas, had this special experience that also spurted off the cult of devotion through singing the names of Kṛṣṇa and Hari. But drawing attention once again to the foregoing part of the front facade of the Śiva temple, and its depiction of Rāma-Sītā as deities in a panel, we may say at once that in the late medieval period in Bengal, religious bigotry was absent in life, and therefore, in art which reflected life. However, coming back to the panel lower down we notice the depiction of a scene of Vaiṣṇava devotion, dynamic in essence, in the middle part of which are carried in a palanquin figures of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, preceding which is a procession singing devotional song and dancing with ecstasy carrying the *'ḍhol'*, the percussion instrument. Of particular interest in this long procession is the presence of a dog signifying that it is a street scene, and that of a devotee being held up as he falls down in religious ecstasy.

At Antpur, Hooghly, depiction of contemporary life was as much adopted as a motif to decorate the temple as elsewhere, especially in different parts of

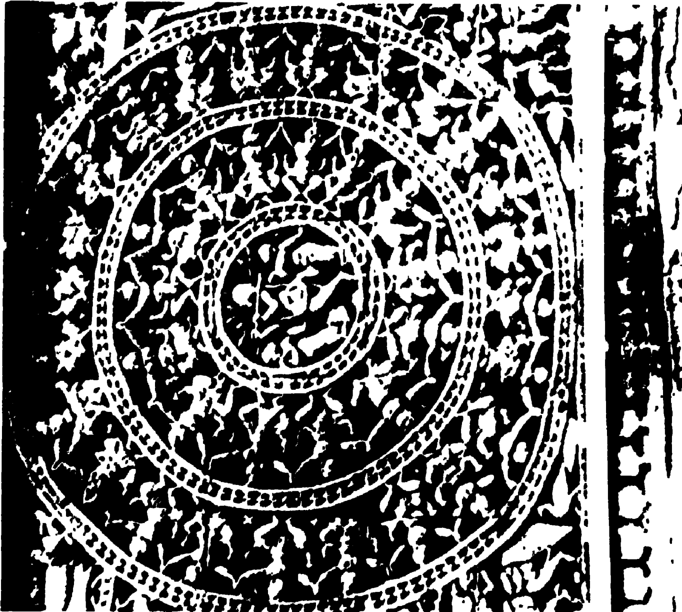


Plate 1 *Rāsamaṇḍala* Śyāmarāi temple. Vishnupur. Bankura, 1643 A. D.

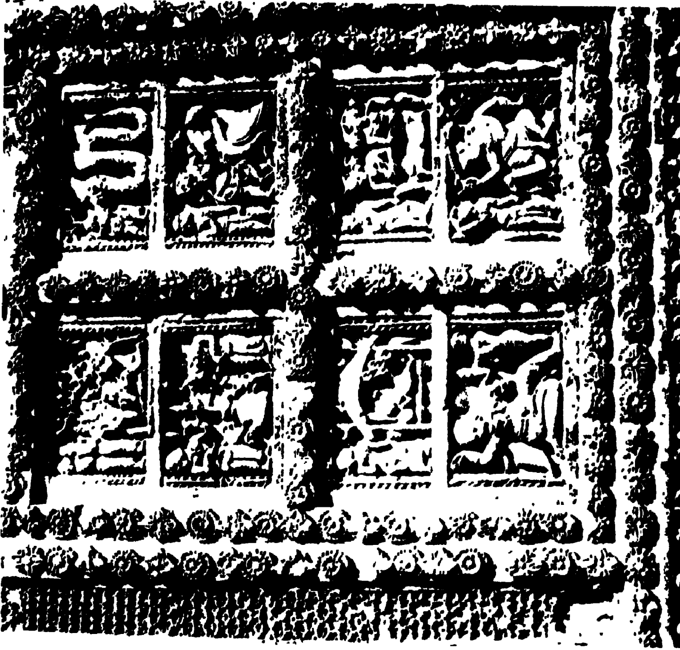


Plate 2 Different episodes of *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Joḍ-Bānglā temple. Vishnupur. Bankura. 1655 A. D



Plate 3 Daśaratha carrying the dead child, Joḍ-Baṅglā, Vishnupur, Bankura, 1655 A. D.

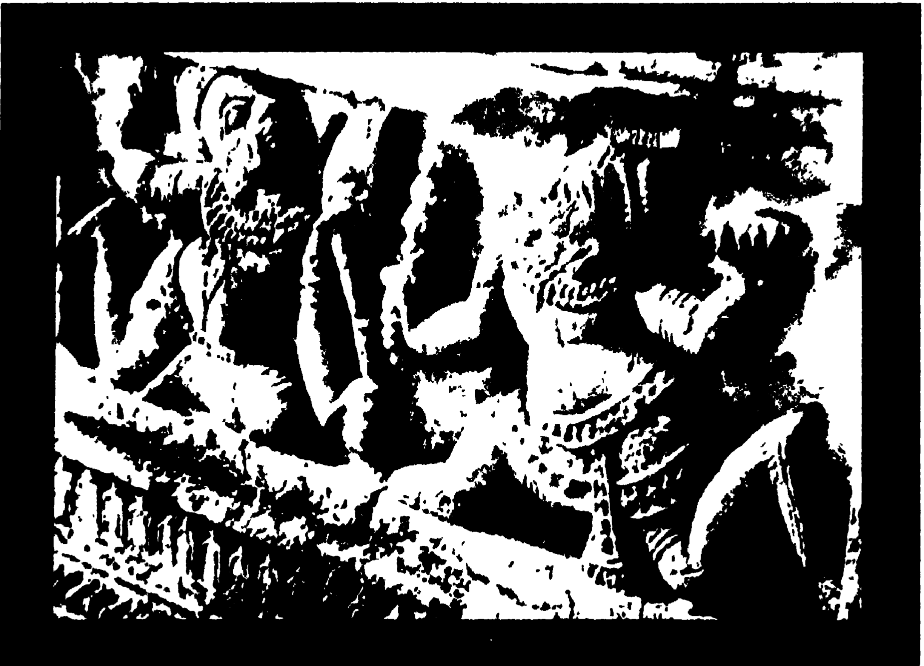


Plate 4 Fight between Bāli and Sugrīva, Joḍ-Bāṅglā, Vishnupur, Bankura, 1655 A. D.

Plate 6 Kṛṣṇa milking the cow. Śiva temple. Surul. Birbhum. 1851 A. D.



Plate 5 Gaja-Vyāla figure. Lālji temple. Kalna. Burdwan. 1739 A. D



Plate 7 Scene of Rama and Sītā, Śiva temple, Surul, Birbhum, 1851 A. D.



Plate 8 Goddess Kālī riding a lion, Cār-Bāṅgla temple, Baranagar, Murshidabad, 18th century A. D. (1714-39)

Birbhum. At the Antpur temple in a panel of five segments, from left, a child (an arrow-like object in hand, wearing striped coat up to knee), a *bhisti* (native water-carrier with water in animal-skin), a dancer exposing one leg, a musical instrument player, and an aristocratic lady holding an umbrella—all with shutter-like decorations coming down from the roof, illustrate a few varieties of life as was then prevalent. This type with more variety is sculptured in clay in temples like Kuladeśwarī temple, Maukhira Śiva temple, and others within Birbhum. Birbhum in its temples of the nineteenth century has a special predilection for busts of Europeans and subjects involving them intimately, such as, a European lady fondling a pet bird, European soldier and a girl, European lady at a window, an exquisite portrait of a European lady with typical dress—all at Hetampur. In fact, the Candranāth temple at Hetampur[2] in its front facade shows a mixed thematic attempt at both Hindu mythological scenes and European busts. There are two symmetrically placed scenes respectively of a trio of a European in typical dress standing beside a lady with a beautiful veil with gown and a girl resting her left hand on the chair occupied by the lady, — the other being a scene of a sick (or dying) man on bed, held by a lady and a person standing by their side, one on each side down below of a bearded old man fondling a cat and a man grooming a horse on the other side, with two logos of European origin. The two outstanding Hindu religious subjects here are an eight-armed Devī on lion and, below, Śiva begging food from Devī Annapūrṇā. These Birbhum temples almost all came up in the mid-nineteenth century A. D., to which also belongs the Rās-Mañca temple[3] with a fine terracotta panel showing Śiva and Pārvatī with European facial expression, holding four-armed nude child Gaṇeśa. The deities are all seated on couchant Nandi with a naturally turned head moulded deftly, and veins and curves of the skin and the *gala-kambal* (dewlap) shown with delicate workmanship. Of the other portrayals of daily life of the common man or of popular festivals, mention may be made of a house-wife or a fisherwoman slicing out a fish, as at the Viśālākṣī temple, Arambagh, Hooghly, or the numerous similar features at the Muhammadbazar Śiva temple, Ganpur, Birbhum, a nobleman holding a pet parrot and another a cat (?) set on the two sides of an elaborate scene of *Caḍak*-festival on the last day of the month of *Caitra*, consisting of acrobatic feats accompanied by resounding music. Such subjects and scenes are often followed below by varieties of floral and leafy patterns in a row making a delightful combination of life as it was lived and art as it enlivens the heart. Above the *Caḍak*-scene is, further, depicted Kṛṣṇa flanked by *gopīs*, and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma playing on a common flute. The entire composition speaks

very creditably for the artist mindful of contemporary popular life and sensitive awareness of artistic creations, as revealed in this plaque on the Antpur temple, Hooghly district.

In the terracotta art on temples in Bengal, the artist was quite oblivious of any religious segregation so much so that, as we have stated already, Viṣṇuite temples have been decorated with Śaivite, Śākta and scenes from other religious sects, and *vice versa*. A four-armed figure of Kālī holding clock-wise from right bottom, *khaṭvāṅga*, the sword *Candrahās* (*khaḍga*), the tuft of hair of a demon, probably Śumbha, and an indistinct object in the lowermost, Kālī riding a lion and the demon on elephant, is depicted on the right half of the south facade of the northern temple in the Cār-Bāṅglā group of shrines at Baranagar, Murshidabad.[4] (Plate 8) On the left half is shown the fierce fight going on between another form of the Devī with Niśumbha on horse and carrying a sword. The elaborate decorative borders, floral and geometric, framing these religious themes here, as elsewhere, have an artistic role to play which surpasses in accurate delicacy all such attempts at lithic carvings met with in earlier ages on stone structures, religious or secular.

Subordinated to the above vivacious scenes of fight and pleasing artistic decorations, is a curved row of semi-mythical animals along the scalloped horse-shoe shaped top of the entrance at the south facade described above. Here it is necessary to state that the artists in terracotta had special fondness for adopting animals and birds, often in rows, in their variegated movements, situations and poses, as decorative elements. A row of swans in the middle frame between pillars, most lively in form and symmetrical in the setting has remained a perennial source of art expression in terracotta in Bengal of the late medieval period. This, on the Śrīdhar-Dāmodar temple at Silpara, Rajbalhat, district Hooghly, is flanked by a frame showing two running cows yoked together with the reins held by a cow-boy on one side, and on the other, three monkeys watering a row of plants. Below, an elephant at extreme left taking on its back a couple for joy-ride seated under a thatched roof over-head, while below the row of swans, at centre, is an equestrian portrait of a man carrying a stick, with the horse richly caparisoned and ornamented in trotting posture, preceded by three attendants marching forward. At the right flank is a fighting scene with the horse raising its two front legs in the action, very aptly moulded with all its ornaments. Along with these decorative elements and life-sketches, the artist here did not forget to put in within a frame of floral design two figures, apparently of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the latter at right holding a blowing horn (*viṣāṇa*), characterizing the temple as Vaiṣṇavite. The row of swans, known as

haṁsa-latā, is perhaps best brought out in their different poses, in pairs, in the Madanmohan temple at Vishnupur, Bankura, built by Durjana Siṁha of the Malla dynasty, in 1694 A. D.

Perhaps we can make a note here that a few temples had one or two rare slabs showing scenes of coitus (*mithuna*),[5] though with unexplained reasons. But novelty was struck at least in one composition known in art as '*navanārī-kuñjara*' or '*navagopī-kuñjara*' where it is suggested that nine women (*gopī*s) took pleasure in forming into an elephant (*kuñjara*), out of sheer devotion to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who are shown seated on the animal so formed. A well preserved example of this queer motif is to be found in the Madanmohan temple, just referred to, or in the Ganpur temple, Birbhum. This rather popular motif, Vaiṣṇavite in essence, is almost comparable in popularity with the *Rāsamaṇḍala* compositions that, for devotion and symmetry, have been adopted for many temples and many areas. A superb example in two concentric circles with Kṛṣṇa assuming multiple forms through his divine grace, and dancing with a *gopī* on each side, with himself again on the flute at the central medallion, is available on the Śyāmarāi temple, 1643 A. D., at Vishnupur, Bankura.[6]

In fine, it must be said that the art of temple terracotta in Bengal in the early 17th and 18th centuries, especially in Bankura areas, is expressed as coarse and obese, which gradually during the latter part of the 18th, turns into a congestion of individual portrayals and promiscuity of themes marked by deeper relief. With the emergence of terracottas at Birbhum and at few other places, like parts of Hooghly, the art with improved technique shows a unique solidity of mass and smoothness of surface from the last part of the 18th to the end of the century and beyond, the field being held by European and more of common man's life-scenes, with the final exit by the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Year of writing: 1993

Notes and References

[1] A similar scene is depicted at the Lakṣmī-Janārdan temple, Singti, Hooghly, 1777 A. D.

[2] Mukul Dey, *Birbhum Terracottas*, Lalit Kala Akademi (New Delhi, 1959), p. 22, Pl. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20, Pl. 15.

[4] A panel in the Vasudev temple, Bansberia, Hooghly, shows, side by side, Rāma, Śiva, Kālī, Viṣṇu, and others.

[5] Cf. Panels on Chakdaha Śiva temple, corner slab on Ratneswar Śiva temple at Bhattamati, Murshidabad, Gaurāṅga temple, Ilambazar, Birbhum, etc.

[6] See Plate No. 1, *ante*; A similar scene is depicted at the Lakṣmī-Janārdan temple, Singti, Hooghly, Antpur temple, Hooghly, etc.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

* *Courtesy:* Author

EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS

D. C. SIRCAR

29

INDIAN EPIGRAPHY

EPIGRAPHY is the study of inscriptions, i.e. any writing engraved on some object. Indian inscriptions were generally incized on rocks, pillars and walls and such other lithic, metallic, earthen or wooden objects as tablets, plates, pots, etc. The legends on coins and seals, which were usually prepared from a mould or die, are also regarded as inscriptions, even though the writing is not inscribed in such cases. Similar is the case with writings painted on cave-walls or written in ink on wooden tablets, which are likewise included among inscriptions. In medieval Muslim epigraphs, the letters are generally not themselves engraved, but are formed by scooping out the outside space to show them in relief.

The study of inscriptions has a special importance with reference to the early period of Indian history. It is well known that the most significant among India's contributions to the civilization of the world were made in that age which is characterized by the activities of many of the greatest leaders of Indian thought in the fields of philosophy, religion, literature and other allied spheres of culture. Unfortunately, ancient India has no history in the sense ancient Greece, Rome or China has. This is because the Indians of antiquity left no written account of their achievements in various spheres. No Herodotus or Thucydides was born in ancient India to write and leave for posterity a genuine and comprehensive account of the exploits of the Indians of old. This lost history of the most glorious days of India is being gradually reconstructed, bit by bit, with the help of information gleaned from various sources such as the literary, epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological and monumental records. Of these sources, epigraphic records are of exceptional importance since they provide material for the major part of what we already know about the achievements of the ancient Indians.

M. Elphinstone observed in his *History of India*, first published in 1839, that in Indian history 'no date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander and no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until up to the Muhammadan conquest'.[1] In 1866, Cowell accepted the truth of Elphinstone's dictum and pointed out that 'it is only at those points

where other nations came into contact with the Hindus that we are able to settle any details accurately'.[2] But, happily, the activities of a number of scholars working in the different branches of early Indian history led soon to the discovery of an unexpected wealth of materials. The most important among these were no doubt the achievements of the rulers of ancient India recorded in inscriptions on stone and copper plates. As early as 1837, the necessity of a systematic arrangement of epigraphical records for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history was pointed out by James Prinsep who first placed the study of Indian archaeology on a critical and sound basis.

Consequently, out of the numerous inscriptions noticed and published in various periodicals, Alexander Cunningham, the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1871-85), collected those of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*c.* 272-232 B. C.) in a single volume in 1877,[3] while, in another volume of the same series, J. F. Fleet published in 1888 the epigraphs of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha and some of their contemporaries. E. Hultzsch published the first volume of *South Indian Inscriptions* in the year 1890. In the meantime, the *Epigraphia Indica*, an official journal for the publication of inscriptions, was started by J. Burgess, Cunningham's successor as the Director General of Archaeology (1886-89).

The first successful attempt to 'sort and arrange the accumulated stores of knowledge' in a more or less connected account of the political and cultural history of ancient India was made by V. A. Smith, the first edition of whose *Early History of India* appeared in 1904. Revised and enlarged editions of this valuable book were published in 1908, 1914 and 1924, the latest of them shortly after the author's death. A comparative study of the different editions of Smith's work as well as of H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, first published in 1923 and revised in 1927, 1931, 1938, 1950, 1953 and 1957, very clearly demonstrates how more and more light is thrown every year by the new discovery and study of inscriptions and also of coins and allied material. Although the reconstruction of early Indian history is thus progressing steadily year after year, there are still numerous gaps in our knowledge and innumerable problems still await solution by further discoveries and studies.

The great importance of inscriptions in the elucidation of dark areas in the early history of India can be illustrated by an example. Nobody knew anything about the Candra ruling family of Bengal before the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was in the year 1890, when Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I was published, that the students of East Indian History came to learn, for the first time, of king Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa (South-East Bengal), who

was defeated shortly before 1024 A. D. by the armies of the Cola king Rajendra I (1016-43 A. D.) of the Tanjore-Tiruchirapalli region, according to an inscription on the Tirumalai rock in the North Arcot District of Madras.[4] For more than two decades, no further information was available about the said Candra king or any other ruler of his family. But, in the year 1912 and 1913, two copper-plate grants of another Candra king named Śrīcandra, written in characters of tenth century A. D., were traced and studied, the first coming from the Faridpur District[5] and the second from the Dacca District (in East Pakistan, now known as Bangladesh). These throw welcome light on the early history of the Candra dynasty. It is stated that the Candras originally lived at Rohitāgiri (modern Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District, Bihar). Pūrṇacandra was born in this family and his son was the Buddhist Suvarṇacandra and grandson the powerful king Trailokyacandra. Śrīcandra, the donor of the grants, was the son of Trailokyacandra who had become the ruler of Candra-dvīpa (i.e. Bakla Candradvīp in the Buckergunge District of East Pakistan) and the support of the fortunes (i.e. a feudatory) of the king of Harikela (the Sylhet region). The Buddhist king Śrīcandra assumed independence and enjoyed the titles *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*. His charters recording grants of land in the Dacca-Faridpur region were issued from his capital at Vikrampura in the present Dacca District. Some other copper-plate grants of the same king were discovered later and one of them was issued in his forty-sixth regnal year.[6] Śrīcandra was the first independent king of the Candra dynasty, who succeeded in establishing his power over wide areas of South-East Bengal and transferred his capital to Vikrampura in the later part of his reign. The student of the history of ancient Bengal was now in possession of some valued information about the Candras. But, unfortunately, there was no light on many problems including the relationship between Śrīcandra of the tenth century and Govindacandra of the eleventh.

More than a decade later, a record on the pedestal of an image of the god Narteśvara (Śiva), discovered in the Tippera District (East Pakistan), was published.[7] According to the inscription, the image was installed in the 18th regnal year of king Laḍahacandra. Thus we came to know of another king of the Candra dynasty of South-East Bengal, who ruled at least for about eighteen years, and also the fact that the Tippera District formed a part of the Candra dominions. But still there was no light on the relations between Śrīcandra and Govindacandra while, additionally, Laḍahacandra's relationship with Śrīcandra on the one hand and Govindacandra on the other sprang up as a new problem requiring solution.

For nearly two decades, no new information regarding the problems of the Candras was available. Then, suddenly, two image inscriptions of Govindacandra, one from the Dacca District and another from the Faridpur District (East Pakistan), were brought to light.[8] One of these records states that the image in question was installed in the twenty-third year of Govindacandra's reign and thus shows that the king reigned for about quarter of a century. It will be seen that, for this interesting addition to our knowledge of Govindacandra, known since 1890, we had to wait for more than half a century. Still, however, nothing was known about Govindacandra's relations either with Śrīcandra or with Laḍahacandra.

Recently, four copper-plate grants have been discovered in the Dacca and Tippera Districts of East Pakistan.[9] They are-- (1) The Dacca plate of Kalyāṇacandra, issued in his twenty-fourth regnal year; (2 and 3) two Mainamati plates of Laḍahacandra; and (4) Mainamati plate of Govindacandra. According to these records, Govindacandra was the son of Laḍahacandra, grandson of Kalyāṇacandra and great-grandson of Śrīcandra. Thus, after waiting for nearly seven decades, we have now full information about Govindacandra's ancestry. The recently discovered inscriptions reveal some other valuable facts such as the military success of Śrīcandra and Kalyāṇacandra against the Pāla kings of Gauḍ and the Śālastambha kings of Prāgjyotiṣa, the help Śrīcandra rendered to Gopāla II in obtaining the Pāla throne and his claim of capturing and releasing a Pāla queen, and Laḍahacandra's visit to Varanasi on pilgrimage. But still many of the facts relating to the Candras remain to be recovered. For those who are in the field of Indian historical research, this gathering of information on a particular topic bit by bit is of absorbing interest. The students of history who studied the Tirumalai inscriptions in 1880, Śrīcandra's copper-plate grants about 1912-13, the image inscriptions of Govindacandra's time about 1940-41, and the copper-plate grants of Kalyāṇacandra, Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra in recent years must have felt 'like some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken'.

The work of reconstruction of the early period of Indian history had been initiated by Western scholars in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, but was later taken up also by Indian students of history. This work is likely to go on for a long time to come since valuable epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological records are even now being discovered year after year. There is a belief among educated Indians that all important inscriptions have already been discovered, studied and utilized for the reconstruction of history. But the

recent volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* clearly prove the hollowness of such an idea. Indeed, the importance of epigraphic studies does not show any sign of waning even long after their beginning more than 150 years ago.[10]

The decipherment of early Indian inscriptions, written in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī scripts, which paved the way for epigraphic studies, was due to European scholars like Prinsep, Lassen, Norris and Cunningham. The key to the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭī alphabet was supplied by the Greek legends on the coins of the Indo-Greeks and their translation in Prākṛt written in Kharoṣṭī. Some help in this matter was also rendered later by a comparison of the Kharoṣṭī and Brāhmī versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. As regards the decipherment of Brāhmī, the first clue was offered by a number of small dedicatory inscriptions, mostly ending in the word *dānaṁ* meaning 'a gift', preceded by the donor's name in the sixth case-ending.[11]

It was Prinsep to whom we owe the unravelling of the mystery of the Brāhmī alphabet and the decipherment of a number of letters of the Kharoṣṭī script. Besides some of the pioneers referred to above, Indian epigraphic studies owe a great debt to other Western scholars like G. Buhler, E. Senart, F. Kielhorn, E. Hultzsch, J. F. Fleet, and L. D. Barnett. Among Indian scholars, mention may be made of Bhagwanlal Indraji, Rajendralal Mitra, R. G. Bhandarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerji, N. G. Majumdar, V. Venkayya, H. Krishna Sastri, N. P. Chakravarti, and others.

Specimens of the most ancient writing in India were offered by the seals discovered at the sites of Harappa in the West Punjab and Mohenjodaro in Sind. Both the places are now parts of Pakistan.[12] Similar seals have recently been found also at Lothal in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat and Kalibangan in the Ganganagar District of the Bikaner Division of Rajasthan.[13] At the dawn of human civilization, man learnt to express his ideas by drawing pictures. Writing with the help of an alphabet consisting of a limited number of letters, each having a specific sound value, developed out of that ancient custom, after hundreds of years, in different parts of the world. The seals of Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other places are assignable to the pre-historic Indian civilization, possibly of Dravidian origin and allied to the Sumerian culture of Western Asia, and to an age about three thousand years before Christ. Their legends represent an intermediate stage between the pictographical and the pre-alphabetical syllabic form of writing. Unfortunately, this oldest form of Indian writing has not yet been deciphered to the satisfaction of scholars, and its mystery is not likely to be solved before the discovery of biscriptural and bilingual records containing this writing side by side with a version in some

known language and script. The pre-historic writing of India appears to have ultimately developed into the well-known Brāhmī script some time before the rise of the Mauryas in the fourth century B. C. [14]

The early Maurya emperors ruled over the major part of the Indian subcontinent as well as Afghanistan. The inscriptions of the Mauryas found elsewhere in ancient Bhāratavarṣa outside its Uttarāpatha division, lying roughly between the East Punjab and the Oxus, are written in the Prākṛt language and the Brāhmī alphabet.[15] People now learn the alphabet from the fixed forms of letters as found in the printed text books. In early times, however, the knowledge of the alphabet was transmitted from teacher to pupil. This fact as well as the eternal eagerness of man to write quickly, i.e. without raising the pen as far as possible, led to the gradual modification in the forms of the letters of the Brāhmī alphabet and finally gave rise to the various regional alphabets of India.[16] But Brāhmī is the mother not only of the Indian alphabets of today, but also of the alphabets of such other countries as Ceylon, Tibet, Burma, Siam (Thailand), Malaysia, Indonesia and Indochina, which came in early times within the pale of Indian civilization.[17]

The inscriptions of the Maurya emperor Aśoka discovered in Uttarāpatha are written in several languages and alphabets. One of his Minor Rock Edicts has been recently found at Kandahar in Afghanistan which was the home of his Yavana (Greek) and Kāmboja (Iranian) subjects.[18] It is in two versions, one in Greek meant for the Greeks and other in Aramaic meant for the Kāmbojas. A few other Aramaic epigraphs have also been discovered in the Uttarāpatha division as far east as Taxila in the Rawalpindi district of Pakistan. The use of Aramaic in these parts is explained by the fact that the territories of Sindhu and Gandhāra formed a part of the empire of the Achaemenians of Iran for two centuries from the close of the sixth century B. C., and that Aramaic was the language of the Achaemenian administration. Kharoṣṭī is an Indian modification of the Aramaic alphabet. Its rise seems to be due to an attempt on the part of the tax-collectors and merchants to write the Indian Prākṛt language in the Aramaic script in a cursive way. But it soon rose in respectability so as to be employed in writing royal records such as the Rock Edicts of Aśoka found in the Peshawar and Hazara Districts.[19] The use of Kharoṣṭī later spread to Afghanistan and other areas of Central Asia. But the vowel system of the alphabet being incomplete owing to the absence of the letters, ā, ī, ū, etc. as well as their medial signs, Kharoṣṭī was not well-suited for writing the Indian languag. This was the reason why Kharoṣṭī had ultimately to give way to Brāhmī not only in India but also in Central Asia. The latest Kharoṣṭī records have been assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries A. D.[20]

The language of the early inscriptions of India is Prākṛt which exhibits some regional peculiarities. There is considerable difference between the Prākṛt language of epigraphic records of the eastern areas of Aśoka's empire and that of those of its western regions, while there is a third group of his inscriptions exhibiting an admixture of the peculiarities of both these dialects in different degrees. Prākṛt as the language of Indian epigraphs was later replaced by Sanskrit, though the supersession took place in northern India earlier than in the South where Sanskrit is first noticed side by side with Prākṛt in the fourth century A. D. It appears that Sanskrit was patronized by the foreign rulers of the western and north-western regions of the Indian sub-continent and also by a few indigenous kings of India. The earliest Sanskrit epigraphs of northern India appear to be the Ghosundi-Hathibada inscription[21] of Gājāyana Sarvatāta and the Ayodhya inscription[22] of Dhanadeva, both belonging to the first century B. C., as also certain Mathurā inscriptions of the time of the Śakas who ruled about the beginning of the first century A D [23] There are, however, many records of the transitional period written partly in Prākṛt and partly in Sanskrit or in an admixture of the two languages.[24] The regional languages first appear in South Indian epigraphical records. We have some small private records in Tamil of the early centuries of the Christian era,[25] while Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu were employed in writing royal records from the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.[26]

A number of inscriptions may be regarded as *kāvyas* in prose or verse or an admixture of both, composed by poets usually attached to the royal courts. Such records of the early period written in Sanskrit include the Junagadh inscription[27] of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman I (middle of the second century A. D.), the Allahabad pillar inscriptions [28] of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. D.), the Talagunda inscription[29] of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (middle of the fifth century A. D.) and the Aihole inscription[30] of the Cālukya emperor Pulakeśin II (first half of the seventh century A. D.). The name of the author of Rudradāman's record is unknown; but the poets who composed the three other epigraphs referred to above were Hariṣeṇa, Kubja and Ravikīrti respectively. Of the four poems, the first is written in prose, the second in a mixture of prose and verse and the third and fourth in verse. A few early inscriptions in Prākṛt may likewise be classed as prose *kāvyas*, e.g. the Nasik inscription[31] of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Pulumāvī (middle of the second century A. D.) and the Hāthīgumphā inscription[32] of Khāravela (close of the first century B. C.).

Epigraphic records may vary considerably in point of length. Besides the mason's mark often consisting of a sign or letter, sometimes an inscription may

contain only a single word or expression indicating the name of an individual (often a pilgrim at a holy religious establishment engraving his name on a wall or stone to commemorate his visit) or being meant for the label for a sculptured scene from well-known works such as the *Jātakas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*. Sometimes, however, inscriptions represent a *kāvya* in many Cantos and a drama in several Acts. Thus the Rajsamand (forty miles from Udaipur in Rajasthan) inscription, engraved on twenty-five stone slabs each measuring three feet in height and two feet and a half in breadth, comprises a *Mahākāvya* entitled *Rājapraśasti* (composed in 1676 A. D.) consisting of no less than twenty-four Cantos.[33] The most famous instances of dramas inscribed on stone slabs are the Ajmer *Harekeli-nāṭaka* and *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka* inscriptions.[34]

The literary merit of some of the poetical compositions contained in inscriptions, e.g. the Junagadh, Allahabad, Talagunda and Aihole inscriptions referred to above, stands favourable comparison with the best products of the foremost Indian poets. The names of the authors of some such compositions (e.g. Hariṣeṇa, Kubja, Ravikīrti and others) are known only from the epigraphic records. Their other works being lost, they are unknown to the general student of Sanskrit literature. Some poets like Chittapa[35] and Umāpatidhara[36] are of course known both from inscriptions as well as from literary sources. In any case, inscriptions play an important part in the reconstruction of the history of the literary activities of the Indians of ancient and medieval times.

Indian inscriptions may be classified broadly under two types, viz. (1) those incised by or on behalf of the ruling authority, and (2) those engraved on behalf of private personages and institutions. The largest number of epigraphic records of the second category constitute records of the donations made in favour of religious establishments and of the installation of images in temples for worship, and they are generally engraved on the objects of donation and installation. Such records are usually small in size. In some cases, however, they mention the name of the king, during whose rule the donation was made or the installation took place. A large number of dedicatory inscriptions—big, medium and small—are incised on the walls etc. of great religious establishments and centres of pilgrimage such as the temples at Siṁhacalam and Śrīkūrmam in the present Visakhapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh. Most of the donations recorded in these epigraphs were made by pilgrims, some of whom were kings, chieftains and royal officers. In some cases, people are known to have made donations in favour of deities *in absentia* through representatives. People visiting temples on pilgrimage sometimes carried a

written eulogy (*praśasti*) for the purpose of engraving it on the temple wall after having made the desired grants.

Praśastis were often composed and incised on tablets or pillars of stone in order to commemorate achievements such as the excavation of tanks and step-wells and the construction of temples by a single person or a group of persons. The king of the country is often mentioned in such compositions. Even a private record also therefore sometimes offers valuable information for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of ancient India as well as such other allied subjects as historical geography, topography, etc. Step-wells, called *vāpī* in Sanskrit, *vāī* in Prākṛt and *bāwlī* or *bāwrī* in the local dialects of western India, many of them bearing inscriptions, are generally found in the said regions of the country where water is considerably below the surface of the earth. Some of them are known to have been made at a great cost. Large masonry-wells, which are a costly type of ring-well, bear inscriptions occasionally.

By far, more important are the inscriptions incised by or on behalf of the ruling authority. These records are of several kinds, such as (1) those containing royal edicts, the well-known specimens of which are supplied by the celebrated Rock and Pillar edicts of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*c.* 272-232 B. C.); (2) those commemorating particular achievements of a ruler in an eulogistic *kāvya* (*praśasti*) such as Junagadh, Allahabad, Talagunda and Aihole inscriptions referred to above; (3) those recording grants made in favour of learned Brāhmaṇas, religious institutions and deserving officials etc. Grants of land were generally incised on a plate or plates of copper. But sometimes they were also engraved on stone. Some inscriptions on the walls of the Nasik caves[37] appear to be copies of copper-plate grants originally issued by certain rulers of the Śaka and Sātavāhana families.

Some early works on law and usage, such as the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (II. 318-20) and *Viṣṇusmṛti* (III. 57-59; V. 9-10), speak of the preparation of the *Rāja-śāsana* or royal charters recording grants of land, property, etc. Scholars have assigned the work of Yājñavalkya roughly to the fourth century A. D. while the original *Viṣṇusmṛti* appears to have been compiled at a little later date. According to these works, the king caused the preparation of a document (*lekhya*), after making a grant, for the guidance of the future rulers of the area. The document is then stated to have been written on a piece of cloth (*paṭa*) or incised on a tablet or plates (*paṭṭa*) of copper in order to make it a permanent record. The charter contained a description of the donor (i.e. the king) together with his three immediate predecessors as well as of the donee

and the gift. It was endowed with the king's signature and seal and contained the date of issue and a request addressed to the future rulers, in which the donor implored them not to resume the land gifted.

The draft of the charter was prepared by a high officer of the king who issued it. According to the *Vyāsasmṛti* of about the sixth century A. D., as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, the draft of a charter was first written on a slab or on the floor with a piece of chalk and was afterwards rewritten, after correction, on the proper object. Early copper-plate inscriptions like the Taxila plate [38] of Patika (dated in the year 78 of the old Scytho-Parthian era later known as the Vikrama-*saṁvat*, the date corresponding to 21 A. D.) are not copper-plate grants of the type discussed above. The earliest copper charters of the regular type are certain official records of the fourth century A. D. which were issued by such South Indian royal families as the Pallava, Śalaṅkāyana and Vākāṭaka.[39] The Kalachala fragmentary grant[40] of Īśvararāta, coming from western India, also belongs to the same age. But the earliest copper-plate charters of northern India, viz. the Gaya and Nālandā plates[41] of Samudragupta, are unfortunately spurious documents. That, however, the custom of engraving royal charters on copper plates was prevalent in still earlier times seems to be suggested by the Śaka and Sātavāhana grants incised on the walls of the Nasik caves and assignable to the second century A. D., to which reference has been made above.

The grant of a village or a piece of land is often found to have been the subject of a big *praśasti* (eulogistic *kāvya*) incised on copper plates. But such eulogies composed for the commemoration of victories in wars or for the construction of temples and excavation of tanks or step-wells were generally engraved on slabs or pillars of stone. Considerably detailed information about the achievements of a particular ruler as well as his ancestors is often found in such compositions. The importance of these records for the reconstruction of early Indian history is therefore enormous. This is especially because much of the information supplied by them is usually not available from any other source.

In most cases relating to the early period, the history of a royal family has been almost entirely reconstructed on the basis of inscriptions including the legends on coins and seals. The history of the mighty Gupta emperors of Magadha may be mentioned as an illustration. The exploits of the great Samudragupta (*c.* 335-76 A. D.), who had his capital at Pāṭaliputra near modern Patna but subdued nearly the whole of North India and even extended his political influence as far south as Kāñcīpuram near Madras, are only known from his Allahabad pillar inscription. Likewise, the history of the great Cālukyas

of Bādāmī and the Imperial Colas of the Tanjore-Tiruchirapalli region is derived almost wholly from their inscriptions. The achievements of the land forces and navy of the great Cola monarch Rājendra I (1016-43 A. D.) are only known from his epigraphic records. Rājendra's army advanced in the course of a conquering expedition as far as East Bengal in the east, while his navy established Cola authority in wide areas of Indonesia and Malaysia.[42]

In this connection, it has to be admitted that the eulogical *kāvyas* dealing with the exploits of medieval Indian rulers usually contain an amount of exaggeration which partly detracts from their value as historical documents. The court poet's tendency to exaggerate is best illustrated by the Khajuraho inscription[43] of the Candella king Dhaṅga (*c.* 950-1002 A. D.). It is implied in the record that the Candella ruler crushed the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga, and had the queens of those rulers housed in a prison at his capital city. The claim is, however, obviously an exaggeration. In the first place, it appears to be extremely doubtful that Dhaṅga came into conflict with all the four kings even if it is supposed that the Aṅga and Rāḍhā rulers were mere viceroys of the contemporary Pāla emperor of eastern India. Secondly, even if it is believed that Dhaṅga fought with all the four rulers, it is still more dubious that he came out victorious in all these conflicts. Thirdly, in case Dhaṅga can be believed to have become victorious in all these conflicts, it is still more doubtful if he succeeded in capturing the queens of all the defeated rulers. Fourthly, even if Dhaṅga really captured the wives of all the vanquished kings, it is highly improbable that he sent them to the prison instead of accommodating them in his own harem or allotting them to his favourites.[44]

While studying the *praśastis* of the Indian rulers of the medieval age, the students of history require therefore to be very careful in determining the truth of a claim. It may, however, be said that such gross exaggeration, as found in the case of Dhaṅga, is not generally met with in the epigraphs of the earlier period, even though there is always an element of exaggeration in the royal eulogies which were usually composed by poets patronized by the kings. It is but natural for the court poet to be eager to please his master. Generally speaking, the earlier the record is, the more is our reliance on the claims it puts forward on behalf of particular rulers. The claims are however often very vague. Definite statements such as the mention of the personal names of adversaries, which are of rare occurrence, are usually much more trustworthy. It can hardly be doubted that, whatever be the nature of exaggeration, records like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra I, both referred to above, contain a very considerable amount of truth. There is

certainly no imaginary name in the lists of the contemporary rulers of particular regions, with whom Samudragupta and Rājendra are stated to have come into conflict.

Certain claims in the description of kings in the royal *praśastis* have to be regarded as conventional and are therefore of little historical value. One of the conventions often met with is the representation of a king as the ruler or conqueror of 'the whole earth', an expression used to indicate the *cakravarti-kṣetra* or the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler. This sphere was originally conceived as coterminous with the ancient Bhāratavarṣa bounded by the Himalayas and the three seas, viz. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian sea. Later on, another conception of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* developed among Indian poets. According to this, Āryāvarta or North India was the sphere of influence of North Indian monarchs and Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India was the sphere of the kings of the South, though the poets were at liberty to utilize either of the two conceptions in their description of rulers according to their convenience. The Pāla king Devapāla (*c.* 810-50 A. D.), who really ruled in the Bengal-Bihar region of eastern India, is described sometimes as the undisputed monarch of the entire Bhāratavarṣa, but sometimes only as the ruler of Āryāvarta. The representation of a king as the ruler or conqueror of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* really means that he claimed to be an independent king or an emperor.[45] In some cases, a mere present from the ruler of a distant land was represented by the court poet as a tribute paid to his patron, while the latter's contact of any kind with another king appeared in the language of the *praśasti* as his overlordship over the other. In regard to certain early rulers like king Yaśodharman (second quarter of the sixth century A. D.) of Daśapura, historians have generally failed to recognize the conventional element in their claim to have conquered the *cakravarti-kṣetra*.

The task of engraving an inscription on a stone slab or a plate or plates of copper was often entrusted to illiterate or semi-illiterate stone-cutters and goldsmiths. The unwise practice is responsible for the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies in a large number of epigraphic records, particularly those belonging to private individuals. There are instances of carelessly incised documents even among charters issued by kings, especially those belonging to minor ruling families. The drafts of such documents, prepared by royal officials, also often contained errors of language and grammar. An instance of imperial charters written and engraved by irresponsible and incompetent people is offered by the Varanasi copper-plate grant[46] of the Kālacuri king Karṇa (1041-71 A. D.) of Tripurī (modern Tewar in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh).

The grant being issued by Karṇa when he was encamped at Prayāga (Allahabad) in connection with the annual *śrāddha* ceremony of his deceased father, Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya, the work of engraving the document on the plate seems to have been entrusted to a local novice who could not follow the writing of the official draft. It must, however, be admitted that powerful kings generally had trained and efficient engravers in their service, and there are instances of several generations of a family of artisans serving a particular dynasty of kings. Such engravers performed their job very carefully. The Deopada stone inscription[47] of king Vijayasena (about the middle of the twelfth century A. D.) is known to have been incised by a celebrated artist named Śūlapāṇi who is described as the president of the guild of artisans of the Varendra country (North Bengal) and as enjoying the title *Rāṇaka*. The neat and beautiful engraving of the record and its freedom from errors still excite our admiration.

Often a high officer of the king or a learned man prepared the draft of a record and a calligraphist was engaged to write it on the stone slab or copper plate with ink or a pointed instrument for the purpose of facilitating the work of the engraver and to ensure the correctness of the inscription. The Talagunda inscription, referred to above, was not only composed by Kubja, the court poet of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (middle of the fifth century A. D.) of Karṇāṭa, but was also written on the stone by the poet himself probably with ink. The engraver in this case therefore succeeded in incising the record satisfactorily without committing any errors. Often, however, the engravers incised inscriptions directly from the drafts without getting them written on the stone slabs and copper plates. Such epigraphic records usually contain many errors of omission and commission.

Royal seals were affixed to the copper-plate grants issued by the Indian rulers in order to ensure their authenticity as documents. These seals are of different sizes and shapes. In some cases, they are small and contain only the representation of the emblem or coat of arms of the royal family, to which the donor belonged. Such emblems were generally indicative of the religious persuasion of the family in question. Śaivism being the dominant religious faith in all ages of Indian history and in all parts of the country, we very often notice the representation of the bull (i.e. Śiva's *vāhana* called Nandin especially in South Indian mythology) on the seals of numerous kings and private individuals. Similar other emblems are Garuḍa (Viṣṇu's *vāhana*) and Dharmacakra on the seals of the Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist rulers respectively. The Gajalakṣmī (i.e. the goddess Lakṣmī being bathed by water poured from jars held by two elephants in their trunks on the left and right) is likewise found on some royal seals. The

most popular shape of the royal seals attached to copper-plate grants was that of a lotus. In single-plate records, the seal was affixed to the plate itself, while, in the case of multiplate documents, it was attached to the joint of the copper ring holding the plates together. The fixation of the seals, prepared from dies or moulds, to the plates or rings was done with the help of a lump of molten or semi-molten metal.

In many cases, small seals contain only the legend and no emblem, and the legend generally bears the name of the king in the sixth case-ending, though in rare cases we have it in the first case-ending or without any case-ending. On the seals of some royal families, the legend is a stanza in the Anuṣṭubh metre arranged in two or four lines.[48]

In some cases, the seal is sufficiently big and contains either several emblems or a fairly big legend. Thus the seal of the Cola king Rājendra I is known to bear the figures of a pair of fish, a tiger seated like a dog, a parasol flanked by two flywhisks, the sun, the crescent moon, two lamp-stands each having a piece of cloth tied round the middle and a wick-lamp burning on the top, and a strung bow.[49] Likewise, the seals of certain royal families like the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha contain a big legend of eight or more lines of writing in the lower part of the surface, while its upper part bears the royal emblem, e.g. the Garuḍa emblem of the Guptas.[50] In big legends, the reigning monarch, who was the donor of a charter, was usually mentioned along with his ancestors beginning from the founder of the dynasty. Terracotta and clay seals belonging to kings, royal officials, private individuals and administrative, mercantile and religious organizations have been discovered in large numbers at various sites in northern India. The writing on the seals is generally positive, though some seals bearing legends in negative writing have also been discovered. The latter may have been used for sealing documents as well as for the preparation of seals with legends with positive writing.

Some dynasties preferred the engraving of their documents on single plates, while there were others who got their charters engraved on two, three or more plates. On single-plate documents, the seal was fixed to a projection at the top when the writing was breadthwise; but the projection was at the left side if the writing was lengthwise. Sometimes there was no projection, and the seal was affixed to the plate itself. On multiplate documents, the hole for the seal ring to pass through was made in the left margin if the writing was lengthwise, but in the upper margin if it was breadthwise. In the records of certain West Indian royal families, the plates were strung on two rings, though the seal was attached to only one of them. Some kings and dynasties did not fix any seal to their copper-plate grants, but engraved their emblems on the plates instead.

Copper plates of small size were originally used for the engraving of royal records. This is because there was a tendency to give them the shape of palm-leaf or birch-bark sheets on which the documents were generally written before they were copied on the plates. Single-plate records were a little bigger and resembled birch-bark sheets; but the plates looked like sheets cut out of palmyra leaves when several of them were employed for the incision of a document. Small records generally contained the name of the donor alone. Sometimes, the name of the donor's father was added. But, in bigger records, usually the donor is introduced as the son, grandson and great-grandson of particular rulers and, in many cases, the entire genealogy of the donor beginning from the progenitor of his family is quoted.

An elaborate description of the achievements of the donor and his ancestors is generally absent in the earlier copper-plate grants. But a tendency gradually developed to introduce in the charters a lengthy eulogy describing not only the donor but also all of his ancestors especially when the grants were issued by imperial rulers. As a result of this, even those royal families which issued single-plate charters, e.g. the Pālas and the Senas of eastern India, had also to use plates of a considerably bigger and thicker size. By way of illustration, we may refer to the Monghyr-plate[51] of Devapāla and the Naihati plate[52] of Ballālasena, which respectively measure 18¾ by 13⅞ inches and 15 by 13⅝ inches. Such records are sometimes found to bear about seventy lines of writing. The Daulatpura plates[53] of Pratīhāra Bhoja I measures 22 by 16 inches and, together with its seal, weighs one thousand five hundred and eighty *tolās*.

Some West Indian ruling families preferred to write their charters on the inner side of two copper plates, while a large number of multiplate documents are engraved on three plates of copper and are, in some cases, referred to in the records themselves as the *triphalī-tāmraśāsana* or a copper charter engraved on three plates or tablets. As in the case of double-plate documents, the triple-plate records have also the outside of the first and third plates blank. This was apparently done with a view to ensuring the protection of the writing. Often the borders of the inscribed faces of the plates were slightly raised, so that the inscription might not be rubbed out as a result of friction. One of the heaviest three-plate documents is the Paithan inscription[54] of 1272 A. D., issued by king Rāmacandra of the Seuṇa-Yādava house of Devagiri. The three plates measure 20½ by 15 inches each and together weigh two thousand and three hundred *tolās*, while the weight of the two rings holding the plates together (one of them bearing the seal with the Garuḍa emblem) is four hundred and fifty-seven *tolās*. The total weight of the record is thus two thousand seven hundred

and fifty-seven *tolās*, and it contains no less than one hundred eighteen lines of writing.

The Pallavas of South India, the Vākāṭakas of Berar, the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Bhauma-Nārakas of Prāgjyotiṣa are some of the early dynasties that preferred to write their documents on many plates of copper. The Nidhanpur inscription[55] of the Bhauma-Nāraka king Bhāskaravarman (first half of the seventh century A. D.) was originally incised on as many as six or seven plates and contained about one hundred seventy lines of writing. The charters of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa, who flourished from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A. D., were often incised on six or seven plates, the weight of which together with that of the seal-ring is sometimes more than one thousand *tolās*. Thus the second set[56] of the Kendupatna plates of Gaṅga Narasiṁha II (1278-1306 A. D.) has one hundred and seventeen lines of inscription engraved on seven copper plates each measuring 13 by 9¹/₅ inches and together weighing nine hundred and fifty-five *tolās* besides the ring with the seal weighing two hundred and fifty-three *tolās*. The total weight of the inscription is thus one thousand two hundred and eight *tolās*.

The biggest copper-plate records, necessarily of the multiplate type, come from Tamilnad and were issued by the Cola kings. The larger of the two Leyden inscriptions[57] of king Rājarāja I (985-1016 A. D.) is engraved on twenty-one plates and contain four hundred and forty-three lines of writing, while the Tiruvalangadu inscription[58] of Rājarāja's son Rājendra I (1016-43 A. D.) contains eight hundred and sixteen lines of inscription engraved on thirty-one copper plates weighing, together with a massive seal-ring, altogether seven thousand and eighty *tolās*. But the biggest copper-plate grant discovered so far is the Karandai inscription[59] issued by Rājendra I in the eighth year of his reign. The record is written on fifty-five plates measuring 16¹/₂ by 9¹/₂ inches each and together weighing, even without the seal-rings, as many as eight thousand six hundred and forty-five *tolās*. The plates were originally strung on two rings, only one of which, weighing seven hundred and fifty-three *tolās*, has been discovered. The inscription on these plates runs into two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine lines of writing. One hundred and thirty-one lines engraved on the first three plates of the epigraph give the genealogy of the Colas down to the donor of the grant and record the grant of a village in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The following twenty-two plates bearing one thousand and forty-one lines of writing contain a eulogy of the donor together with the boundaries of the gift village as well as the names of the officials and others associated with

the grant recorded in the charter. The last thirty plates bearing one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven lines of writing contain the names of the Brāhmaṇas who received the grant as well as the names of their *gotras*, the places of their residence, etc. The donees thus enumerated in the record are one thousand and seventy-three in number. We know that, in describing the boundless liberality of Paramāra Bhoja (*c.* 1000-055 A. D.), the author of the *Bhojaprabandha* speaks of the dearth of copper on the earth caused by the issue of innumerable copper-plate grants by the Paramāra king. The hyperbolic statement of the author assumes some meaning when we think of the great bulk of the copper charters issued by the Cola monarchs.

The earliest epigraphic records of India do not refer to any era, but are sometimes dated in the regnal reckoning of individual monarchs. This is because originally there was no popular era in the country, and events were recorded as having occurred in a particular year of the reign of the ruler of the land. The use of the years of an era in the dating of royal documents was popularized in India by foreign kings belonging to the Scytho-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa dynasties, who gave us the so-called Vikrama and Śaka eras starting respectively from 57 B. C. and 78 A. D. After the introduction of these eras, the use of several other eras was also introduced, and we have a large number of inscriptions dated in (1) the old Scytho-Parthian era of 57 B. C. later known as the Kṛta, Mālava and Vikrama era; (2) the era of 78 A. D. counted from the accession of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaṇiṣka I and later called the Śaka era owing to its continued use by the Śakas of western India from the first half of the second to the close of the fourth century A. D.; (3) the era of 248 A. D. used by the Ābhīras, Traikūṭakas, Kālacuris, Gurjaras and others; (4) the Gupta or Vallabhī era of 320 A. D. started by the Guptas and used in north India from Bengal in the east to Kathiawar and the Punjab in the west; (5) the Harṣa era of 606 A. D. counted from the accession of king Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Kanauj and used in Bihar, U. P., Rajasthan, the Punjab and Kashmir as late as the twelfth century A. D., and several others. Records bearing dates in some era are especially important for solving the many knotty problems of chronology in the early period of Indian history.

We have referred above to the contribution of European scholars to the study of Indian epigraphy and the reconstruction of early Indian history and have also stated how Indians were later attracted to the work. The study of Indian inscriptions and coins is, however, no longer popular among European scholars for various reasons. There is also now a dearth of competent Indian scholars in the field. The University of Calcutta introduced the post-graduate

study of Ancient Indian History and Culture including Epigraphy and Numismatics as early as 1918. Later, the subjects were introduced in the post-graduate courses in a few other universities, and today they are taught in a number of our seats of learning. But we have failed to create good students of these subjects, though a fairly large number of young men are getting their degrees in the subjects every year. Of late, circumstances have so developed that serious students with suitable qualifications are scarcely found for undertaking researches in subjects like epigraphy since they are lured by more lucrative professions open to them in larger numbers today.

Epigraphy and numismatics constituted the most important items of an archaeologist's work in India till the beginning of the present century. Even after the study of excavated antiquities began to receive attention about the beginning of the century, most officers of the Archaeological Survey of India used to deal with inscriptions and coins. With the appointment of M. Wheeler as the Director General of Archaeology, the Archaeological Survey of India became almost solely engaged in the study of prehistory. Thus the study of epigraphy and numismatics began to be ignored by the Government of India in spite of the fact that, in India at least, epigraphy is as important a subject as pure archaeology and could have been easily separated from the latter. In the second quarter of the present century, epigraphic work was practically confined to the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey, while numismatic study by the Survey almost ceased.[60] Epigraphic and numismatic studies would have progressed in India if they would have been entrusted to a separate Survey.[61]

A discussion on Indian epigraphy naturally brings in the question of the early inscriptions discovered in Central Asia, Ceylon and the countries beyond the Bay of Bengal. Something has already been said about Central Asia in connection with the spread of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭī alphabets. Ceylon appears to have adopted the use of the Brāhmī alphabet in the age of the Mauryas. The early inscriptions of the island are mostly in Prākṛt and very rarely in Sanskrit. Some early epigraphs in Sanskrit written in Late Brāhmī have been discovered in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Indonesia, Annam and Cambodia are more remarkable since they are not only numerous but also cover a much wider period. Some of the records are good pieces of *kāvya* in Sanskrit and bear dates in the Śaka era. The earliest association of the name Śaka with the era 78 A. D. is found, among Indian epigraphic records, in the Bādāmī rock inscription[62] of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin I, which is dated in Śaka 465 (i.e. 543 A. D.). It is therefore interesting to note that one of the early epigraphs dated in the Śaka era discovered in the

countries outside India is the Prasat Ak Yom (Cambodia) inscription[63] dated Śaka 531 (i.e. 609 A. D.), which is only a few decades later than the Bādāmī rock inscription. The use of the Śaka era probably spread to the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal from the western coast land of India.

These epigraphic records have been of great help to scholars for the reconstruction of the early history of Indonesia, Malaysia and Indochina. As in India, so also in those lands, the early history of the country was wrapped in obscurity. The inscriptions speak eloquently of the spread of Indian culture to those parts of the world from various areas of India, though South Indian (especially Karṇāṭa) characteristics appear to be more prominent in the epigraphic records of South-East Asia.

Year of writing: 1970

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[1] Cf. M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, (Ed.) E. B. Cowell (5th ed., London, 1866), p. 11. Alexander (336-323 B. C.) conquered the Achaemenian empire of Iran and came to establish his authority in the north-western regions of Bhāratavarṣa which had been a part of that empire from the close of the sixth century B. C. He crossed the Hindukush in 327 B. C., advanced as far as the Beas and left India through Baluchistan in 324 B. C. He succeeded in subduing a large number of states of the area in question, which had become semi-independent due to the weakness of Achaemenian hold on these parts at that time.

[2] *History of India*, p. 11; cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (1924), p. 1.

[3] This is *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, a revised edition of which was published by E. Hultzsch in 1925. [Hereafter *Corp. Ins. Ind.*]

[4] *Ibid.*, 95 ff. The inscription was incised in the 12th year of Rājendra's rule counted from his selection as heir—apparent to the Cola throne in 1012 A. D. The attention of scholars was later drawn to a literary reference to Govindacandra. According to the *Śabdapradīpa* of Sureśvara or Surapāla, his father Bhadreśvara was an officer of King Rāmapāla of Vaṅga while his grandfather Devagaṇa was the physician of King Govindacandra. See *History of Bengal*, I (ed. R. C. Majumdar), p. 317.

[5] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III (Rajshahi, 1929), pp. 2-3; 166-67 [Hereafter *Ins. Beng.*].

[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, New Delhi, XXVIII, pp.59ff., 337ff. [Hereafter *Ep. Ind.*].

[7] *Ibid.*, XVII (1923-24), p. 349ff.

[8] *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, VII (1940-41), p. 405ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p.24ff.

[9] See F. A. Khan's report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla' in *Further Excavations in East Pakistan*, pp. 22-6; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1960), I, p. 36ff.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV (Appendix), vi.

[11] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I (1925), xvi.

[12] Cf. J. Marshall, 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-24 to 1929-30; M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* (2 vols., New Delhi, 1997) etc.

[13] *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, Plate XVIII; 1960-61, Plate XLVIII.

[14] Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 423ff.

[15] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I (1925), p. 1ff.

[16] Cf. G. Buhler, 'Indian Palaeography' in *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, XXXIII (Appendix).

[17] See Renou and Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, II, p. 683ff.

[18] See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 1ff; cf. XXXII, p. 333ff.

[19] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I (1925), p. 50ff.

[20] Certain Kharoṣṭī records from Taxila have been assigned to the fifth century, while the Central Asian Prākṛt documents written in Kharoṣṭī on wooden tablets are assignable to the fourth century.

[21] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Delhi, 1983) [Hereafter *Sel. Ins.*], pp. 90-2.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[23] See *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 200; cf. XXIV, p. 194ff.

[24] See *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 194ff; XXXI, p. 1ff; etc. The records contain stanzas in classical Sanskrit metres.

[25] Cf. *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference* (1920), p. 327 ff.

[26] See *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Madras (1958-59), p. 41ff.; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Mysore State (1936), p. 72 ff.; etc.

[27] *Sel. Ins.*, p. 169ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 254ff.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

[30] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 1ff.

[31] *Sel. Ins.*, p. 196ff.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 206ff.

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX-XXX (Appendix), p.1ff.

[34] *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 201ff.

[35] See *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 215ff.

[36] *Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 44-5.

[37] Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 157ff., 191ff.; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Lahore (1940), p. 52ff.

[38] *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 120-21

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 406ff., 433ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 1ff.; etc.

[40] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 303ff.

[41] *Sel. Ins.*, p. 262ff.

[42] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 229ff.

[43] *Ibid.*, I, p. 145, verse 46.

[44] Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1974), p. 1ff.

[45] See *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1-16.

[46] *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 297ff.

[47] *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 42ff.

[48] Cf. the seals attached to the charters of the Vākāṭakas and the kings of Śarabhapura. Sometimes (e.g. on the seal of the Cola king Rājendra I), the verse is in a round line around the emblems in the central area of the surface.

[49] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 213. The pair of fish and the bow were the emblems of the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas respectively, and were added to the Cola coat of arms, originally comprising the tiger, after the annexation of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries to the Cola empire.

[50] See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LVIII, i, p. 89 and Plate. The seal of King Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.D.) bears the figure of a bull and no less than thirteen lines of writing in the legend (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 231-32).

[51] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 304ff.

[52] *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 159ff.

[53] G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (Delhi, 1918), p. 153, note 6.

[54] *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 314ff.

[55] P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 1ff.

[56] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 186-87.

[57] *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 213ff.

[58] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, 383ff.

[59] *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Madras, XIX, p. 148.

[60] H. D. Sankalia (*Indian Archaeology Today*, 1962, p. 109) misses the main cause of the loss of interest in epigraphy today when he blames the Epigraphic Branch of the Archaeological Survey for it. He says, 'There are very few scholars who can read the ancient Brāhmī script. . . . Possibly epigraphy is a difficult subject, and so people are not interested in it.' But, at the same time, he also observes, 'Scholars as well as students do not get an opportunity to decipher inscriptions. The one reason is that, unlike the earlier volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the recent volumes of this journal published by the Government of India are dominated by one person, viz. the Editor. It was formerly the practice of the Department of Epigraphy to send out inscriptions to other scholars in different parts of India and even outside. This has now been stopped and the result is that interest in the subject is fast decreasing, and I am afraid that, if this policy persists, then within 10 years there will be no scholars in India . . . who will know anything of epigraphy.' Unfortunately, Sankalia is misinformed. The said Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* sent out many inscriptions to scholars in India and outside, though very few of them were capable of completing their articles and

submitting them for publication. Most of these scholars failed to submit their articles even after continuous goading for years. The few articles that were received were published after extensive revision, often amounting to rewriting. The Editor also tried to encourage many scholars by making them joint authors of articles written by himself.

[61] Indeed, in a letter, dated the 15th of February 1886, J. F. Fleet suggested to the Government of India the separation of Epigraphy from the Archaeological Survey. But the wise counsel was not acceptable to the Government because Burgess, the then Director General of Archaeology, was even opposed to the creation of the post of Epigraphist in the Southern Circle. See *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 21 and note 1.

[62] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 4ff. A stanza in the Jaina work entitled *Lokavibhāga* says that it was originally composed in the year 380 of the Śaka era (i.e. 458 A. D.), corresponding to the twenty-second regnal year of King Siṁhavarman of Kāñcī, who was apparently a Pallava. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Mysore State (1910), pp. 45-7.

[63] R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 7.

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30

EPIGRAPHIC BEARING ON EARLY INDIAN ART

AN epigraph or inscription is anything 'which is engraved or otherwise marked'.[1] But to a student of History it has a special meaning, signifying writings (incised or painted or transferred by the process of casting or struck with the help of dies) upon any hard substance like rock, a block of stone, wood, shell, ivory (or any other type of bone), leather and objects made of metal and baked or unbaked clay. Writings on the manuscripts of texts or documents made of birch birk, palm-leaf, paper etc. are generally excluded from the study of inscriptions or epigraphy. However, these are written records and hence should also be included under the broad heading of 'inscriptions'.

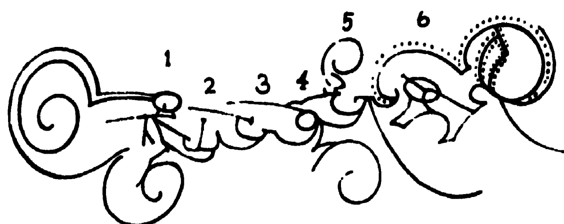
In the Indian subcontinent inscriptions are found on rocks, architectural pieces, lithic, metallic, earthen and wooden pillars, tablets, plates or pots, bricks, stone, clay or metallic objects, ivory plaques, coins, seals and gems. So far as their contents are concerned, these can be divided into a few categories. These are (i) official records engraved or issued by or on behalf of the rulers or administrative, judicial or military authorities (such as the edicts of Aśoka, Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri casket inscription of Kaṇiṣka I, coins and official seals with legends, etc.), (ii) semi-official documents, including eulogies composed under the patronage of kings (like the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta), donative records issued by scions of royal families, high officials, etc., (iii) private records inscribed by or on behalf of private individuals or organizations, including a very large number of votive and donative inscriptions and epigraphs perpetuating foundations or dedications of edifices, shrines and icons, and (iv) literary works (of the types of the odes in Prākṛt to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu at Dhar, the *Rājapraśasti-kāvya* at Udaipur, the *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka* and *Harakeli-nāṭaka* at Ajmer and a 7th-century composition on musical notations at Kumdumiyamalai[2] (Padukottai, Tamilnadu).

The inscriptions of early India are written in different scripts. The earliest of them, the one used by the people of the Indus civilization, still remains undeciphered (Plate 1). The largest number of ancient Indian inscriptions are in Brāhmī and its regional derivatives. Its use in Central Asia, China and South-East Asia are also attested. Kharoṣṭī, which originated and was popular in the

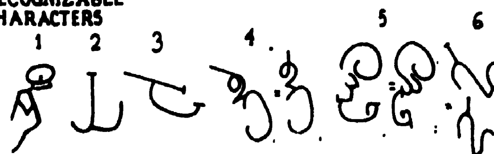


Plate 1 A seal inscription from Mahenjodaro, late 1st century A. D. to early 5th century A. D.

EYE COPY



RECOGNIZABLE CHARACTERS



COMPARABLE FORMS OF BRĀHMĪ LETTERS

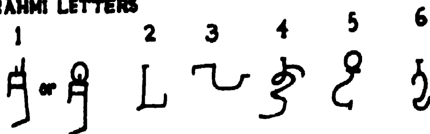


Plate 3 An eye copy of a Shell inscription, *c.* 1st century B. C. to *c.* 8th/9th century A. D.

Plate 2 Inscribed earthen pot from Poduru, 415-16 A. D. to 455-56 A. D.



Plate 6 A leaf of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, *c.* 12th century A. D.

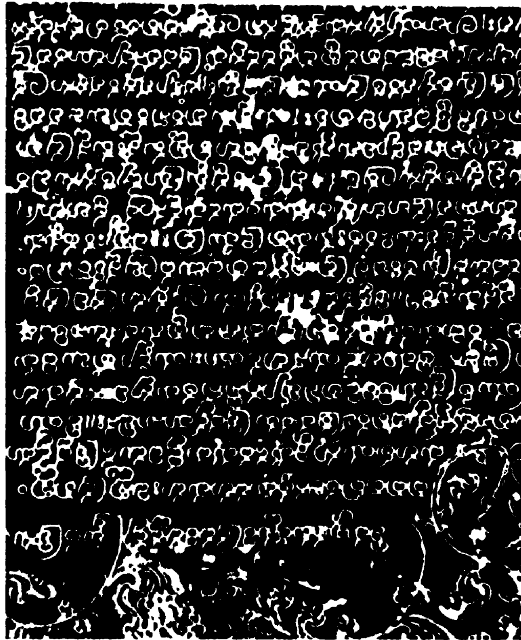


Plate 4 A record from Śravaṇabelagola, *c.* 12th century A. D.



Plate 8 The seal of the Karandai plates of Rājendra (I) Cola



Plate 7 A seal of Sarvavarman Maukhari

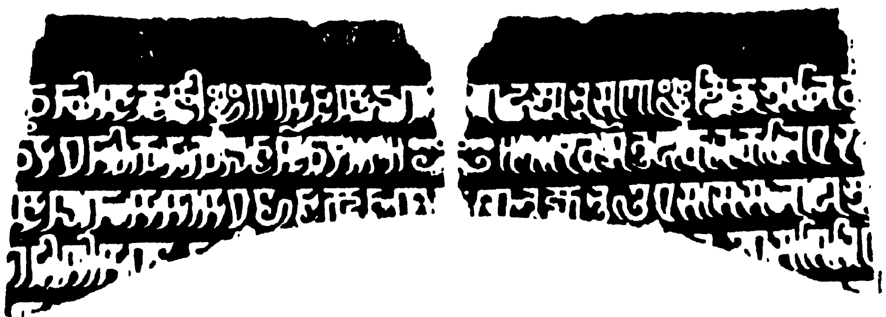


Plate 5 A stone block from Dhar, *c.* 11th century A. D.

north-western section of the Indian subcontinent for some centuries before and after Christ, was also used regularly for some time in Central Asia and in ancient Vaṅga (including parts of lower West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh). In Vaṅga a mixed script consisting of Kharoṣṭī and Brāhmī letters was also popular from about the late 1st to the early 5th century A. D. This Kharoṣṭī-Brāhmī script was perhaps referred to in the *Lalitavistara* as *Vimiśrita-lipi* or 'Mixed script'.[3]

The so-called Shell script seems to have been a derivative from Brāhmī. In this script the heads of the letters were deliberately turned left or right or downwards to make the reading very difficult. It was probably designated in the *Lalitavistara* as *Avamurddha-lipi* (i.e. the script of which the 'heads are turned down'). The script was in use in the greater part of the Indian subcontinent (from *c.* 1st century B. C. to *c.* 8th/9th century A. D.) and also in a few areas of South-East Asia.[4]

Among other scripts employed in the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands were Aramaic and Greek. Some other scripts, mostly perhaps different regional derivatives of Brāhmī, are mentioned in the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, *Lalitavistara* and a few Jaina *sūtras*.[5]

The vast majority of the inscriptions from the Maurya to the Gupta age are in Prākṛt, 'mixed' dialects [(i) Prākṛt and Sanskrit and (ii) Sanskrit and Prākṛt], Sanskrit and local dialects (including an early or proto-Dravidian or Tamil language or dialect). In the post-Gupta period a few regional languages (including Kannaḍa, Tamil etc.) or dialects were used besides Sanskrit. Epigraphs in Arabic became known long before the end of the ancient (or proto-medieval) age in *c.* A. D. 1200.[6]

The subject matters of the inscriptions (if considered in a conventional sense) are more limited in nature than those dealt with in religious scriptures, literary texts and scientific treatises preserved in manuscripts. Moreover, the eulogies recorded in epigraphs often contain hyperbolic statements. Nevertheless, the epigraphs have their own importance. Even if several of the old epigraphs are now mutilated, these do not, unlike the manuscripts, contain interpolations or corruptions of texts. Moreover, they supply invaluable data for reconstructing political, administrative, economic, social, religious and cultural history. They indeed constitute a major source of our knowledge of ancient India.

The potentiality of epigraphs as sources of early Indian history has not yet been fully exploited. For example, we can refer to the feasibility of the use of inscriptions as sources of our knowledge of early Indian fine arts. No doubt a seminar held in Varanasi in 1979 highlighted the relevant importance of the

epigraphs. But the published report on the seminar contains only assorted articles and no systematic discussion on the subject. We propose to do this in this paper.

As sources of the history of fine arts, early Indian epigraphy can be studied from different angles. Epigraphic records can sometimes be treated as objects of fine arts. Their excellent calligraphy and embellishments may rightly claim our admiration. The inscriptional allusion to accompanying scenes or figures and references to or description of forms of architecture, icons, etc. can form interesting subjects of study.

In the elongations of and curvatures in the vertical lines of the letters [as on the pot from Poduru (Plate 2) and in the Ikṣvāku records from Nagārjunakoṇḍa], in the box shaped heads of letters in different records (including those of the Vākāṭakas), in the wedge-shaped decorations at the tops of the vertical lines, and also in the bends of the letters of the Bhaikṣukī (a variety of the Brāhmī) script we may notice attempts at beautifying the forms of letters. We may also refer in this connection to the inscriptions from different areas consisting of squarish ('ornate') or angular ('ornamental') forms of letters of the early Brāhmī or its derivative scripts.

The inscriptions in the Shell script were written in a cursive style (Plate 3). The letters were often slanted anti-clockwise or clockwise from their usual vertical position. This was a characteristic feature of this script. Moreover, superfluous lines often connected the characters with one another. Post-consonantal vowel diacritical marks were generally extended to develop ornamental patterns. The semi-inverted letters and superfluous lines and additional patterns often integrated themselves into a picturesque design. The inscription referring to *Śrī-Mahendrāditya* (i.e. Kumāragupta I, A. D. 415/16-455/56) on the back of a stone horse of the Gupta period and now on display at the State Museum, Lucknow, is a beautiful example of transformation of letters and flourishes into an art form.[7] This Shell epigraph determines the date of one of the few free-standing animal sculptures of the Gupta age.

The cursive form of writing of the Shell script indicates a special calligraphic style. Though different varieties of calligraphic style in Arabic and especially Persian writings are noticeable in the epigraphs and manuscripts or coins of the medieval age, the knowledge of the ancient Indians about a calligraphic style is proved by the evidence of the Shell inscriptions.

Some of the south Indian epigraphic records of the 10th-12th centuries A. D. are embellished with drawings. For example, we may refer to the ornamented foliage on a record of *c.* 12th century A. D. found at Śravaṇabelgola.[8] (Plate 4)

Seal impressions were made from matrices or dies (or moulds) bearing the relevant characters in the negative. This method of reproduction of writing was in vogue from a very early time. A logical development of this practice would have been the employment of blocks of stone, wood or metal, incised with negative impression of the relevant letters, for 'printing' them on leaves with the help of blackening materials. The use of this method of 'block printing' during at least the last phase of the post-Gupta age is suggested by a block of stone (found at Dhar in Madhya Pradesh) inscribed with characters of *c.* 11th century A. D., engraved in negative (Plate 5) and also by a leaf of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* of *c.* 12th century A. D. (now included in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras).[9] (Plate 6) Thus there is no doubt that a calligraphic art developed in the subcontinent in the ancient period. The art of block printing was also known by *c.* 11th century A. D., though it was not a popular one.[10]

Narrative scenes from the life of the Buddha, Jātakas and epic stories and popular legends represented on stone and terracotta are sometimes found to be accompanied by descriptive labels. For example, we can refer to the inscriptions explaining the episodes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātakas engraved on the pillars and railings of Bhārhut of *c.* 1st century B. C., terracotta plaques from Palasbari (Bangladesh) of *c.* 5th-7th centuries A. D. carrying certain scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* with descriptive labels, and a small round terracotta plaque from Chandraketugarh bearing apparently a part of a story regarding a Yakṣī and a descriptive inscription of *c.* 3rd century A. D.[11] To nearly the same category belongs the memorial columns (such as the *ayaka-khamvas* from Nagārjunakoṇḍa), sculpted and inscribed stone slabs commemorating heroic deeds, cattle raids, *satī* rites, etc.[12] Several stone statues (like the famous Mat portrait of Kaṇiṣka I) bear identifying inscriptions. All these help us in recognizing the scenes and persons represented and also in dating palaeographically the works in question.

Inscribed sculptures can indeed be at least approximately dated with the help of the palaeographic features of the relevant inscriptions. The importance of an inscription or a sculpture is immensely enhanced if it bears a date. The dated sculptures can really be treated as sheet anchors in determining the development of the relevant sculptural style. The stylistic features indicated by a dated sculpture surely suggest that these must have come into vogue by or before the date in question. The evolution of the sculptural style of the Pāla-Sena age in eastern India has been determined on the basis of dated icons. This value is somewhat impaired, as in the cases of certain Kuṣāṇa icons from Mathurā,

where the expressions of the dates (years 5-37) in terms of the Kaṇiṣka era or Christian era are subjects of controversy. But here also the most scientific approach should be to refer them, like most of the other dated icons of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa age, to the reckoning of Kaṇiṣka I and to chart the development of Mathurā art on that basis. The dated sculptures of a particular school, bearing identical or nearly contemporary dates, may sometimes possess different artistic merits, perhaps due to employing even bad sculptors to cope with a growing demand which could not be met by only excellent artists. In such cases only the better ones should be considered while determining the development of the relevant style.

Unlike the sculptures of Mathurā, only eight of the sculptures of Gandhāra bear dates. Nevertheless, their evidence can be charted in terms of the Christian era and correlated with excavated and stratified data.[13]

Stratified icons of the Pāla age from Nālandā and numerous inscribed images of the same period reveal a style not in conformity with the regular Pāla-Sena idiom and thereby indicate the existence of a parallel art trend in the Pāla-Sena age in eastern India. This inference, drawn mainly from the evidence of inscribed icons, may force us to change the generally accepted idea about the unilateral development of an art style in a given zone and period in ancient India.[14]

Inscribed and datable coins and seals (Plates 7 and 8) of good quality, bearing well-engraved devices, may help us in understanding the contemporary sculptural styles, since we have evidence of employment of skilled sculptors as die-cutters, for preparing dies for coins. Thus the human figures on the coins of the Scytho-Parthians have often frontal treatment, a well-known feature of the Parthian and Bactrian sculptures. A few such sculptures have actually been found within the limits of the domain of the Scytho-Parthians in the subcontinent. It is well known that the figures on the coins of the early Imperial Guptas are rich in the sense of plasticity and gliding linearism, which are also well-documented traits of the Gupta sculptural art. The value of the inscribed and datable coins with excellent devices is so great in this regard that sometimes they may constitute our chief source of knowledge of the art style of a zone and period, not well represented by sculptures. For example, we can refer to the early Indo-Greek coins (of Eucratides I, Demetrius I, Antimachus and others) belonging to an area and age not correctly represented by surviving sculptural materials. For the feasibility of the extension of the Hellenistic style in Gandhāra in an age prior to the inception of the classical Gandhāra art, we shall have to scrutinize the evidence of the well-produced early Indo-Greek coins.[15]

Descriptive legends by the side of deities on the reverse of Kuṣāṇa coins not only identify the iconic representations along with their cognizances, but also help us in understanding the developments in relevant iconic concepts. For an illustration we may refer to a class of Huviṣka displaying three figures described as Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. They allude to a stage when Skanda had not yet been fully identified with Kumāra. Legends on Kuṣāṇa coins also add to our knowledge of non-Indian deities revered in the Kuṣāṇa empire. Many of the inscribed early coins of India and its borderlands display syncretistic figures. One of the gold pieces of *c.* 1st century B. C., unearthed at Tiliya-tepe (Afghanistan), bears on one side the figure of a lion along with a Kharoṣṭī inscription referring to the animal as 'the lion who is shorn of fear'. Obviously, here the Buddha is represented in a theriomorphic form. On the other side of the piece appears the naked Herakles turning a wheel and the Kharoṣṭī legend alluding to the figure as one who knows the *dharmacakra*. Here Herakles is identified with Kṛṣṇa, a connection also known from other sources. Thus the gold piece bears the evidence of the popularity of Buddhism and that of the syncretistic Herakles-Kṛṣṇa cult.

As in the cases of descriptive legends by the side of divine figures on coins, the inscriptions on the pedestal or on the body of icons referring to the latter by name help us in recognizing them and their traits. A Gandhāra icon carrying a flask and bearing an inscription dated in the year 110 of the Azes Era (i.e. A. D. 52-53) and referring to the figure as that of Maitreya, not only identifies him as Maitreya with his characteristic cognizance, but also proves the existence of his image in around middle of the 1st century A. D. An inscription on the pedestal of an image from Kuṣāṇa Mathurā refers to the latter as Nāga Bhumo (Bhūmi-Nāga?). Descriptive labels by the side of human figures or monuments depicted on manuscripts, like those on the manuscripts of the Pāla age, identify the gods and shrines. The exact nature of a syncretistic icon is sometimes explained by accompanying inscriptions. Thus a syncretistic icon of the time of Jivara of Kāmarūpa is mentioned in the relevant record as Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. In certain cases such divine names along with the displayed cognizances are not attested in the related iconic texts. The figure of Vāgīśvarī (mentioned as such by an inscription of the time of Gopāla II), which sits on a lion and extracts teeth (of ignorance) with the help of tongs from two figures, is a significant instance of the relevant class.[16]

Some inscriptions beautifully allude to temples and icons. Thus the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena describes the temple of Pradyumneśvara as 'the abode of playful union of the beloved of Lakṣmī and the husband of mountain's

daughter'. The statement obviously alludes to a shrine having a representation of Hari-Hara. Interestingly enough, Viṣṇu is indicated here by the name Pradyumna, which in Purāṇic mythology denotes a son of Kṛṣṇa.[17]

Epigraphs have also bearing on the study of architecture. Foundation inscriptions or even ordinary records often indicate the date of construction or dedication of an edifice or shrine. Thus the Tenkāśi Viśvanātha temple's construction was completed according to a record, by April 16, 1451. Inscriptions found at a site sometimes reveal the name of the establishment. Thus seal inscriptions unearthed at Nālandā refer to the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, or those found at Chiroti mention the Raktamrittikā Mahāvihāra. Dedication of caves are perpetuated in inscriptions. An inscription in a cave in the area of Udayagiri (M. P.) records that it was dedicated to Śambhu. Several lost temples are known only from inscriptions. The Mandasor inscriptions of the year 493 and 524 M. E. describes the city of Dassapura and a now lost Sun temple.[18]

Temple styles are indicated in a few inscriptions. The Holal epigraph refers to a person as the builder of four classes of the Nāgara, Kaliṅga, Drāviḍa and Vesara prāsādas. The Koṭīśvara temple inscription from Kuppatur (Karnataka) states that the 'temple of Koṭīśa-Bhava was freely ornamented with Drāviḍa, Bhūmija and Nāgara, and with *bhadra*-offsets manipulated in many ways'. Such references remind us of the textual divisions of Indian temple-forms as Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara.[19]

An epigraph of A. D. 661 found in the Mewar area of Rajasthan refers to a boat-shaped (*potākāra*) edifice. Probably its top looked an upturned boat. It seems that a shrine of such an appearance was mentioned as *devadroṇi* in the Dabok inscription of A. D. 813. The Siyan inscription of Nayapāla describes different types of architecture including a lofty prāsāda (class of temple) of Śambhu called Hetukeśa. Different creative activities are recorded in the Bangaḍh record of Nayapāla. One of these is a *maṭha* (monastery) of the Prāsādameru class.[20]

Several architectural terms alluding to different parts of architecture occurs in epigraphs. While *pratoli* (gateway), *valabhi* (a turret or a pinnacle or a construction on the roof of a building), *śikhara* (spire), etc. are found in north Indian inscriptions, *adhiṣṭhāna* (socle of the temple), *maṇḍapa* (pavilion), *śrīviśāla* (central shrine), etc., are noticeable in south Indian records.[21]

Epigraphic records thus supply data about forms, dates and constructions of different types of architecture. They also sometimes refer to the artists and in some other cases to persons commissioned to build temples. The Jogimara cave inscription speaks of a sculptor (*lupadakha= rūpadakṣa*) called Devadina.

A Sāñcī inscription mentions a person as 'the foreman of the artisans' employed by king Sātakarṇi. A few inscriptions of the Gupta age refer to *kulika* (artisan). The artist who engraved in stone the text of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena was a Rāṇaka and the 'crest-jewel of the guild of artists (*śilpi-goṣṭhī*) of Varendra'.[22]

The Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal built by Lokamahādevī (the wife of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya II, A. D. 734-744/45) has two pillar inscriptions in Kannaḍa. One of these alludes to the great social and economic status of the architect Guṇḍan Anivariācāri. In his honour 'settlements of craftsmen all over the empire were above forfeiture'. The second inscription speaks of one Sarvasiddhi-ācāri who was felicitated by the queen. He was a creator of many sculptures (*rūpa*) and buildings (*vāstu*). He supervised the work of the right (southern) half and Guṇḍan the left (northern) half of the temple.[23]

This information indicates a high socio-economic status of at least well-known artists and architects. The status, however, varied from area to area and age to age. In the medieval age the artists often had to be satisfied with a low social position.

The above data are sufficient enough to indicate the nature of assistance which can be received from epigraphic records in our understanding of early Indian art and architecture. In fact, the wealth of available evidence warrants the opening up of a new branch of study called epigraphic art.[24]

Year of writing: 2001

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[4] B. N. Mukherjee, *Decipherment of Shell Script* (Lucknow, 1983), p. 1f.

[5] B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka* (Calcutta, 1984), p. 1f; *Mahāvastu-avadāna, op cit.*; *Lalitavistara, op. cit.*; *Bhagavati-sūtra*, III; etc.

[6] D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 39f. The earliest surviving Arabic inscription in the Indian subcontinent (dated 242 A. H. or *c.* A. D. 856) was found in the Tochi valley (now in Pakistan) (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1925-26, p. 28 and pl. XI, no. B).

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[19] *IE-BHA*, pp. 209-11; *Aparājita-prccha*, fol. 25.

[20] *IE-BHA*, p. 78; D. C. Sircar, *Śilālekha ebaṁ Tāmraśāsanādi Prasaṅga* (Calcutta, 1982), pp. 90-3 and 108-09.

[21] See above no. 20; *IE-BHA*, pp. 221-22; see also K. G. Krishnan's article 'Architectural Terms in South Indian Inscriptions' in the *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* (edited by P. Chandra).

[22] N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[23] K. V. Ramesh, *Chālukyas of Vātāpi* (New Delhi, 1984), p. 162.

[24] The students of epigraphic art should study not only conventional inscriptions but also manuscripts.

A fragmentary sculpture displaying the Brāhmī alphabet and the representation of a lady writing a letter in a temple sculpture (at Jalasangavi, Karnataka) are examples of information supplied by articles of fine arts on the practice of writing [B. N. Mukherjee (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 36].

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

Courtesy: Author

B. N. Mukherjee

31

ART IN THE COINS OF EARLY AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

A. COINS AND ART

IN our daily life coins are a means for buying materials or various types of service. Conversely, these pieces are the objects to be received for selling anything. Though we handle coins regularly, we hardly look at them closely. They, however, deserve better scrutiny, since their metal content and the legends and pictures on them may yield information on the economic, political and cultural trends of the age. This observation is applicable, with greater emphasis, to the ancient and medieval coins. Due to paucity of data for reconstruction of history of earlier times, they constitute a major source of knowledge of the history of the periods concerned. Ancient and medieval coins available to modern numismatists are indeed living commentaries on the dead past.

Technically speaking, a coin is a piece of metal of prescribed weight, embellished with designs and/or legends and produced under the direction of an authority (private or public) for its use as a medium of exchange. A design or designs, conceived of by an artist or artists, can be transferred to the metal either (i) by punching its one side or both sides with the relevant design (engraved in negative on a die) or designs (apparently unrelated to one another typologically and engraved in negative on an equal number of dies), or (ii) by stamping one face or both faces of the blank (i.e. a piece of metal especially prepared for the purposes) with the help of a die or two dies engraved with the design or designs (in negative), or (iii) by casting a regulated quantity of metal in a mould or moulds bearing the design or designs (in negative), or (iv) by following the repoussé technique. In the last noted process the design engraved in positive on a hard substance can be transferred on one side of a thin blank by placing the latter on the engraving and hammering it from behind.[1]

The transformation of a piece of metal called coin into an object of art was facilitated by the artistry of its obverse and reverse devices, excellence of the relevant die(s) or mould(s), purity and suitability of the required metal, production of good blanks, and efficiency in the technique of minting. Highly

sophisticated and largely mechanized process of manufacturing followed in modern mint can maintain a uniform standard in production on a mass scale,[2] the like of which could not have been witnessed in a manually operated mint of early or medieval age. Moreover, ill-organized unofficial and sometimes also official mints were often not interested in turning out coins of attractive quality. Thus a vast number of pieces of coined metal of early and medieval periods do not interest the students of the history of fine arts. However, the number of quality coins of these ages is not negligible. Many such coins, produced in well organized mints (under the supervision of appreciating as well as exacting authorities) and from dies prepared by highly skilled and talented artists, can be called masterpieces of visual art.[3]

B. THE MANUFACTURING CONSTRAINTS

In a modern mint a comparatively large cast of an approved design of quality is placed on a pantograph engraving machine and the design is reduced (by means of a scriber) to the required minute size, retaining all the artistic features, on a piece of prepared metal to get a miniature model. The latter is punched on a piece of steel to create a negative impression. The required legend is then manually engraved on it (in reverse). From the negative impression a master punch is prepared with all the features in positive. From this master punch a master matrix (with the design and legend appearing in negative), and from the latter working punches are created. With the help of these punches dies (with the design in negative) are prepared. Pairs of such dies each pair consisting of an obverse die and a reverse die used in modern mints in different areas can produce coins of identical appearance.[4]

This was not the case in early or medieval age. Then all coins were not produced from dies. Again, in the normal circumstances, each die was unique and there could not be two dies of identical appearance. Moreover, all the four possible modes of minting, as practised in the early period, were not free from defects. By following the first of the above noted methods of manufacturing coins, known as the punch-marking technique, the whole surface of the blank could not be covered. Only minute devices punched from small dies appeared on different parts of the surface. In casting coins in moulds there was no mechanism to ensure the insertion of a clear impression of the obverse or reverse device covering fully the surface of the blank. The repoussé technique allowed the appearance of a device only on one side of a coin of thin flan. These deficiencies could, however, be avoided in the die-striking method (no. ii of the above noted techniques) followed even in the pre-modern ages.

In this process the required amount of molten metal was mixed with alloying materials and the hot mixture of metal was cast into sheets of predetermined thickness. These sheets were then cut into pieces of required size. An alternative course was to pour the molten metal into sockets of the size and thickness of the coins. The metal pieces could then be heated and worked upon by hammering, etc., in order to destroy the brittle cast structure of their grains and thereby making them conducive to receiving the blow at the time of striking.

A blank so prepared could have been left cold or could have been sensibly heated or slightly softened by annealing (i.e. softening the material by heating to a temperature somewhat below the melting point and then allowing it to cool slowly) to make it ready to receive the required impression, which had been engraved in the negative on two metal dies. One of the latter was fixed on or embedded in an anvil and the other was attached to a punch.

After placing the die-end of the punch on a cold, or annealed, or incandescent blank already set on the anvil-die the other end of the punch was struck with a hammer. As a result both sides of the blank received the required impressions in positive and it was transformed into a coin. A fairly recent experiment in the ancient Greek manufacturing technique has demonstrated that two blows of the hammer were sufficient to give full impressions of both the dies on the flan. Carefully used physical force helped in impressing deeply, clearly and evenly the intended picture and legends on the blanks.[5]

An examination of a large number of ancient and early medieval coins reveals that most of them are not exactly circular in shape, though they were apparently intended to be so. It seems that the very method of production made the obtaining of a true circle a near impossibility. There was indeed nothing to stop the flan of the blank from spreading irregularly under the blow of the hammer at the time of striking. Again, if the upper die (or the punch-die) was smaller than the blank or not properly placed on it at the time of striking, a part of the relevant side of the coin could have remained unimpressed. Moreover, the hammering of the upper die twice from behind without proper care could have resulted in a blurred double impression on the relevant side of the coin.[6]

C. THE DIE, THE ARTIST AND THE ART

Thus the die-striking technique of early and medieval ages also had a tendency to suffer from certain constraints. However, if proper care was taken to avoid these and other possible shortcomings by employing skilled die-cutters, proper quality of metal and efficient strikers, excellent devices were expected to appear on coins. In die-striking method the chances of production of quality

coins were much higher than those in any other manufacturing process. It became popular in different parts of the world.

Impressions in relief in most of the well-produced die-struck pieces of ancient and medieval periods suggest that devices on the relevant dies were hollowed out. We can guess two, if not more, possible ways for preparing these intagliated dies.

Negative impressions of the obverse and reverse types (and inscriptions) could have been engraved, perhaps following an original design, on two separate dies of soft steel or bronze prepared by cutting into slices a bar of steel or bronze cast in mould and then annealed. The engraving might have been done by a die-cutter with the help of such instruments as a graver's wheel, drills of different sizes, a burin, a hammer, and perhaps a compass.

We can consider an alternative and perhaps a more practical and easier way of making dies. The die-maker could have engraved in positive the obverse and reverse designs on a lump of specially prepared plastic clay containing aluminium silicate and so possessing high heat-resisting capacity and high softening point (P.C.E.). The lump of clay displaying the design would have to be fired properly. Then the terracotta design or mould could be covered by molten ingredients of steel or bronze for transferring the design in negative on the gradually hardened material. The terracotta mould would be broken and lost in the process of recovering the metal die.[7]

Increased hardness could be achieved in case of a metal die, prepared following the first or the second process, by heating it to a temperature somewhat below the melting point and cooling it by water quenching.[8]

It appears that the die-cutter played a crucial role in the primary stage of the production of quality coins. If he was an efficient sculptor, he could have transferred on a miniature scale the stylistic traits of a contemporary school of art, well known to him. He could be asked to imitate an iconic type or a well-known icon or to simulate the visual form of an architecture on a much reduced scale.[9] He could have been required to use symbols and artistic devices representing the issuing authorities on uninscribed coins.[10] Again, a die-cutter could be commissioned to produce, on a miniature scale, a portrait of the issuer (generally a ruler) or to engrave a scene glorifying him or commemorating an important event.[11] In all these cases the die-cutter would act as an artist producing objects of miniature art (usually in their negative forms). He seems to have been much more directly involved in creating these objects than a designer in a modern mint, where, as noted above, the latter's participation should come

to an end with the preparation of a design or its model, which leads ultimately to the production of innumerable dies of identical appearance. In the ancient and medieval ages each die was usually unique, produced by the hands of the artist himself.

Thus well-produced coins of ancient and medieval ages had the potentiality of becoming superb pieces of visual art. That this happened in the Greek world or the Roman empire is well known.[12] The development of artistic trends in ancient or medieval Indian coinage can be demonstrated with the help of well-chosen examples. They may indeed embody traits that relate coins to other media of art of their time.

D. THE EARLY INDIAN SERIES

The devices punched on the punched-marked silver coins, which began to be minted by *c.* 4th century B. C. (if not earlier), are only occasionally fairly well-executed.[13] The representation of a hooded wagon on wheels, on a class of specie, reveals the die-cutter's ability to create an illusion of depth for indicating the width of the wagon,[14] even though the outer line of its backside is rather unrealistically indicated (Plate 1). At times we can find correspondence between figures on coins and those in sculptures. The angular and somewhat frontal treatment of three human figures on a number of pieces have some stylistic resemblance to the figures on the balustrade of Sāñcī *stūpa* no. II.[15] The iconic importance of some of the human figures is suggested by the possibility of identification of a male holding a staff and a waterpot with Śiva, a lady holding a flower (lotus?) with Lakṣmī, a person displaying a disc and a mace (?) with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, etc.[16]

A great number of devices on the punch-marked pieces and cast and die-struck local and tribal coins constitute an important source of our knowledge of ancient Indian symbols, many of which having religious or auspicious implications.[17] Local and tribal pieces are not generally rated high as aesthetic objects. But some of them are not altogether devoid of visual beauty[18] (Plate 2). The human face (or mask?) with sparkling eyes and weird smile and a pair of horns (or wings?) on some coins of Taxila[19] conjures up strong semi-human mythical figures (Plate 3). The standing figure holding a water-pot and a staff on a variety of Ujjain coins[20] indicates the die-engraver's ability to impart to it a sense of volume, though its treatment is somewhat rigid and frontal and the facial details are lacking. (Plate 2)

The deer on a class of coins of the Kuṇindas is life-like in appearance. The female figure (Lakṣmī) by its side stands to front with her left hand on hip and

the half-raised right hand holding a flower (lotus). Her fairly well-defined contours are discernible under a transparent drapery[21] (Plate 4). The posture of the lady has parallels in early Indian imagery including several figures produced by the Mathurā school. It is interesting to note that Lakṣmī is conceived of as a deer in the *Śrī-sūkta* (1). Hence the goddess is represented here in her theriomorphic as well as anthropomorphic forms.

This and many other pieces of local and tribal series carry devices bearing on the development of Indian iconography and symbolism.[22] Even architectural forms are discernible on a few classes of specie. The circular shrine on a variety of coinage of the Auḍumbaras simulates apparently the form of a type of contemporary temple architecture[23] (Plate 5).

E. THE COINAGES OF THE INDO-GREEKS, SCYTHO-PARTHIANS AND KUṢĀṆAS

The art in the coinage of the Indian subcontinent was upgraded with the introduction of the specie by the Bactrian Greeks and Early Indo-Greek rulers (late 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C.). The influence of the Hellenistic art on these pieces is well recognized.[24] The craving for realism (in modelling, in movement, in expression and in the scope of the subject treated), which became the great motive force behind the Hellenistic art movement of the 3rd century B. C.,[25] and perhaps the desire for impressing the subjects with the 'true appearance' of their 'lawful' monarchs[26] led to the appearance of portraits on the coins of the Seleucids and the Bactrian Greeks. The Seleucid king Antiochus I (293-280 B. C.) is shown on his coins with all the pathos of human, as opposed to the divine power indicated by the heads of Alexander or Seleucus I on coins. The portraits of Antiochus I and of his successors, particularly of Antiochus II and III, must have been the immediate source of inspiration for the moneyers of the Bactrian Greeks. The busts of the Bactrian Greeks and early Indo-Greek rulers like Euthydemus I, Demetrius I (wearing an elephant's scalp) and Antimachus (wearing a kausia and having a 'half-mocking' smile) are so realistic in appearance that each of them seems to represent the king concerned in all faithfulness (Plates 6, 7 and 8). To this class of portraits we may assign those on the coins of Demetrius II, Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Menander I. All these portraits, which express powerful features and minute personal details, might have been the products of one single school of engravers. Their realism and vigour tempt us to believe that they were familiar with the Hellenistic school of Pergamum.[27]

The portrait of Eucratides I (Plate 9) and the busts on some coins of the members of his group, like Heliocles and Hermaios, appear to be quite

realistic.[28] Th. Allouche-Le Page, however, thinks that the busts on the Eucratidean coins indicate, when compared with those on the specie of the early Euthydemids, a tendency for idealization, rigid majesty and a taste for symbolic ornamentation.[29]

The reverse devices of these coins bear representations of varieties of Greek divinities including Herakles, Zeus, Apollo, Nike, Athena, Dioscuri, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Artemis and Tyche.[30] (Plates 6, 7, 8 and 9) Some of these figures attest to great artistic merit of the die-engravers. Again, many of the deities iconographically influenced (at a later stage) the Indian pantheon.

The problem of impressing the devices on a round undemarcated format of coins (and so of engraving them on that of the relevant die) was solved, as in the cases of earlier Greek coins, with the help of exergue, marginal borders, and borders formed by inscriptions. Bold and prominent reliefs were employed on large flans of tetradrachms to impart three dimensional effects to the figures (Plates 6, 7, 8 and 9). The busts on the obverse have clearly formed cheeks, broad smooth foreheads and sunken eyes. Deep furrows divide their hair and beard. Bare bodies show muscles and minute anatomical details. There is a tendency for preferring fleshy to skinny types of figures. The figures rarely stand in rigid pose. A sense of movement is indicated either by the position of their limbs or partial torsion of their bodies. The drapery is thick and is given a volume independent of the figure. The thick, high and sometimes agitated folds of the drapery give to the figure concerned an intense colouristic sense of light and shadow. Similar features are noticeable in the figures of the sculptured panels narrating the fight between the gods and the giants, which decorated the altar of Zeus at Pergamum in ancient Mysia (now in Turkey). The panels, dated to the 2nd century B. C., belonged to the Baroque period of the Hellenistic art, which was still saturated with the style formulated earlier by the great artist Lysippos.[31]

The vitality of the Hellenistic-Bactrian school was sapped in the days of the later Indo-Greeks and the Scytho-Parthians. However, coins of the Scythian ruler Maues and those of the group of the Scytho-Parthian king Azes I indicate several new iconic traits.[32] Animals as independent devices began to appear frequently on Scytho-Parthian coins. Here one may discern the influence of a local practice of pre-Greek origin and/or an impact of the nomadic (Scythian) art in which animal-forms served as important motifs.[33]

The wide open eyes of the figures treated frontally with draperies having pipe-like folds on several Scytho-Parthian pieces have parallels in the Parthian

sculptures from Palmyra (W. Asia) and in a few toilet trays unearthed at Sirkap (Taxila).[34] The frontality in treatment of figures, a characteristic of Parthian art, is well illustrated by a coin-type of Azilises (about the last quarter of the 1st century B. C.), which displays two figures, one apparently offering a wreath to the other but both standing to front without looking to each other[35] (Plate 10). On the other hand, the stylistic treatment of Gajalakṣmī (i.e. Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, being anointed by elephants) on a class of coins of the same ruler closely follows the Mathurā idiom[36] (Plate 11). The heavy breasts and hips of the goddess and her general appearance closely resemble those of the lady on a votive tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa (first quarter of the first century A. D.), found in the Mathurā region.[37] Thus the Scytho-Parthian coinage not only betrays affinities to the Hellenistic (Bactrian), Parthian (Iranian) and nomadic art, but it also indicates a development of relationship with the Mathurā school of sculpture.

The art of portraying busts, which had fallen into disuse at the mints of Maues and groups of Vonones and Azes I (*c.* 1st century B. C. to early 1st century A. D.), was revived by the moneyers of the Parthian rulers Orthagnes, Gondophames I and their successors. But the style of executing the bust on their coins was no longer Hellenistic. They closely followed—in treatment of hair, hair-band and drapery—the royal figures displayed by the Imperial Parthian (Arsacid) coins and sculptures[38] (Plate 12).

Well-executed portraits of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Nahapāna— showing him as young, middle-aged, old and very old—are remarkable manifestations of numismatic art[39] (Plates 13 and 14). This quality is discernible in the representations of the Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan on their die-struck silver coins, but, surprisingly, not in the conventional busts on the coins of their contemporary Kṣatrapa rulers belonging to the house of Caṣṭana.[40] The majority of the portraits of the Sātavāhana monarchs (such as Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvī, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvī, Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi and Vāśiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi) are life-like revealing apparently personal features in physiognomical details[41] (Plate 15). In contradistinction to this type of specie, only a few of the other coin-types of the Sātavāhanas (who ruled from the second half of the 1st century B. C. to the first half of the 3rd century A. D.) have artistic beauty,[42] perhaps due to deficiencies in the manufacturing method. Among the fairly well-executed types is an obverse device of a lead coin of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. It displays a fleet of ships with the one in the front shown larger than the rest and thereby indicates the die-engraver's proper sense of perspective and knowledge of the technique of foreshortening[43] (Plate 16).

The art in coinage achieved a greater height in the contemporary empire of the Kuṣāṇas (late 1st century B. C. to about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.). The die-struck coinage of this domain, after its reformation by V'ima Kadphises, consisted mainly of gold and copper.[44] While the obverse bears the standing figure of the king (as on the pieces struck by V'ima, Kaniṣka I, Vāsudeva I and his successors) or his bust (as on the coins of Huviṣka and some pieces of V'ima and Kaniṣka I), or his head (as in a coin-type of V'ima), or his seated figure (as on certain pieces of the same ruler and of Huviṣka), the reverse displays a deity or deities.[45] Some of the features of the Bactrian art of the Kuṣāṇa period (like oval-shaped faces with open eyes, beards indicated by deep incisions, angular and linear treatment of standing figures, the semi-circular folds on the sleeves and angular folds on the main section of garments, etc.) can be noticed in the representations of V'ima, Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka[46] (Plates 17, 18 and 18a). Though their obverse device showing 'the king sacrificing at an altar' was borrowed from a coin-type of the Arsacid king Gotarzes II, the standing royal figures on coins breathe the air of the Bactrian art as revealed by the remains of the dynastic sanctuaries in different areas of the Kuṣāṇa empire.[47] The main features of the majestic, though somewhat rigid and frontal, figure of the statue of Kaniṣka unearthed at Mat, belonging to the Bactrian School,[48] are replicated in two dimensions on the flat surface of his coins (Plates 18 and 18a). The royal busts on coins also follow the same school, though some of the representations of Huviṣka may be compared with the 'naive' portraits on a number of Roman coins.[49]

The reverse devices indicate greater plasticity, flexibility and roundedness of form,[50] and thereby perhaps suggest influences from the direction of Gandhāra and also Mathurā. The difference becomes clear by a comparison between the majestic and frontal standing figure of V'ima on the obverse and the flexible stance of the god Śiva (with his bull) on the reverse[51] (Plate 19). The broad-shouldered figure of Herakles on a variety of Huviṣka's coins, with its muscle rippling under the skin, has the characteristics of several Gandhāra presentations betraying Hellenistic influence (Plate 20). Wherever the drapery of a figure is treated as a separate or voluminous mass, there is a conscious attempt, as in the cases of certain Gandhāra sculptures (including the Hastnagar Buddha of the year 384), to make the form underneath the garment visible. This tendency led, as in the cases of some Gandhāra sculptures, to the introduction of semi-transparent garments. In doing so influences might have been received from the Mathurā school of art. Somewhat sensuous treatment of female figures on certain later coins of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas is comparable with similar features of numerous sculptures of the Mathurā school.[52]

The number of deities on the coins of Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka far exceeds that of the gods and goddesses represented in the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian coinages. Identifiable by the accompanying legends, the majority of the deities belong to the Indian (Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist), Iranian and Hellenistic pantheons and to certain cults known in the Roman orient.[53] Some of them, like the Buddha and Oesho (i.e. *Oesha*<*Visha*<*Vṛsha* = Śiva), are well represented in contemporary sculptural art of the empire.[54] Several deities represent natural phenomena and concepts. They not only reveal new iconic types, but also numerous syncretic features. These indeed constitute an important source of development of Indian iconography.[55]

It is interesting to note that though the number of the divinities is bewildering, they do not include all the popular deities of the empire who were also represented in sculptural art. For example, Mahāvīra does not appear on Kuṣāṇa coins. Of the popular deities of different pantheons in the empire only those known in Bactria (in north Afghanistan including Bactra or Balkh) were represented on the coins concerned. The importance of Bactria, the seat of power in the Kuṣāṇa empire, is also indicated by the use of only the Bactrian language (written in the Greek script) as the medium of writing coin-legends from some year of the reign of Kaniṣka I.[56]

Behind these developments there were probably imperial designs. Like the coinage of the Roman empire, which is known to have made an impact on Kuṣāṇa coins[57], the latter were probably used for the purpose of propaganda.[58] The supernatural elements in the representation of the kings on the coins (like the halo behind the royal head, flames rising from the king's shoulders, his bust rising from the clouds, his bust or head set within a frame, etc.) can be considered as expressions in art of the Kuṣāṇa concept of the divine origin of Kingship. On a variety of specie of Vāsudeva I he seems to be identified with Lord Vāsudeva, who appears on the reverse in Kuṣāṇa attire, though with divine cognizances[59] (Plate 21). The armed figure of Shaoreoro, whose name alludes to 'the best kingdom' (*Kṣathra vairya* > *Shahrevar*), personifies the empire. The coins, the dynastic sanctuaries and the royal statues appear to have belonged to an Imperial art representing a cult of the empire and the emperor,[60] which was created perhaps to impress upon the subjects of various ethnic origins and religious affiliations, living in a vast territory, the legitimacy and divine origin of the Kuṣāṇa rule.[61] The use of the art of coinage for the purpose of propaganda, which originated in India with the Indo-Greek series[62], reached a stage of perfection under the Kuṣāṇas.[63]

The number of deities on coins and artistic quality of production of these pieces declined from the time of Vāsudeva I, and particularly in the period after

his reign. Nevertheless, minting of quality pieces did not stop altogether. Artistry is evident in the well-formed figure of Ardokhsho (i.e. Ardokhsha) on a variety of coins of Kaniṣka III [64] (Plate 22). The correlation in the representations of deities on coins and in sculptures of the later Kuṣāṇa age is demonstrated by a comparative study of the stone icon of enthroned Ardokhsha found at Begram III (datable to *c.* 3rd century A. D.) and her appearances on coins of Kaniṣka III and Vāsudeva II, both assignable to the same century.[65]

These data indicate that the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, having the means to issue quality coins and willingness to employ them as a medium of propaganda, produced numerous pieces worthy to be considered as works of art. However, a large number of pieces (particularly in copper) which cannot belong to this class, perhaps indicate deficiencies in the skill of the die-cutters concerned or in the preparation of the metal blank, especially in cases of minting copper coins.[66]

F. THE COINAGE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

Both these remarks are applicable to the issues of the Imperial Guptas, whose gold coinage commenced under the shadow of the influence of the specie of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and of their successors. However, soon the talented mint-masters and die-engravers assimilated outside influences and produced, at least in gold, numerous items of high aesthetic value without betraying external inspiration.[67]

Gliding linearism, soft and often sensuous modelling of the body and a subtle sense of movement characterize the figures appearing on the coins of the Imperial Guptas, particularly on their excellent gold coins. Well-proportioned human figures are shown as sitting or standing in various postures. While the royal figures exude strength, robustness and vitality, the female ones have soft graceful slender forms and refined (often sensuous) contours. Divine figures on gold pieces sometimes radiate spiritual sublimity[68] (Plates 23-32).

All these characteristics are discernible in neatly executed stone sculptures of the Gupta empire and/or age, particularly in those produced following the Sarnath or Mathurā idiom. Many of the female figures on the gold coins do reflect the classical idea of feminine beauty.[69]

Figures on early Gupta gold pieces are in fairly high relief, apparently as a result of the use of well-intagliated dies. However, sometimes they lack physiognomical details (like several figures on otherwise well-known pieces struck earlier by the Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas). This deficiency (noticeable on a fairly large number of pieces of several early series)

was due to defects in engraving the relevant dies or striking the coins (or owing to 'a deliberate taste for the unfinished'?). Nevertheless, the discernible differences between physiognomical details of the early kings represented on gold coins suggest that they bear royal portraits (Plates 23-28). However, on silver coins we perhaps witness only conventional busts (Plate 33). On the other hand, some representations of Candragupta II on his copper coins are more life-like (Plate 34).

Typologically as well as metrologically Gupta gold pieces betray impact of coinages of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and their immediate successors in the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. For example, we can refer to such devices as 'the king sacrificing at an altar', 'elephant rider', 'goddess on lion', 'goddess on throne', 'three standing figures', etc. The inspiration for displaying royal bust on silver coins must have been received from the Kṣatrapa coinage of Western India. The 'altar' type on the Gupta silver and copper coins may betray the die-cutters' knowledge of the early Sasanian pieces carrying the same type.

The Gupta artists gradually Indianized or replaced foreign devices, attributes and, to some extent, dresses and ornaments. The enthroned Goddess of Fortune (Ardokhsha) was gradually replaced by Lakṣmī or Śrī seated on lotus. The goddess on lion began to appear as *Durgā Siṁhavāhinī* in various postures.

In choosing the coin-devices the mint-masters appear to have been frequently motivated by the desire to project the valour and skill of the kings, and to commemorate important events. For example, we can refer to the 'Candragupta-Kumāradevī' type of Candragupta I, 'Battle-axe' type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, 'Tiger-slayer' type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, 'Lion-slayer' type of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I, 'Elephant-rider-cum-Lion-slayer' type of Kumāragupta I, 'Rhinoceros-slayer' type of Kumāragupta I, 'Aśvamedha' type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, etc.

The royal achievements depicted in these devices are referred to in the accompanying legends. In fact, legends on Gupta coins tend to allude to the supernatural strength, character and performances of the kings and to their authority over the earth (and even heaven). Some of these inscriptions connect or compare them with gods and even deify the monarchs. The obverse legend on the 'Couch' type of coins of Candragupta II refers to him as *deva*. The legend *Cakravikramaḥ* on the reverse of the coins of the 'Cakravikrama' type of Candragupta II (showing him as receiving certain objects from

Cakrapuruṣa) may mean that the king's valour was like that of *Cakrapuruṣa* or that his valour was received (as a boon) from the latter. The obverse legends on the 'Kārttikeya' type of coins, displaying Kumāragupta I feeding a peacock on one side and Kārttikeya riding a peacock on the other, refer to the sovereign as Mahendrakumāra. In the inscription on a variety of the Lion-slayer type of coins the same king is imagined as Narasiṁha (or Nṛsiṁha), an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The obverse of the so-called *Apratigha* type of coins of Kumāragupta I (Plate 35) displays three standing figures. The central one wears a short garment (made of deer-skin?) covering the portion from the waist to the knees and having a loose part hanging between the two legs. The hands are placed in folded fashion (?) on the chest. The hair is tied in a knot on the head. The figure is no doubt that of an ascetic or monk. But the legend (Kumāragupta) accompanying the figure clearly identifies it as representing Kumāragupta (I). So, the coin-device intends to represent Kumāragupta as an ascetic. However, the royal Garuḍa-standard appearing behind the figure of the king indicates him as the ruling king. So, the die-cutter's intention seems to have been to project him as a ruling king leading otherwise the life of an ascetic. The king is accompanied by a male holding a shield (crown prince or the general of the army?) on his right and a female on his left, who are shown as arguing with him. Their posture in the present type should suggest, according to a hypothesis, that they are shown as persuading the king not to renounce the throne. That they were successful (and not unsuccessful, as thought by A. S. Altekar) is betrayed by the coin-type itself and the evidence of the Bhitari inscription referring to the crisis in the fortune of the family after his death and thereby indicating his rule up to that time. The reverse legend *Apratigha* (meaning 'one who is invincible', or 'one who cannot be warded off', or 'one who is not angry') probably suggests the invincible Kumāragupta's resolve to lead an ascetic's life even while remaining on the throne. The expression 'saint (-like) over-king of kings' (rājādhirājarṣi), applied to Candragupta II in Vīrasena Śāba's inscription, seems to be equally applicable to Kumāragupta. This interpretation of the complex nature of the coin-device in question seems to be better than considering it as betraying the king's Buddhist leaning or as identifying him with the Buddha, to whom also the epithet *Apratigha* was applicable.[70]

In their attempts to stress the divine character of the Gupta kingship the mint-masters concerned were really reflecting an idea well-known to Sanskrit literature (*Manu-smṛti*, VII, 8; *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*, 59, 128-35; 68, 40f; etc.) and epigraphs. The famous *praśasti* (eulogy) composed by Hariṣeṇa describes Samudragupta as 'God dwelling on earth' (*Lokadhāmadevaḥ*).

The concept of a deity of sovereignty or prosperity of the kingdom (*rājya-śrī*) found visual expression on coins in the form of a female deity sitting on a lion (or throne or lotus) and holding a cornucopia (or lotus-stalk) and a fillet or noose. She combined in herself the ideas of Nanā-Ambā or Nanā-Durgā (the mother goddess) and Ardokhsha-Lakṣmī (the goddess of fortune). In the attempts at creating an icon-plastic form of the goddess of sovereignty we may discern indirect influence of the artistic representations on Kuṣāṇa coins of such deities like Shaoreoro ('the best kingdom'), Orlagno ('the Irresistible') and Pharro (personification of Khvareno, the Iranian concept of glory and legitimacy of kings) as well as of Nanā and Ardokhsha.

The goddess of sovereignty or prosperity is perhaps referred to as Kula-Lakṣmī or 'the deity of fortune of the family' in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta. She is described in his Junagadh record as Lakṣmī, who selected him 'out of her own accord' as 'her husband'. The same deity may have been represented as accompanying the king on the so-called King and Queen (or Lakṣmī) type of coins of Skandagupta (Plate 28).

The deity, combining in herself some aspects of the goddess of fortune and mother goddess, appears on a pillar (or a door-jamb?) of a temple, of which at least a part was constructed in the year 96 of the Gupta Era (i.e. A. D. 415-16). She is shown as sitting on a lion and holding a lotus and being anointed by two elephants.

The concept behind the representation of the goddess of sovereignty in the Gupta art originated in the Kuṣāṇa age.[71] This idea flourished in the Gupta period. The Gupta monarch was looked upon as especially favoured by the deity (Viṣṇu) to whom he was devoted, as indicated by the *Cakravikrama* type of Candragupta II displaying his acceptance of certain objects from *Cakrapuruṣa* (personification of Sudarśana-cakra of Viṣṇu). Here also the Gupta artist was indebted to Kuṣāṇa art. A Kuṣāṇa coin-type shows the kneeling king Huviṣka as receiving some favour from Nanā, and a Kuṣāṇa seal depicts the scene of bestowal of a diadimed fillet on a kneeling royal personage by Manaobago. It appears that the Imperial Guptas, like the Kuṣāṇas, utilized the coinage as a medium of propaganda to project a superhuman image of the royalty.[72]

The mint-masters did not remain content with displaying the portraits of the kings only. Some of the types display also the queens.[73]

The deities (like Nanā or Durgā on lion, *Cakrapuruṣa*, the goddess of prosperity or good fortune, Kārttikeya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and others), who appear on Gupta coins, are also represented in sculptures of the Gupta Age.

In fact, the figure of Kārttikeya riding a peacock set on a pedestal (which has no function on the coin), as shown on the reverse of the Kārttikeya type of coins[74] (Plate 36), seems to be a faithful copy of a cult icon. We may also refer to the stylistic relationship between the representations of Gaṅgā or Yamunā in sculptural and numismatic art (Plates 37, 38).

It is interesting to note that though the Guptas allowed different faiths to flourish in their empire, they were selective in choosing the deities to be represented on their coins. It is noteworthy that the Buddha or Mahāvīra does not appear on the Gupta coins, though the doctrines propagated by them had many followers in the Gupta territory. The divine figures selected by the Gupta mint-masters for displaying them on their gold pieces were either deities of the Vaiṣṇava sect (to which the Guptas belonged) or of the cult of Śakti (to which the monarchs aspiring to be conquerors had to be devoted), or of the creed of wealth and prosperity (which the kings wanted to possess or achieve), or of the faiths (including a few of the Brāhmaṇical systems) useful to the empire and/or its rulers. It may not be without significance that the river Gaṅgā and Yamunā are deified on the Gupta coins. Perhaps the representations of these rivers, undoubtedly the very important ones in the Gupta empire, indicated the main section of the Gupta territory itself as situated *inter alia* along these water courses.

Syncretism, a feature of Indian iconography, was not altogether unknown to the die-cutters employed by the Guptas. In the appearance of a female deity standing on a *makara* (a mythical aquatic animal) and feeding a peacock on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer type of coins of Kumāragupta I (Plate 31),[75] we may discern a fusion of the concept of Gaṅgā with that of the consort of Kārttikeya, whose mount is peacock. Or does this coin-type represent Gaṅgā, the goddess of the most important and beneficial river of the empire, as nourishing the mount of Kumāra, meaning the emperor as well as the god Kārttikeya?

Not only peacock or *makara*, but also mounts of other deities appear on Gupta coins. Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, can be seen on several varieties of Gupta specie as well as seals. The representation of Garuḍa is fairly artistic on several copper pieces, while it is schematic on many others struck in silver and lead. Bull, the mount as well as the theriomorphic representation of Śiva, is noticeable on a class of silver coins of Skandagupta. Trident on a variety of Kumāragupta I's silver pieces may also allude to Śaivism.

Of the different symbols on the Gupta coins we can refer especially to the lunar symbol or crescent. It appears sometimes on a standard which can be called *Candradhvaja* (like *Cakradhvaja* and *Garuḍadhvaja*). One may

imagine that here the representation of *Candra* (moon) may have an allusion to Candragupta I, the real founder of the Gupta empire, or to the royal family of which Candragupta I was the first emperor.

The number of variety in the Gupta coins decreased from the reign of Skandagupta. The gold specie of his successors is known (almost exclusively) from their coins showing the king as an archer on one side and a seated goddess on the other. Both the devices, particularly the latter, influenced coin-types of later periods. Similarly, devices on silver coins of the Guptas (at least one variety of which was struck by Budhagupta sometime after Skandagupta) made an impact on post-Gupta coinages.

G. THE POST-GUPTA AND PROTO-MEDIEVAL SERIES

The lingering of the Gupta idiom is discernible in some Post-Gupta coinages. The figures of (a) the seated Lakṣmī on the reverse of a class of coins of Samācāradeva of Vaṅga (late 6th century A. D.), (b) the couchant bull carrying Śiva on the pieces of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍ (early 7th century A. D.) (Plate 39), (c) the archer as well as seated Lakṣmī in the type used by Balamṛgāṅka of Vaṅga and Samataṭa (late 7th or early 8th century A. D.) (Plate 40), (d) the enthroned female holding a lotus on a variety of issues of Śrī-Pratāpa (Pratāpāditya I or Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II) of Kāśmīra (Plate 41) have graceful bodies bounded by gliding (and in certain cases sensuous) contours.

The art of portraiture was revived by some of the mint-masters of the Hūṇa rulers. Their 'bust : altar' type of coins was, no doubt, typologically based on Sasanian coinage. Nevertheless, the representations on coins of the rulers like Lakhāna, Khiṅgila, Triloka, Baysāra and Pūrvāditya are not copies of Sasanian busts, but are actual portraits betraying personal features (Plates 42, 43 and 44).

In the peninsular India the standing lion on the coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins often exudes strength and vigour, with its upraised tail and the tongue thrusting out of its mouth, though it has a somewhat stylized appearance. Some of the figures on the coins of the Pallavas are fairly well-formed, revealing the artist's ability to impart to them a sense of volume on flat flans (Plate 45). A few of the types used by them, 'like a vase with sprigs rising from its mouth', etc., are well-known motifs in sculptural art.[76]

Such examples of artistic coin-devices are much less in number in the Post-Gupta age (*c*. A. D. 550 or 600-750) than in the preceding eras. Apparently the willingness of the mint authorities to strike coins of quality and to use coinage as a medium of propaganda gradually waned.

The situation worsened further in the Proto-medieval age (*c*. A. D. 750-1200). We do not know of coins of all members of all the ruling families who are credited with having their own coinage.[77] There are reasons to believe that coins were used to be minted by rulers of at least certain dynasties only when there was a demand for them in market and then also new pieces were struck often with old familiar types,[78] and sometimes even with the names of dead rulers[79] (whose coins had already become popular with the people). Private moneyers were also allowed to mint coins. They understandably were not at all keen to maintain the quality of coins and purity of metal. As a result, coins of a ruler might have continued to be imitated in debased metal and indifferent technique even long after his own period.[80]

Such circumstances were hardly propitious for producing a regular series of coinage of the standard set by the Early Indo-Greeks, or the Kuṣāṇas, or the Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, coins of good artistic merit, sometimes bearing novel types and new iconic traits, were not altogether unknown. Coins were also occasionally used as a medium of propaganda.[81] Coin devices, which form the basis of numismatic art, might have sometimes been used for naming a series in popular parlance.[82]

The above observation about the occasional excellence of Proto-medieval coinage can be substantiated with the help of some examples. They are culled from different areas of the subcontinent.

A series of coins (struck mainly in base silver, but also in billon and copper) bears on the reverse a stylized or corrupt representation of a fire altar and two attendants. The type was obviously copied from the imitations of the 'bust : fire altar with attendants' coins of the Sasanian family. The imitations had been in regular circulation for some time in different parts of western and central India.[83] The reverse of the coins of the series in question bears the legend *Śrīmadādirardha(ḥ)*.[84] The legend is taken to refer to the Imperial Pratihara king Bhoja (*c.* A. D. 836-885 or 890). Though a large number of pieces belonging to this class of specie may be considered as imitations, at least some of the most well produced silver coins should be accepted as products of the mint of Bhoja. On one side of such pieces (other than the side mentioned above) appears a boar with such attributes which distinguish the figure as the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Varāha, wearing *vanamālā*, stands astride to right (i.e. to proper left). His right hand is on the right hip and the left hand is half-raised, with the elbow turned upward and palm resting on the half-raised left thigh or knee. The left foot rests on a lotus. A wheel, a mace and a few indeterminate objects can be noticed on these pieces (Plate 46). Two circular

objects, one in front of the snout and the other near the left hand, may stand for *dharitrī* (the earth), known to have been held by the snout or by the left arm (and hand) or partly by the snout and partly by the left arm (and hand) in the sculptural representations of the Varāha. In fact, the scheme of representation of the Varāha closely corresponds to that of the same incarnation in plastic art of the Gupta age as well as of the early medieval period. The strength and vigour exuded by the figure of the Varāha on the coins concerned betray the die-engravers' knowledge of the dynamic representation of the same incarnation in the sculptural art of the early medieval age, examples of which have been found at various sites (including Mahalla Lohana in the Kanauj area of the Farrukhabad district and Phaphamau in the Allahabad district) (Plate 47). Like the sculptors, the die-cutter boldly and effectively translated into a form of plastic art the well-known legend about the rescue of the earth by the Varāha.

A very interesting gold coin in the State Museum, Lucknow, shows on the obverse the Varāha in the same manner as described above but also with some additional details. For example, the deity is shown here as being worshipped by Ādiśeṣa. Moreover, he is four-handed with his upper right clasping a disc, the lower right hand resting on the hip and the lower (or upper) left arm and hand holding a female figure identifiable as *dharitrī* (the earth). On the reverse a calf is sucking the udder of a cow and being licked by the latter. Above the cow is the legend *(Śrī) (Ā) di-Varāha*[85] (Plate 48).

The robust vitality exuded by the object on the obverse is beautifully harmonized with the tenderness oozing out of the reverse device. The Varāha on the gold and well produced silver coins and the animals on the gold coin are well-formed. They indicate the artists' ability to impart to the figures on flat flans a sense of volume and lithy movement. These coins are indeed among the best objects of numismatic art of the proto-medieval age and are testimonies to the relationship between numismatic and sculptural art of the period concerned.

The Brāhmaṇical Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab minted certain series of coins bearing interesting devices. The most well-known of these appear on the coins bearing a humped bull and a horseman, first minted by Spalapatideva (in the sixties of the 9th century A. D.). The obverse of the well-executed silver coins of Spalapatideva displays a recumbent bull to left (partly draped with an ornamental cloth and stamped with the mark of a trident on its hind portion) and the legend *Spalapatideva*. On the reverse appears a male figure, wearing boots, trousers, a long coat and a headgear (betraying Sasanian influence?) and riding on a prancing caparisoned horse. He holds a long spear in his right hand (fitted at the top with a banner?). On some pieces traces of a legend can be noticed in the margin[86] (Plates 49a and 49b).

All the figures on good silver pieces of Spalapatideva are very realistically treated. Their dimensional effect is remarkable. The bull appears to be a strong one and the prancing horse seems to be full of life and movement.

The obverse device can be typologically traced to Indo-Sasanian or Hūṇa coinage (or even to the Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek pieces). The bull is known to have appeared *inter alia* on early coins of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. On the other hand, the types of Spalapatideva were adopted not only by his successors but also by several early medieval dynasties (including those of the Gāhaḍavālas, Cāhamānas of different localities, Tomaras of Delhi [?], Pratīhāras of Gwalior and Yajvapālas or Jajapellas of Narwar) and even by some Muslim conquerors (including Muizzud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām).[87]

On several base silver, billon and copper pieces bearing the name of Spalapatideva and on a large number of coins of his successors and other rulers, who adopted the above types, an emphasis on delineating only the outlines of the figures in high relief is noticeable. This technique of execution was probably necessitated due to use of poor and alloyed metal and of dies deeply sunk in the relevant places only.

Like the horseman type of the Śāhis another coin-device became very popular in the early medieval age. We are referring to a four-armed seated goddess, who appears though with varying details on coins struck by the Kālacuris of Ḍāhala, Paramāras of Mālava, Gāhaḍavālas of Benaras and Kanauj, Cāndellas of Jejākabhukti, Cāhamānas of Delhi and Ajmer, Tomaras of Delhi (?), Caulukyas of Gujarat (?), Kacchapghāṭas of Gwalior (?), Yadus of Bayana and others, including the Muslim conqueror Muhammad bin Sām.[88]

The 'four-armed seated female' device appears on coins of Gāṅgeyadeva (*c.* A. D. 1019-1042), the Kālacuri ruler of Ḍāhala (the country around Jabalpur in M. P.). This 'seated female' can be noticed on gold, debased gold, silver, debased silver and copper coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva. Great divergence in the style of delineating the deity on different varieties of coins of supposedly the same metal (like gold and debased gold intended to be passed as gold) and corresponding deterioration in weight may debar us from accepting all these pieces as products of official mints of a single reign. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the series of coins, bearing exclusively Gāṅgeyadeva's name, must have been started during his period of rule. If the gradual deterioration in metal content, weight and style is considered an index to chronological sequence of the whole series of coins, the good and fairly good pieces, from these points of view, may be assigned to the age of Gāṅgeyadeva. Some of

these well executed coins bear stylistically excellent representation of a four-armed deity (Plate 50).

The 'front faced seated female' figure on some of Gāṅgeyadeva's gold coins is placed within a border of dots. She has a nimbus behind her head which is also bordered by dots. Her left leg is placed in front of the right. The two upper hands hold stalks of lotuses, and the two lower ones rest on her lap or thighs. She wears a necklace, earrings, bangles [girdles (?) and anklets (?)] (Plate 50). On some pieces we notice a trefoiled arch (indicating the upper part of a shrine ?) above the halo of the goddess. No doubt, the comparable female figure on the Gupta coins and their imitations, mentioned above, has two hands, one of which holds a fillet (and the other a lotus), and she sits on a lotus which is not clearly visible on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins. Nevertheless, the general scheme of representation of the seated female is, on the whole, same on all these coins. The female figure on the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, with her well proportioned limbs, narrow waist, deep navel, developed (but not voluptuous) breasts, nearly half-closing eyes, serenely smiling lips and graceful appearance, breathes the air of the rich legacy of the Gupta idiom. On stylistic considerations the seated lady on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins can better be compared with that on the specie of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta than with that on the pieces of Vainyagupta, Prakaśāditya, Viṣṇugupta, Śaśāṅka and others. The treatment of the breasts and abdomen of the female figure on Gāṅgeyadeva's coins in question bears strong affinity to that of the deity on lotus on several pieces minted by Kumāragupta I. It appears that some of the artists and die-cutters employed by Gāṅgeyadeva assimilated the style and technique of the master artists and die-cutters of the early Gupta age and possessed better skill than those who served the later Guptas and their successors. Here the artists were only reflecting the trends of medieval art in the Kālacurī or Haihaya territory which initially showed awareness of the Gupta classical idiom. A typical example is supplied by a panel (formed in Central India) showing Gaṅgā and others, which was for some time included in the Nasli and Alic Heeramaneck collection in the U.S.A., and is now in the Los Angeles County Council Museum. The pose, elegance of modelling and notion of lithe movement of the figure of Gaṅgā are comparable with those of a representation of the same goddess unearthed at Besnagar or of a Nāginī found at Maniyar Math (Rajgir), both datable to the Gupta age.

It is not suggested that the gold coins of the early Imperial Guptas had been in regular circulation in the Haihaya territory in so late a period as that of Gāṅgeyadeva so that his mint-masters could have easily imitated the squatting

female figure appearing on them. In fact, the difference in the details of the figures of the female deities concerned are, as indicated above, glaring enough to rule out the possibility of slavish imitation of a Gupta coin-type by Gāṅgeyadeva's mint-masters or artists. They followed the Gupta idiom, which still inspired the plastic art of their zone and period. And in doing so they produced a variety of gold coins bearing a female figure rich in gracefulness, plasticity and volume.

However, the same standard of artistic skill and excellence is not betrayed by all gold coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva. The figure and metal became gradually corrupt on the coins struck with his name but after his reign. The same may be observed about the type on coins minted by other dynasties.[89]

The Cālukyas—Early Later and Eastern—had Varāha or Boar (the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu) as their insignia on their copper-plates and so the gold coins bearing this animal on one side have been justifiably attributed to them. On a number of pieces its figure, punched on the flans, is well formed [90] (Plate 51).

Several coins of Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla of the Western Cālukya family display a temple. It has a superstructure reminiscent of the *caitya* window motif shown on the *śukanāsa* of a number of contemporary temples. This motif is further surmounted by a prismatic finial. A scholar examining the temple-device on this or any other class of Indian coins may try to determine whether the form concerned is unknown to or attested by the remains of architecture and/or literature. If the type concerned is known, he may evaluate the die-engravers' success in reproducing within a minute scale the visual traits of a form of contemporary architecture[91] (Plate 52).

A male figure (representing the king?) stands, facing to front and holding varying objects, on a number of coins of Rājarāja I of the Cola dynasty of South India. The figure is not very gracefully executed. But it is flexible, slender and, to some extent, vigorous. In these respects it can be related to numerous Cola sculptures of the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. which are distinguished by an animated flexibility and slenderness as well as by a vigorous form and tough vitality.[92]

Several gold, silver, base silver and copper coins of Rājendra Cola I display (on both sides) a lamp stand, a stringed bow, a seated tiger, two fishes and another lamp-stand below a parasol, flanked by two fly whisks, and above a broad line. A legend appears beneath the broad line. The composition of the devices has a general resemblance to that of the same figures (excepting the

stringed bow?) on the seals of that Cola king. For an example, we can refer to the bronze seal of his Karandai plates. This evidence indicates familiarity on the part of the Cola mint-masters with the seal-engraving art of the age and / or *vice versa*. There might have been close association and in some cases identity between the artists engaged in two different media of art.[93]

On a number of gold coins of the Hoysala kings Viṣṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha I we can notice a goddess (Durgā) sitting to front on a maned lion standing to right. The two-armed goddess holds a discus and a conch. The representation of the deity is not devoid of artistic quality. The artist or artists concerned can be complimented for imparting to her well proportioned figure a sense of volume and lithe movement. It has been claimed that a fine image of the goddess in the Kappe Chennigaraya temple at Belur alludes to her popularity in the Hoysala territory in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana. The coins of the region and period concerned were thus not immune to the influence of the contemporary religions and iconography and perhaps also of sculptural art, the hand maid of religion.[94]

These stray examples of the excellence of coin-devices may indicate that the field of proto-medieval coinages of north or even south India might not have been altogether barren from an artist's point of view.[95] But certainly the number of such quality products is insignificant in comparison with that of the numismatic beauties of the Gupta and pre-Gupta ages. The reasons for this rarity have been stated above.

H. THE MEDIEVAL SERIES

The apathy of the administration to the regular minting of standard coins was to a great extent changed with the attainment of political supremacy by Islamic powers in the late 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A. D. To a Muslim ruler the issuance of coins and the promulgation of his name in the *Khutba* (or public prayer) were indications of the establishment of his sovereignty.

Coins minted by the Muslim rulers in India are generally bereft of figural devices. This is a great impediment to any attempt to study their artistry. Nevertheless, beautifully inscribed legends on a great number of such coins may be fruitfully utilized for a study of the development of the art of calligraphy in India. Exotic shapes characterize a number of pieces[96] (Plates 53-56). Among the figural devices occurring on coins of Muslim rulers in India we can especially refer to the 'bull', 'horseman', 'seated goddess', 'lion' and 'elephant' types (all of which, particularly the first three, were at least initially imitated from the types already known in India), and to geometrical, ornamental and architectural designs, floral motifs, symbols, royal portraits and the signs of the zodiac.[97]

ART IN THE COINS OF EARLY AND MEDIEVAL INDIA



Plate 1 A silver punch-marked coin displaying *inter alia* a hooded wagon on wheels



Plate 2 A Local coin of Ujjain—with the representation of Śiva on one side



Plate 3 A Local copper coin of Taxila showing a mask (?) on one side



Plate 4 A coin of the Kuṇindas displaying the figures of Śrī, a deer and a few other devices



Plate 5 A device on a coin of the Audumbaras simulating, in miniature, the architectural form of a shrine



Plate 6 (a) A portrait of the Bactrian-Greek ruler Euthydemus I



6 (b) The representation of Herakles on a coin



Plate 7 (a) A portrait of the early Indo-Greek rulers Demetrius I



7 (b) The figure of Herakles on a coin



Plate 8 (a) A portrait of the early Indo-Greek king Antimachus



8 (b) The figure of Zeus on a coin



Plate 9 (a) A portrait of Eucratides I



9 (b) Dioscuri on a silver piece



Plate 10 Two figures standing to front on a coin of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Azilises



Plate 11 Gajalakṣmī on a coin of Azilises



Plate 12 A portrait of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I on a coin



Plate 13 A portrait of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Nahapāna on a coin, indicating him as a middle-aged person



Plate 14 Another portrait of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Nahapāna, showing him as an old man



Plate 15 A portrait of the Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi on a silver piece



Plate 16 A fleet of ships on a Sātavāhana coin



Plate 17 The seated figure of the Kuṣāṇa emperor V'ima Kadphises on a coin



Plate 18 The Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaṇiṣka I on a gold coin

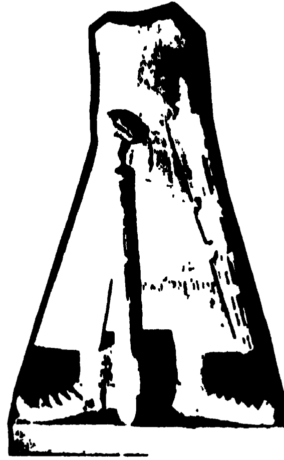


Plate 18 (a) The statue of Kaṇiṣka I found at Mat near Mathurā, now on display in the gallery of the Government Museum at Mathurā





Plate 19 A coin of Kuṣāṇa emperor V'ima Kadphises



Plate 20 Herakles on a coin of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huvishka

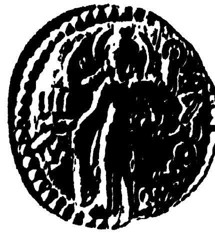


Plate 21 The Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva deified (?) as Lord Vāsudeva in a coin-type

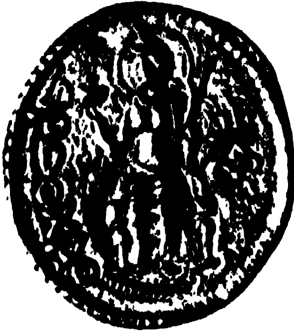


Plate 22 Enthroned Ardoksha on a coin of Kaniṣka III



Plate 23 The Gupta monarch Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī on a gold coin



Plate 24 Samudragupta playing on a lyre as shown on a gold coin



Plate 25 Candragupta II riding on a horse on a gold piece



Plate 26 Kumāragupta I slaying a lion as shown on a gold coin



Plate 27 Kumāragupta I slaying a rhinoceros as shown on a gold coin



Plate 28 Skandagupta and his queen (or Lakṣmī) as shown on one of his coins



Plate 29 The figure of a horse on a *Aśvamedha* type coin of Samudragupta



Plate 30 Seated Lakṣmī on a coin of Candragupta II



Plate 31 A goddess feeding a peacock on a gold piece of Kumāragupta I



Plate 32 A goddess on a lion on a gold piece of Kumāragupta I

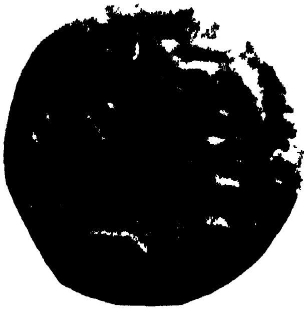


Plate 33 A conventional bust on a silver coin of Candragupta II



Plate 34 A representation of Candragupta II on one of his copper pieces



Plate 35 The so-called Apratigha coin-type of Kumāragupta I



Plate 36 An icon of Kārttikeya as represented on a coin of Kumāragupta I



Plate 37 The goddess Yamunā on a tortoise on a coin-type of Samudragupta



Plate 38 The goddess Yamunā on a tortoise as sculpted on a doorjamb of a temple of the Gupta age, now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 39 Śiva on a bull on a coin of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍ



(a)



(b)

Plate 40 A gold coin of Bālamṛgāṅka of Samataṭa and Vanga displaying (a) the king as an archer on one side, and (b) the seated Lakṣmī on the other



Plate 41 A goddess on a coin of Kāśmīra



Plate 42 The bust of the Hūṇa ruler Lakhāna on one of his coins



Plate 43 The bust of the Hūṇa ruler Khiṅgila on one of his coins

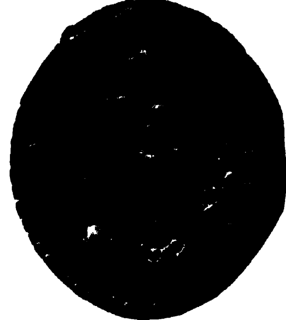


Plate 44 The bust of the Hūṇa ruler Bayasāra on one of his coins



Plate 45 The figure of a bull on a coin attributed to the Pallavas



Plate 46 The representation of Ādivarāha on a silver coin attributed to the Pratīhāra king Bhoja



Plate 47 Ādivarāha (an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu) in a proto-medieval sculpture, now kept in the Allahabad Museum, Allahabad (no. AM 110)





Plate 48 (a) and (b) A gold coin attributed to Bhoja, displaying
(a) the Ādivarāha on one side and (b) a cow and a calf on the other





(a)





(b)

Plate 49 (a) Obverse and (b) reverse of two coins of Spalapatideva, the Śāhī ruler, bearing on one side an equestrian figure and on the other a seated bull



Plate 50 A seated goddess on a gold coin of the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva



Plate 51 The figure of a boar punched on a gold coin of the Eastern Cālukyas



Plate 52 One side of a gold piece of the Later Cālukya king Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla, displaying a form of architecture



Plate 53 A lozenge shaped coin of Nasir Shah of Malwa

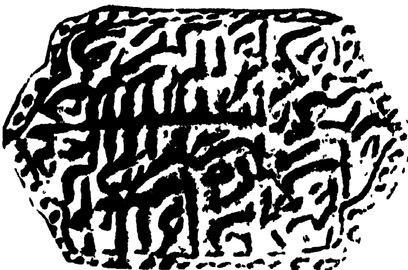


Plate 54 A gold coin of the Mughal emperor Akbar with the shape of a *mihrab* on either of its longer sides



Plate 55 A square gold coin of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr



Plate 56 An octagonal coin of the Ahoms (of Assam)



Plate 60 A male deity on a gold coin of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of the Vijayanagara empire



Plate 59 Zodiacal signs on the coins of Jahāngīr



Plate 57 A portrait of Akbar on a coin issued by his son Jahāngīr



Plate 58 A portrait of Jahāngīr on one of his gold pieces

Very improved versions of the 'horseman' device appear on coins struck in Gauḍ (?) during the days of Muhammad bin Sām, Alauddin Ali Mardan and Iltutmish. Here the equestrian figure is not shown in crude outline as on several coins of the Brāhmaṇical Śāhis of Ohind, later Ghaznavid rulers of Lahore, Muhammad bin Sām, Iltutmish, Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah, and others. On the Gauḍ (?) coins the whole body of the horse as well as that of the rider are shown in fairly high relief. To the prancing horse the die-engravers were able to impart a sense of life and movement.[98]

Pictorial devices on Mughal coins are marked, whenever they appear, with vivacity, which is also a characteristic of Mughal painting. 'Bird' and 'foliage', which form two important themes of Mughal painting, made their impact felt on a number of Mughal coins including some of the great emperor Akbar.[99] Arabesque and geometric designs, which embellish Mughal architecture, also adorn a number of coins of the period concerned.[100]

Interestingly enough, two well executed figures, representing Rāma and Sītā, appear on some coins of Akbar.[101] This type indicates his eclectic attitude to different religious faiths.

A portrait of Akbar adorns a series of gold muhars struck by his son Jahāngīr (Plate 57)[102]. A superbly drawn bust of the latter monarch can be noticed on a number of his coins. On some pieces (portrait : legend and the sun) he is shown as seated cross-legged, with his head turned to the left. His left hand rests on his left leg, while his half-raised right hand holds a cup. There is a halo behind his head. The composition of the portrait has a general resemblance to that of the monarch appearing in several paintings (including the one drawn by the noted painter Abul Hassan).[103] The composition of the imperial head with a radiating halo behind it on some pieces (which show the emperor as holding a goblet by his half-raised right hand and clasping a book or the covering of a railing by his left hand) is comparable to that in a painting by Bichitir[104] (Plate 58).

The king of the beasts appears in different postures on a number of coins of Jahāngīr. The artists' sense of naturalism, together with the facile contours defining the volume, may find parallels in the depictions of this royal animal in contemporary paintings. For an instance, we may refer to the representation of lion in a painting depicting the meeting of Jahāngīr and Shah Abbas drawn by Abul Hassan.[105]

The artistry of the signs of the zodiac on the coins of Jahāngīr is well-known. In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* the emperor himself stated that 'it occurred to my mind that instead of (the name of) the month they should substitute the figure

of the constellation which belonged to that month.... This usage was my own, and never been practised until now.'[106] Thus the sovereign, who was a connoisseur and a great patron of art, himself selected the themes of the devices of one of most beautiful series of Indian specie (Plate 59).

The Mughal school of painting flourished under Akbar, the father, and Jahāngīr, the son. Jahāngīr's lavish patronage of talented artists and his own critical and appreciative aesthetic sense raised the standard of painting to a high peak of achievement.[107] This age produced excellent miniature paintings. It was perhaps not difficult to find among the brilliant miniaturists, as well as among the experts in glyptic art, a number of master die-engravers, since all the three classes of artists had the training to work out their themes within a limited space. In any case, the Mughal emperors were in a position to employ talented artists to engrave devices on the dies of their coins. As a result, many of the Mughal coins with devices may be truly considered as works of art. At least the gold coins of Jahāngīr bearing his portrait on one side and a lion and the sun on the other should have been intended to be treated as objects of art, if there is truth in the claim (made by Khāfi-Khān in the *Muntakhab-u-l-Lubāb*) that these were used to be given to 'favourite amirs' and 'most devout servants' to enable them to 'exalt their dignity' by displaying such pieces on their breasts as 'life preserving amulets',[108] or on their turbans as status-raising as well as beautifying elements. It is really interesting to learn that these 'portrait' coins, like 'portrait' paintings, were used to be presented by the emperor to dignitaries.[109]

In such a presentation of 'token and likeness' (*shast u shabih*) one may see an attempt to create a royal circle. The halo behind the heads of the emperors on their coins (at least on those representing Jahāngīr) and in Mughal paintings allude to their supernatural status. Here the coins and paintings served as media of propaganda.

Auspicious signs and symbols (like *svastika*, trident, etc.), well-known in India from an early age, can be noticed in the marks and ornaments on the coins of the Sultans of Delhi, the Mughal emperors, etc. These may be studied along with the symbols on early Indian coins to assess their importance in the development of symbolical art in India. Ornamented designs are known to have embellished several series of Indian coins—ancient, medieval and modern.

Some of the coins struck by non-Muslim states in the medieval period are relevant to our study. We can refer to the artistic merit of several interesting iconic types minted by the Vijayanagara kingdom (Plate 60) and of certain exotic devices struck in Tripura. A numismatist-cum-art historian may indeed

profitably study the artistry of the inscriptions, ornaments and the known pictorial devices on coins of the medieval period.[110]

I. WHEN COINS BECAME OBJECTS OF ART

The upshot of the above discussion is that unlike the coins struck in a modern mint, all coins of ancient or medieval age (ending in A. D. 1757 or *c.* 1800) did not have the potentiality of becoming objects of art, even when produced by the best of the known manufacturing methods (i.e. the die-striking process). However, a great number of a group of coins could have high artistic value if these were the end-products of a series of reflections and operations.[111] A decision had to be taken to issue coins regularly in the name of the reigning king or the ruling authority. There should have been the formulation of a policy to use coinage for reproducing good art-forms, symbols and well-known iconic types (often popular in the locality in which the pieces concerned would come into circulation) and to employ it, at least at times, as a medium of propaganda. The first important administrative step to be taken was the appointment of skilled and imaginative sculptors for engraving dies for producing pieces to serve as quality products as well as media of exchange. The authorities had to ensure the production of good blanks of fairly pure metal (of gold, silver, or copper, etc.) as their main content. Finally, at the time of actual minting enough care had to be taken to avoid the repetition of the above noted shortcomings (in different methods).[112]

The adoption of these policies and administrative measures, however, might not ensure the turning out of each piece of a class of coins as a quality product. The humane proneness to commit errors in purifying metals and in striking coins in the manually operated process could have told on the quality of production. There was also the possibility of shortage in the supply of skilled die-engravers in a period of great demand for coins, even if the best available working method (i.e. minting with the help of dies) was adopted. This was a serious impediment, since each die was unique, there having no possibility of supply of dies of identical appearance (at least in India).[113] Moreover, each die was capable of producing only a limited number of pieces.[114] This point is well illustrated by a comparison between the well-executed Archer type of coins of Candragupta II and a slightly dumpy and not so well produced Archer type pieces of the same monarch.[115] Such factors explain the reason for the low percentage of quality coins among the very high number of known pieces of ancient and medieval times.

In spite of these shortcomings, the fairly well organized mints of the Early Indo-Greeks, Kuṣāṇas, Guptas or Mughals produced a large number of quality

coins,[116] perhaps fulfilling the above noted conditions. Similar situation even for a short time at a mint at the early stage of minting of a series of specie could have turned out pieces of pleasing appearance. All such products were objects of art.

Iconic representations and religious symbols, important components of art forms in early India, appear in impressive numbers on ancient Indian coins. Restriction on space does not permit us to discuss this feature in detail. We have already mentioned the importance of coins as a source of knowledge about iconic development and its syncretistic nature. The evidence of two types of coins of Huviṣka (one displaying Oesho or Śiva with Ommo or Ambā and the other replacing the latter by Nanā) demonstrates the identification of Ambā, the consort of Śiva, with Nanā.[117] Again, the combined evidence of coins and a few sculptures demonstrate the transfer of the *Kéras 'Amaltheias* (horn of plenty) of Tyche to Ambā-Nanā and also to Ardokhsha and ultimately to Śrī or Lakṣmī.[118] A gold coin (or medal?) of *c.* 1st century B. C. or rather early 1st century A. D. displays on one side the figure of a lion, the so-called *triratna* symbol and a legend which can be translated as 'the lion whose fear is gone'. The legend may refer to the Buddha, known as Śākyasiṁha. In that case the figure of lion may stand for the Buddha, and the symbol can be taken to allude to the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha* (church). A bearded naked man turning a wheel appears on the reverse of the coin. The accompanying legend refers to him as 'the protector of the knower of the wheel of Dharma'. We have elsewhere identified the figure as Herakles-Kṛṣṇa.[119] The piece is thus a valuable document of syncretistic tendencies in Indian religion and art.

All these data reveal that skilled die-engravers employed in an organized mint, controlled by an enlightened authority, did not work in isolation. They had the capacity to capture the spirit of the time (artistic, social and religious as well as political) in selecting and engraving a coin-device.

Excellent coins with well-formed shapes and beautiful devices in fairly high relief are masterpieces of a form of miniature art.[120] They constitute an independent medium, though having correspondence with other media of visual art.

The quality pieces of early or medieval times are indeed objects of delight. Their captivating beauty radiates an enticing charm.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]For descriptions of these methods as practised in ancient and medieval ages, see B. N. Mukherjee and P. K. D. Lee, *Technology of Indian Coinage* (Calcutta, 1988) [hereafter *TIC*], pp. 11f.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40f. For a short account of minting as done at present in Europe and America, see *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. IV (Chicago, etc., 1977), pp. 821f.

[3] For examples, see C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (London, 1966), pls. 135, 210, 213, 218, etc.; M. J. Price (ed.), *Coins* (London, 1980), figs. 87, 378, 500, 845, 879, 1333, 1396, etc.; B. N. Mukherjee, *A Plea for Study of Art in Coinage* (Varanasi, 1983) [hereafter *PSAC*], pls. If; etc.

[4] *TIC*, p. 46.

[5] *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1963), p. 226.

[6] *TIC*, pp. 19-21. We do not know whether in ancient or medieval India there was a regular use of any mechanical instrument (like a hinge connecting the two dies) to keep the upper die in proper place at the time of minting (*Ibid*, p. 53 and p. 34, n. 53).

[7] It was possible to cut a positive design in high relief on the lower end of a bar or punch and then to punch it on soft metal to produce an intagliated die. This method, known as hubbing, allowed die-cutters to have dies of very similar, if not identical, appearance (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, pp. 18-22; 1963, p. 221; 1986, p. 76f). Here also a defect in hubbing could have impaired the intended appearance. Moreover, neither it was a popular method in ancient world nor its use in India is known.

[8] *TIC*, pp. 19-21.

[9] G. Macdonald, *Coin Types, Their Origin and Development* (Glasgow, 1905), p. 1f; *The Evolution of Coinage* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 1f; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage* (London, 1955), p. 19f; G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (6th edition, London, 1969) [hereafter *HGA*], pp. 260-61, figs. 148 and 152; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Master-pieces of Greek Art* (edited by Al. N. Oikonomides) (Chicago, 1964), pp. 10f and pls. 2 and 3; L. Breglia, *Roman Imperial Coins, Their Art & Technique* (New York, 1968), p. 30f; B. L. Trell, 'Architecture Numismata : Early Types', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1972, p. 145f ; P. V. Hill, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (London, 1989), p. 145f; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1987, p. 51f; etc.

[10] J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1936), p. 297 f ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Ṭākākaḍi* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, 1992), p. 48f; Sabita Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols—Numismatic Evidence* (Delhi, 1990), p. 10f, pls. 1f.

[11] L. Breglia, *op. cit.*, p. 34f; *PSAC*, p. 4f; etc.

[12] See above n. 9.

[13] J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pls. 1f.

[14] Sabita Sharma, 'Silver Punch-marked Coins from Magadha— An Unknown Type', *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture, Essays in Honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, edited by D. W. MacDowall, Sabita Sharma and S. Garg, vol. I (Delhi, 1992), p. 31.

[15] *PSAC*, pl. II, no. 12; S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* (2nd edition, New Delhi, 1975), p. 38, fig. 16.

[16] P. L. Gupta and T. R. Hardekar, *Ancient Indian Silver Punch- marked Coins of the Magadha-Maurya Kārṣāpaṇa Series* (Nasik, 1985), pp. 77 (no. 526), 90 (no. 142), and 97 (no. 362).

[17] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), p. 43f, figs. 106-108; S. Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols—Numismatic Evidence*, pp. 10f.

[18] K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1974), p. 246f.

[19] *PSAC*, pl. II, no. 13.

[20] *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 14.

[21] K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pl. II, no. 43.

[22] J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 297f; J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd edition, Calcutta, 1956), p. 108f.

[23] K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pl. I, no. 19.

[24] *HGA*, p. 166f; M. Beiber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (revised edition, New York, 1961), p. 5; *PSAC*, p. 4f.

[25] M. Beiber, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[26] C. H. V. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 51f.

[27] R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins* (Oxford, 1914) [hereafter *CCPM*], pls. II-VII; J. Charbonneaux and others, *Hellenistic Art, 330-50 B. C.* (London, 1970), p. 287; *PSAC*, p. 5.

[28] *CCPM*, vol. I, pl. II, no. 64; pl. III, no. 133; pl. IX, no. 666; etc.

[29] M. Th. Allouche- Le Page, *L'Art Monétaire des'Royaumes Bactriens* (Paris, 1956), p. 58. In this connection see also P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, *c.* 500 B. C. to A. D. 700, A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, 1986), p. 69.

[30] *CCPM*, vol. I, pls. II-VII.

[31] *HGA*, pp. 166-67 and 174; M. Beiber, *op. cit.*, p. 107 and p. 113f; J. Charbonneaux and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 237f, 259, and 286f; figs. 286f; *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. VII, New York, cols. 332, 337f and 352; pl. 137.

[32] *CCPM*, vol. I, pls. X-XV; *PSAC*, pp. 7-8.

[33] *CCPM*, vol. I, pl. X, nos. 10, 27 and 31; pl. XII, no. 263f, etc.; M. Artamanov (ed.), *The Dawn of Art* (Leningrad, 1974), p. 12f.

[34] P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the*

Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India (London, 1986), pl. XVI, no. 2; pl. XVIII, no. 12; pl. XX, no. 4; pl. XXIII, nos. 8-12; *PSAC*, pl. III, nos. 26 and 27; B. N. Mukherjee, *Kuṣāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers* (Calcutta, 1978) [hereafter *KCLFR*], pl. XIII, no. 11.

[35] *CCPM*, vol. I, pl. XIII, no. 334.

[36] *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 332.

[37] J. E. Van Lohuizen- De Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period* (London, 1949), pl. XVIII, no. 29; *KCLFR*, p. 74.

[38] *CCPM*, vol. I, pl. XV, nos. 59 and 60; pl. XVI, no. 72; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia* (London, 1903), pl. XXVI, nos. 4-5; pl. XXX, nos. 1f; pl. XXXI, nos. 12f; L. V. Berghe, *Reliefs Rupestres de L'Irān Ancien* (Brussells, 1984), figs. 4 and 6.

[39] E. J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty* (London, 1908), pl. IX, nos. 243f.

[40] *Ibid.*, pl. VII, nos. 178; pl. XIf.

[41] M. Datta, *A Study of the Sātavāhana Coinage* (New Delhi, 1990), figs. 62, 69-71, 79, 84, 116-21 and 124.

[42] *Ibid.*, figs. 2, 3, 93 etc.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 101 and 317.

[44] *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 63-74. The Kuṣāṇas probably issued a limited number of silver coins even after the reformation effected by V'ima. These were primarily meant for circulation in the lower Indus country (B. N. Mukherjee, *Kuṣāṇa Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 49f).

[45] For reproductions of Kuṣāṇa coin-types see R. Gobl, *System und Chronologie der Munzprazung des Kusanreiches* (Wien, 1984), pls. 1f.

[46] *KCLFR*, pp. 17f.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 26, n. 8.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8; pls. XVI-XVIII.

[49] J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1967), p. 73; E. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (2nd edition, London, 1959), pls. XXX, no. 11; XXXI, nos. 1 and 3; etc.

[50] *KCLFR*, pl. XIX, nos. 1f.

[51] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, no. 2.

[52] S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 79, figs. 32, 35 etc.

[53] J. M. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 72; pls. II-X; *KCLFR*, p. 18f.

[54] *KCLFR*, p. 20; pl. XIX, no. 1; XX, no. 1; XVI, no. 2; XXIV, no. 1f. Among other deities represented on coins and in the sculptural art of the empire we can refer to Herakles, Herakles-Serapis, Ardokhsho, Mao, Mihira, Maaseno (Mahāsena), and Oado

(*Ibid.*, pl. XIX, no. 20, XXII, nos. 1-5; XXIII, nos. 18 and 20-2; XXVI, nos. 2-3). Similarly, representations of some deities on Kuṣāṇa coins (like a goddess standing with a cornucopia and enthroned Manobago) correspond with those of the same divinities in the glyptic art of the Kuṣāṇa age (*KCLFR*, pl. XXIII, nos. 3-4).

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 20f; J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 121f, 135f, etc.; B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā On Lion—A Study of Kuṣāṇa Numismatic Art* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 11f.

[56] B. N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire* (Calcutta, 1988) [hereafter *RFKE*], pp. 251-52 and 324. The Oxus (Oakhsho) (which bordered Bactria on the north) and not the famous Ganges was personified on a variety of Huvishka's coins.

[57] L. Breglia, *op cit.*, p. 13; *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 63f and 75f; *KCLFR*, p. 18f.

[58] B. N. Mukherjee, 'The Kuṣāṇa Royal Imagery and Its use by Later Kings' in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. XVIII, 1988-89, p. 139.

[59] *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XLIX, 1987, pp. 46-7.

[60] B. N. Mukherjee, 'Cults of the Emperor and Empire in the Kuṣāṇa Dominions', *India · History and Thoughts, A. L. Basham Felicitation Volume*, edited by S. N. Mukherjee (Calcutta, 1982), p. 127f; 'Art in the Kuṣāṇa Empire: The Scope of Study', *The Calcutta Review*, vol. III, no. I, 1985, p. 39f.

[61] *RFKE*, p. 313f.

[62] We can especially refer to the commemorative coins and the so-called 'pedigree' series (A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, 1965, pls. I-III; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* [2nd edition , Cambridge, 1951], p. 446).

[63] The idea of having so many deities on the Kuṣāṇa coins seems to have been inspired by (a) the Kuṣāṇa moneyers' knowledge of the Roman coin-types and some cults of the Roman Orient (gained through direct Kuṣāṇa-Roman commercial contacts), (b) the state policy to emphasize on deities indicating the right and might of the Kuṣāṇa rule, and (c) the desire to reflect on coinage the faiths and ideas current in Bactria. The heterogeneous religious elements in Kuṣāṇa coinage betrays also an eclectic attitude of the Kuṣāṇas towards religion (*KCLFR*, p. 21 and p. 29, n. 35).

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2; pl. V B.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 23 and pl. XXVI, nos. 2-3.

[66] *TIC*, pp. 19-20. The technique of smelting copper was not very well developed in the Kuṣāṇa empire. This may be one of the reasons for the rather poor workmanship of the famous Shah-ji-ki dheri casket and a large number of copper coins.

[67] For the Gupta coin-types see A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, (Varanasi, 1957), pl. 1f. For detailed discussions on the Gupta numismatic art, see B. N. Mukherjee, 'A Note on Gupta Numismatic Art', *Aspects of Indian Art and Culture, S. K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume*, edited by J. Chakravarti and D. C.

Bhattacharya (Calcutta, 1983), p. 135f; 'Numismatic Art', *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. III, pt. II, edited by R. C. Majumdar (New Delhi, 1982), p. 1415f; *Art in Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages of Northern India* (Lucknow, 1985) [hereafter *AGPGCNI*], p. 15f; etc.

[68] See above no. 67.

[69] S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 124f.

[70] *AGPGCNI*, pp. 24-5, pl. V, no. 5.

[71] *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. XVIII, 1988-89, p. 135f.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *AGPGCNI*, pl. I, no. 1; pl. III, no. 5.

[74] *Ibid.*, pl. V, nos. 1-2.

[75] *Ibid.*, pl. VI, no. 10.

[76] For detailed discussion on numismatic art in the Post-Gupta age and also references to the sources of information see *AGPGCNI*, pp. 36-41 and 57-8, and B. N. Mukherjee's chapter on numismatic art in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *op cit.*, pp. 1422-426 and 1429-431.

[77] *AGPGCNI*, p. 65, n. 2.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 66, n. 3.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 65, n. 2; p. 66, n. 5.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 66, n. 5.

[81] For an example, we can refer to the 'fish' (of the Ceras) and 'bow' (of the Pāṇḍyas) on the Cola coins. They are taken to indicate the supremacy of the Colas over the Pāṇḍyas and the Cera territories (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. A. D. 225-1300* [New Delhi, 1976], p. 52).

[82] B. N. Mukherjee, *Media of Exchange in Early Medieval North India*, New Delhi, 1992 (hereafter *MEEMNI*), pp. 15, 19, 28 etc.; *AGPGCNI*, p. 66, n. 7.

[83] *AGPGCNI*, p. 41.

[84] R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 1390.

[85] *Numismatic Digest*, vol. VII, 1983, pp. 60-1. For references to rulers using the reverse type in question and for the examples of corruption of the Ādivarāha type on later coins see *AGPGCNI*, p. 58, no. 34.

[86] *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, nos. 1-4. For other coin-types of the Śāhis see *AGPGCNI*, p. 42.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 43; pl. XVII, nos. 13-4; pl. XVII, no. 15.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[89] For a detailed discussion on the coins bearing the name of Gāṅgeyadeva see *ibid.*, *AGPGCNI*, pp. 46-50.

For a discussion on the seated goddess type appearing on the coins of other families, see *ibid.*, pp. 50-4, pls. XXVIIIf. For references to other remarkable types see *ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

[90] B. N. Mukherjee, 'Numismatic Art', R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 1405-410. As the figure of Varāha continued on the gold coins of the Cālukya coinage for a very long time and was adopted by the later dynasties, gold coins of South India became known by the generic name *Varāha*.

[91] *PSAC*, p. 32, pl. VI, no. 56.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 32, S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 181f.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3; pl. VI, figs. 57-58A.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 33, pl. VI, fig. 59.

[95] For a discussion on the principal coin-types of proto-medieval north India see *MEEMNI*, pp. 13f; and for the same on the coin-types of south India of that period, see B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-6, 38f and 205f. For discussions on artistic features of the relevant pieces see B. N. Mukherjee, 'Numismatic Art', R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 1423-431; *PSAC*, pp. 31-3; and *AGPGCNI*, pp. 40f.

[96] *Numismatic Digest*, vol. I, pl. V, no. 5; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Indian Gold—An Introduction to the Cabinet of Gold Coins in the Indian Museum* (Calcutta, 1990) [hereafter *IG*], pl. VIIA, pp. 142-43.

[97] See the catalogues of medieval coins published by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Punjab Museum, Lahore; see also C. R. Bruce II and others, *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money, since 1556 A. D.*, Wisconsin.

[98] D. Rajgar, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India* (Bombay, 1991), pp. 13-4.

[99] P. Pal, *Court Paintings of India* (New York, 1983), pls. 143, 146, 158, 181 etc.; A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time*, Calcutta, 1978, pls. 56, 57, 66, 67 etc.; *PSAC*, pl. VIII, nos. 69-70; *IG*, pls. VIIA-VII B, nos. 143-61.

[100] *IG*, pls. VIIA-VII B, nos. 143, 152, 155, 159 etc.

[101] *PSAC*, pl. VIII, no. 63.

[102] *IG*, p. 25.

[103] *Ibid.*, pl. VIIB, nos. 152-53; A. K. Das, *op. cit.*, pls. 33, 39, etc.

[104] *IG*, pl. VIIB, no. 148; B. Gascoigne, *The Great Mughals* (London, 1971), p. 129 etc.

[105] *IG*, pl. VII A, no. 148; A. K. Das, *op. cit.*, pl. 64.

[106] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāṅgīrī*, translation by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, vol. II, reprint (Delhi, 1968), p. 7; *IG*, pl. VII A, nos. 144f.

[107] A. K. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 107f.

[108] *Muntakhab-u-l-Lubāb*, Bibliotheca Indica Series, I, pp. 272 and 386.

[109] *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Row*, edited by W. Foster, vol. I, London, pp. 244-45.

[110] A fairly large number of coins including several bearing artistic devices and designs were issued by the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English authorities

before *c.* A. D. 1800. But these have not been included in our study. They should better be studied as Indo-European or early modern series.

[111] *AGPGCNI*, p. 94.

[112] *Ibid.*; *TIC*, pp. 21-2.

[113] *TIC*, p. 34, n. 49.

[114] An experiment in Greek minting technique has demonstrated that a minimum of 10,000 pieces could have been produced by a good die of ancient times (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1963, p. 229).

[115] A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. V, compare no. 7 with no. 9.

[116] *IG*, pls. If.

[117] B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kuṣāṇa Numismatic Art*, pp. 14-5; pl. V, nos. 18 and 20.

[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20. See also our article in Bengali in the Special Puja number of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, October 2, 1992. A British Museum Sculpture (no. 009518/ 1959-12-15.1) displays a lady with a cornucopia by her side referred to in an accompanying inscription as the image of Śrī (*Śiriye Paḍima*).

[119] *Mudra*, special issue, *Numismatic Society of Calcutta*, p. 34f; V. Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold* (Leningrad, 1985), pp. 128 and 250.

[120] *IG*, pl. X, nos. a, etc.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

(The reproduction of each coin is not always its actual size.)

' *Courtesy* · Author

Z. A. DESAI

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ART AND INDIAN EPIGRAPHY

THE Persian and Arabic inscriptions are found in India, as a rule, from the last decade of the 12th century, when Muslim foothold was established in North India. Albeit, a few such inscriptions of the earlier dates, numbering about a dozen or so, have been found in Haryana[1] and Gujarat.[2] In the eastern part of the country, the earliest inscriptions in Persian and Arabic which have come to light belong to the first quarter of the 13th century,[3] while in the Deccan, they appear at a later date, synchronizing with the establishment of direct political authority over this region by Alāu'd-Din Khaljī.[4] It is quite likely that in the coastal regions, particularly on the Gujarat, Konkan, Malabar, and Coromandal coasts, early Muslim settlers left some epigraphical records. Indeed, according to popular belief and traditional accounts, there were early Muslim inscriptions in Kerala and elsewhere in South India; but no such record of an earlier date has been found so far.

These inscriptions are usually on religious or non-secular buildings like mosques and tombs and on secular edifices like forts, fort-walls, gateways, palaces, tanks, wells, step-wells, water-storages, bridges, gardens, caravansarais, school buildings and the like. Inscriptions have also been found on what can be termed as boundary-stones and direction-stones. There were also inscriptions on objects like arms, seals or signets, vases, utensils, crockery, precious stones, etc.

The language of the majority of the records of Muslim India is Persian, which has been, throughout the greater part of the last millennium, the official language of the country. Many are, at the same time, in Arabic and quite a few are in both Arabic and Persian. The few records that are in Urdu mostly belong to the nineteenth-twentieth centuries (when too, it did not replace Persian), but about half a dozen earlier records set up during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries represent the older form of this language.[5] Quite a good number of these epigraphs is bilingual, and in a couple of cases, even trilingual, written either in Persian or Arabic and one or two Indian languages, Sanskrit and / or a regional language. The early inscriptions are, as a rule, in Arabic which began to be gradually but steadily replaced, from the middle of the 13th century, by

Persian, which became more or less the accepted language for epigraphs from the next century right even to the present day. However, almost exclusively in Bengal, Kerala and parts of Tamil Nadu, and to a considerable extent in Gujarat, Arabic held its ground until the advent of the seventeenth century and even until the present times in Kerala. From the seventeenth century, which saw the zenith of Mughal Power in India, Persian gained still wider currency in epigraphs as in State records and almost completely replaced Arabic in the first-half of the eighteenth century. The Arabic records are all in prose with a few exceptions, the earliest metrical one, it is interesting to note, being from West Bengal.[6] On the contrary, metrical Persian epigraphs have been quite common from the fourteenth century itself.

These inscriptions are usually dated in the Hijri era which started with the migration (*Hijrat*) of Prophet Muhammad from Mekka to Madina. The year is invariably expressed in words in Arabic or Persian until about the middle of the fifteenth century, when we first came across the use of numerals or figures. But their use becomes somewhat common only a century later. The dates are also expressed in a chronogram, that is to say, by adding up the numerical values assigned to the letters of a particular phrase given for the purpose, usually in metrical records. The dating in the years of the rule of a particular monarch commonly adopted by the Mughal emperors in their coins was also employed as a rule in their epigraphs. But this practice, like the metrical legend on coins, is found followed first, in pre-Mughal period, in the inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat.[7] Inscriptions from Deccan also bear dates in the solar adaptation of the lunar Hijrī era, called the Shuhūr San or in local parlance Shūrsan or Sūrsan which was widely current in the kingdom of Bijapur.[8] We have so far got only two instances of the use of Shuhūr era in the north in the inscriptions of the first half of the sixteenth century.[9] A more recent epitaph of 1872, gives the date of demise in eight eras—Hijri, Gregorian, Jalālī, Majūsī, Yezdjerdī, Waslī, Faslī, Bāṅglā and Vikrama (the name of the eighth era 1034 equivalent to 1872 A. D. is illegible).[10]

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

These epigraphs are important as sources of the history of the period. As a rule, they mention the history of the structure on which they appear and the political or social status of its builder, local official and provincial governor and the reigning monarch. It is true that they do not constitute, in this regard, as primary a source, or do not contain such detailed and extraneous information, as is generally met with in their Sanskritic and Dravidian counterparts. The direct information supplied by them is relatively small because during this period,

there were other media of dissemination of historical information, like written chronicles or dynastic accounts, royal orders (*farmāns*) or grants (*sanads*), etc. Nevertheless, they furnish definite material for the political, cultural, social and religious history of the period. But for these records the gap in the chronology of rulers, ignored by historians, would in some cases, have remained unfilled. For example, the Bengal Sultans Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs, Shamsu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh and Alāu'd-Din Fīrūz Shāh, Bihar ruler Muhammad Shāh Sūr, Malwa king Aḥmad Shāh, and Nizām Shāhī king Burhān III are known to posterity through these epigraphs only. As is well known, the entire political history of the Bengal Sultanate during the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries has been reconstructed with the help of inscriptions and coins only. Even in the case of small but powerful principalities like the Khānate of Nāgaur and the Auhadīs of Bayana (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) who have not been entirely overlooked by chroniclers, it is through the epigraphs only that their history has been properly pieced together. Even in the case of some of the well-known kings like Nusrat Shāh Tughluq of Delhi, Dilāwar Khān and Hoshang Shāh Ghorī and Naṣīr Shāh Khaljī of Malwa and Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī of Khandesh, their full titles are known from epigraphs only. Then, these epigraphs have supplied the names, and by implication the place of postings, etc., of a large number of officials of different status like ministers, governors, commanders, officers of the revenue and like departments under different dynasties, both central and provincial; in the case of some of the well-known officials and noblemen, the places of postings or fiefs have been known only through the records mentioning them.

Among the recent finds of interest are a few Mamlūk records: one of Muhammad bin Sām from Nāgaur,[11] one of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak from Karā near Allahabad,[12] one of either Aibak or his master from Thānesar,[13] epitaph of an early Mamlūk nobleman Izzu'd-Dīn Bakhtyār from Delhi,[14] two inscriptions from Nagar (Fatehpur Sikri),[15] and one of Balban now in the Patiala Museum.[16] A number of new Khaljī inscriptions include such interesting records as the one investing Alāu'd-Dīn's nephew Ikrīt Khān with regal titles, now in the Allahabad Museum,[17] inscriptions of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak from Rājur in Bulḍānā district of Maharashtra,[18] and that from Bari Khāṭu in Nāgsur district of Rajasthan which furnishes the name of a new governor[19] and from Varanasi,[20] etc. New Tughluq inscriptions, in comparatively greater numbers, were found at places like Dekāwāḍā, Patan and Cambay in Gujarat,[21] Kethorā in Madhya Pradesh,[22] Lāḍnun and Nāgaur in Rajasthan,[23] and Sirsi and Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh,[24] supplying names of new Muqṭa's and first-rank noblemen or full names of known ones like Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Turkān, Ikhtiyāru'd-

Dīn Juljīn, Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Chopān, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm, Nasīru'd-Dīn (and his daughter Sher Khātūn), Alp Khān and the like. It may be of great interest to find that three Tughluq period inscriptions, two of them on tall pillars and one on a big tablet, of Fīrūz Shāh seem to strongly indicate the fact (not taken note of by writers on medieval Indian history) that a medieval Muslim ruler had emulated the great Mauryan emperor, evidently to go down in history as the second Aśoka. Coming from as extreme ends of his vast empire, Fatehābād (Hissār district, Haryana)[25] in west, north-west, Jaunpur (district headquarters, Uttar Pradesh),[26] in far east and Khambhāt (Cambay, Kheda district, Gujarat)[27] in west, south-west, these unusually long Persian records, while briefly reporting the purport for which they were set up, narrate at some length temporal achievements of the Tughluq ruler such as the conquest of Lakhnanti (Bengal), Jājnagar (Orissa), etc., recalling to mind the Aśokan edicts.

Quite a few more epigraphs of the Bahmanīs of Deccan and their successors have been found after their detailed account appeared a few years back.[28] These, as usual, provide new names in official hierarchy as well as some welcome information on administration or similar aspects of the life of the period.[29] To quote only one, a record from Rājūpeṭā in Nālgoṇḍā district of Andhra Pradesh, dated as late as A. H. 945 (A. D. 1529), which incidentally does not use regal titles for the founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty Sultān Qulī, gives some idea about the irrigation system: A servant of Malik Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, the son-in-law of Sultān Qulī, excavated a tank and stipulated that from the crop grown with its water, one share would go to him (to be used for charitable purposes), one to the State and two for public benefit; some free-hold land was also obtained and the proceeds from it were to be utilized for the repairs of a bridge.[30]

Likewise, the inscriptions from Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa, etc., have afforded valuable material for the history of these kingdoms or regions. The most outstanding find from Bengal is an epigraph from Sian in Birbhum district which happens to be the earliest record found so far in the eastern part of the country and its purport is no less interesting: it records the construction in 1221 of a Hospice (*khānqāh*) for saintly persons and mystics engaged in meditation of God.[31] This would show that by this time, Islamic saintly establishments had already been at work in the region.

Even for the provincial kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa, these inscriptions provide information about their kings and officials,[32] which is not met with in historical works in which these two kingdoms fortunately abound. A recent survey in Kashmir has yielded a number of inscriptions, which provide hitherto unutilized material.[33] More notable among these is an epitaph of the wife of the celebrated Sulṭān Zainu'l-Ābidīn (1452 A. D.).[34]

Likewise, the Mughal inscriptions found all over the country provide immensely valuable information about local history.[35] The inscriptions of the later Mughals, in particular, found in various regions of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Deccan, indicate the extent of their authority, nominal or otherwise, acknowledged in these parts where independent or semi-independent principalities had come into existence in the post-Aurangzeb period.[36]

They have also thrown light on events or personages unrecorded in historical works, more particularly in case of the areas far removed from central or provincial metropolis; their value for the local history of a village, town or district is unquestioned and unrivalled, for historical works hardly condescend to even mention them. Even in the case of provinces, the inscriptions have proved of greater help in this regard than chronicles: for example, the succession list of the governors of Bihar under Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq has been drawn up from epigraphical evidence only.[37] The authentic, though brief, information furnished by these records has helped to clear up confusing statements or biased accounts about the political status of different regions as for example, different parts of Rajasthan during the 13th-18th centuries, Bihar in the 14th-16th centuries, Rāichur *doāb* which was a bone of contention between the Bahmanī and their successor *Ādil Shāhīs* of Bijapur on one hand and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara on the other, Kāliṅgs, Teliṅgānā and Konkan—Goa in the 16th century and different parts of Madhya Pradesh and Deccan in the time of the later Mughals.[38] Two inscriptions found in Sabarkantha district of Gujarat indirectly supply interesting and definite information about the whereabouts of the last Sumarā Chief of Sind, Hammū son of Dūdā, after his defeat by Fīrūz Tughluq. One of these records finally settles the proper as well as the tribal name of this Chief which are differently recorded in historical works.[39] It also indicates that he was granted fief at or around Parāntij, the findspot of the epigraph.[40] This is corroborated by the other epigraph, also from the same place, set up about a century later, which refers to the death of a great grandson of the brother of the said Chief, Sikandar Khān by name, who is stated therein to have fallen in a battle in Sembhar, now called Sherpura, in Vadgām tāluka of Banās Kāṇṭhā district of Gujarat—an interesting piece of information in itself.[41]

In a number of instances, these inscriptions have corrected statements from other sources, original as well as modern—the latter including gazetteers and reports which have indiscriminately recorded traditions or local gossip as history, particularly in regard to history of certain regions or monuments.[42]

Of even greater importance is the information supplied by these epigraphs on different aspects of contemporary life including administration, particularly

those affecting different sections of the general public which is generally not met with in chronicles. A number of records, of which the majority, it is interesting to note, come from the Deccan, contain official orders or mandates recording adjustment of public grievances through proclamations abolishing taxes and prohibiting some unlawful levies, unofficial imports or undesirable practices, establishment of schools or colleges for religious or secular instruction and endowment, for their maintenance, salary for the teachers and stipends for the students, remission of dues or provision of facilities for promotion of trade, foundation of new village-markets, and ensuring their prosperity by remitting some or all categories of regular taxes in full or in part, for a fixed period, steps to increase agricultural output, augmentation of water supply through wells, tanks and canals for agriculture as well as civic consumption and provide better communications by making roads on hills and ghāṭs, building bridges, caravansarais, establishing free-kitchens and alms-houses, and the like.

It will not be without interest to specify the nature of a few such orders: abolishing the custom of *niputrik* whereby the property of a person (in some parts, of certain communities like Hindus only) who died without leaving a male (in some parts, any) heir, reverted to the State,[43] prohibiting the forced labour imposed on weavers, who were migrating thus causing fall in revenue, and on *Kolīs*, preventing officials from compelling to purchase their agricultural produce or that of crown-lands in whole lots or at rates higher than the market one, remitting grain due during a severe famine, removing marriage-tax, birth-tax, hunter's tax, police-tax, grazing-tax, wrighter's tax, tax on animal carrion, relief in tax on artisans like oil-crushers, tailors or barbers, or on grocers or farmers, irrigation of crop by excavating channels, feeding-wells, tanks or ponds, building or rebuilding dams and making additional grants by way of encouragement for cultivating waste-lands.[44] Some epigraphs also contain schedule of rates of agricultural commodities. There are also *verbatim* copies of royal *farmāns*, which contain indirect information about the local produce, condition of people, social beliefs, class prejudices, etc.

On the administrative side, we get a large number of designations and posts as were current in different regions at different periods and have some idea of revenue divisions or some divisions of some parts of the country and terms designating them and information about the existence of and influence wielded by the local guilds like *mahājans*.

On the social side, the large list of builders mentioned in these records furnish an interesting study in social status and vocations—from that of a Muslim scavenger to a king. They also indicate, in a way, the temporal well-being on one hand and the spiritual or religious leaning on the other of such cross-

sections of the Islamic society as banner-makers, vegetable-sellers, bangle-makers, tobacco-sellers, oil-pressers, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, shoe-makers, barbars, horse-shoe-fitters and the like, apart from saintly establishments, mercantile and sea-faring families and soldiers, particularly in the coastal towns.

The endowments made for the upkeep and maintenance of religious and non-religious establishments may be taken to indicate the pattern of investment obviously intended to ensure regular income in the form of shops, gardens, arable land and even wells which would in turn imply the agricultural bias of the economy and irrigational pattern of crop-taking wherever possible. A few inscriptions have been found in the mercantile and sea-trade centre of Khambhāt (Cambay) in Gujarat which bear testimony to the high social status and affluence enjoyed by freed slaves. Some epigraphs pointedly or by implication refer to the prevalence of bribery, corruption, harassment, misappropriation of even religious edifices in some way or the other and of the rent of the buildings endowed for them and harassment to or change of attendants and employees looking after them.[45] In some coastal towns, some families appear to have some sort of monopoly in trade and in quite a few cases, the leading merchants—Maliku't-Tujjār or Prince of merchants as they were called—enjoyed official status and administrative or like authority.[46] A large number of records, mostly epitaphs of officials, scholars, merchants, sailors, craftsmen, etc., show them to be foreigners settled in India: quite a few of them, particularly in Gujarat, both in the coastal region as well as in the hinterland, seem to have settled down even before the Muslim conquest of the province and carried on trade and other duties of normal life.

Apart from places like Khambhāt (Cambay) and Patan in Gujarat, epitaphs have been found in large numbers at Karāḍ (Satārā district) and Paithan in Maharashtra, Srinagar and other places in Kashmir, Allahabad, Jalesar (Eṭāh district) and Varanasi, in Uttar Pradesh and they also point to the foreign origin of the deceased. Some later—18th century—epigraphs give evidence of a colony of Armenians in North India.[47] A few show how the Hindus, particularly the local Maratha chiefs, held in reverence Muslim saints, and a few others present an example of toleration of a Hindu place of worship by the Muslims, and of a Muslim *pīr* using his good offices with the provincial governor to get a Jain Pośāl handed over to the original owners. As against these, there are inscriptions recording the demolition of the places of worship—both temples and mosques, and a communal disturbance here and there.[48]

About a dozen epigraphs—almost all of them bilingual—represent a distinct or rather unique feature in Indian epigraphy as a whole. These were set up as direction-stones at important road junctions indicating the way to places in four directions: all these direction-stones, it is interesting to note, were set up in the territories of the Nizām Shāhī kings—the north-easternmost findspot being a place near Betul in Madhya Pradesh and the westernmost place being Cheul in Kolābā district of Maharashtra.[49] Two inscriptions set up in the time of the Oudh Nawāb Muhammad Alī Shāh (1837-1842) contain charts showing distances of important towns and cities from Lucknow.[50] There has come to light at least one inscription indicating the boundary or limit of the Bahmanī kingdom under Alāu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh (1435-1458).[51] Quite a few visitors' records have also been found: commemorating the visit to or halt at some places, these give a definite idea of routes and roads. Of sufficient interest in this regard are the dated records (with month and day), numbering more than three dozen which have been left behind in the form of beautifully executed inscriptions on a pillar or a wall of a palace, a mansion, a mosque, a tomb, a temple, a roadside *chatri* etc., by Mīr Muhammaḍ Ma sūm Nāmī, a well-known official-author of Akbar, on the Agra-Deccan, Agra-Sind and Agra-Qandahar-Isfahān-Qazwin road.[52]

ARCHITECTURAL ASPECT

A very important aspect of these epigraphic records is that they constitute an extremely valuable means for the study of the history and development of architectural styles.[53] They identify, beyond any doubt, secular buildings like the Ambār Khāna[54] and a mansion of a nobleman, at Bijapur.[55] They also supply scanty but important information on other subjects of interest like numismatics, on some events—battles fought or stone foot-prints brought—unrecorded in history or names of places, etc.[56] The inscriptions on guns, in particular, constitute perhaps the main source for the history of their manufacture in India.[57] A couple of inscribed guns manufactured in Egypt in the sixteenth century and another in Kabul in the early nineteenth century are extant.[58]

These provide an important source for the study of the literary contributions of India on the whole and of its different provinces and regions to the Persian, and in a limited way to the Arabic literature. Specimens are available of the local dialects or languages current in different regions[59] (particularly through the bilingual or trilingual versions or local words used in the text) that indicate the extent of the usage of one or the other of these local languages, particularly in the border areas.

B

But more than literature, it is in the particular field of fine arts, namely Calligraphy, that these epigraphs are extremely valuable. They assume a much greater importance, particularly in the case of epigraphs of the pre-Mughal period when paintings, miniature and even calligraphy on *waslīs* or in manuscripts were not so popular. Indeed, very few specimens of the early period in these fields have come down to us. The epigraphs provide a rich collection of beautifully-executed calligraphical specimens on stone. They are in diverse scripts and of, at times, amazing dimensions with ingenious ornamentation. The number of such mural records as is by any standard perfect specimens of calligraphical art can very well compare favourably with their counterparts on paper. As is well known, Arabic script in which these records are written is by its very form and nature, best suited for artistic manipulation. It has been fashioned by talented masters into some well-defined and highly artistic forms or scripts as distinguished from one another by the proportion of roundness or straightness, various sizes, flairs or flourishes, etc., of its letters which are composed of vertical, oblique and horizontal strokes and rounded or flattish curves. The ligatures or strokes connecting two letters which characterize the alphabet, lend themselves easily to graceful ornamental flourishes in any decorative scheme. The linear and cursive forms of the letters are suitable for a variety of patterns, geometrical, floral, or otherwise as may be designed by an artist. It is these features which have given a free-play to the highly sensitive imagination of artist who have left for posterity a large number of enduring specimens of penmanship on stone that delight the discerning eye even today.

The main scripts used in the epigraphs are *Kūfic*, *Naskh*, *Thulth*, and *Nasta'līq* each executed with its distinctive conventional styles varying according to the period, locality, and the ingenuity of the calligraphists. So far as inscriptions are concerned, these calligraphists do not always strictly observe, except in the highly stylized scripts like *Kūfic* and *Nasta'līq*, the rules of formation of these scripts. By the time we start getting inscriptions in considerable numbers in India, say close of the twelfth century (hardly two or three records have come down to us prior to this period), the art of calligraphy had already reached a high level of excellence in Islamic countries, where monumental epigraphy was mostly in the highly decorative *Kūfic*, of which most fantastic ornamental forms, intertwining, interlacing, floral and geometrical, were produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after which it was being replaced by ***Naskh*** or ***Thulth***.

Therefore, it is not surprising that very few early Indian inscriptions are in *Kūfic* of which the important specimens are about a dozen epigraphs at Bhadreshwar, on the Screens of the Quwwatu'l-Islām mosque at Delhi, the Aḍhāī-Din-kā-Jhomprā mosque at Ajmer, and the tombs of Sultāns Ghāri and Iltutmish at Delhi.[60] The Bhadreśwar (Kachchh district, Gujarat) inscriptions, some of which are dated in the middle of the twelfth century, present some characteristic decorative variations of this style including the highly florid one in which the intertwining shafts of letters form an artistic motif of floral and arabesque designs (Plate 1). Among the very few *Kūfic* inscriptions found in India, historical or otherwise, none has such different varieties of *Kūfic* as these epigraphs, but the weathering of the letters and their embellishments cut out in relief have unfortunately robbed them of their otherwise great artistic effect.[61] The decorative *Kūfic* calligraphy of the Delhi and Ajmer mosques is of a high order and comparable with those of its class in Islamic countries, particularly east of Arabia. There are, in addition, about a dozen more inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries in different styles of *Kūfic*, plain and ornamental, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which were brought from foreign countries. Of these, the most artistic is the one engraved on a stone sarcophagus in which the obituary is inscribed in ornamental *Kūfic* of intricate pattern in which shafts of letters of symmetrical shape and pleasing outline with artistic flourishes have been so interwoven as to produce bewilderingly intricate pattern of geometrical designs all set against a rich floral background formed by sprigs and leaves sprouting out from the ends or angles of the letters.[62]

It was evidently the intricate nature of this branch of Arabic penmanship and subsequent dearth of competent artists therein that should account for the limited number of inscriptions in *Kūfic* even at this early period and their almost total disappearance in subsequent records.[63] There are later specimens of this calligraphic style, but they are not only limited in number but also comprise only a small part—one single panel of the religious text *Basmala*—of the entire epigraph and that too in a few parts of Gujarat province only, as shall be pointed out later on; this, again, in records of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is, however, a beautiful exception: the epigraph on the *mihrāb* in the *Bādshāh-Kā-Takht* part of the Ādīna Mosque at Pandua (West Bengal) assignable to 1369 (Plate 2), contains an entire line in a totally different but highly artistic variety of *Kūfic*;[64] it also represents one of the few examples, in India, of an epigraph executed in larger *Thulth* letters with the smaller *Kūfic* line running across the top.[65] An instance or two of plain and simple insipid *Kūfic* of the 17th century are also available.[66]

But that there was altogether no lack of talent in this field of architectural decorative medium is evident from the excellent quality of the monumental *Naskh* and *Thulth* that mark the early Sultanate records at Delhi, Ajmer, Hānsi, etc., in north India.[67] The *Naskh* of some of these epigraphs is of a very elegant type remarkable for its vigour and boldness of execution, its decorative effect being enhanced by such devices like the peculiar shape of the latter *kāf* with its cross-drawn upper tail.[68] In the excellent *Thulth* of the inscriptions of the Quṭb Minār, Delhi and other monuments at Ajmer, Hānsi, Bari, Khāṭu, Bihārsharif etc., the vertical strokes ending in slanting blunt upper ends and tapering, pointed or slightly inclined lower ones, are in rhythmic harmony with the fine contour and proportion of its not so perfect curves.[69] In particular, the encircling bands of inscriptions on the Quṭb Minār, marked by finely carved distinct double string-course-border of geometrical and floral designs, running all along, and the large lettering standing out prominent against restrained ornament of the background consisting of floral designs or small medallions filling the blank space between the raised letters, produce a highly artistic visual effect.[70] The Biharsharif inscription of Ṭughril dated 1242 is also a fine specimen of excellent *Thulth* whose visual effect is rendered more picturesque by the sumptuous floral background (Plate 3).[71] In the slightly later Mamlūk inscriptions, the proportion of the thickness of the letters and their taper, etc., is not so perfect,[72] while in some of the still later Mamlūk epigraphs - of the time of Balban and his successors, the art of penmanship is on the decline.[73] It may also be noted that not infrequently the quality of penmanship is not uniform in the records of the period. Moreover, it varies from region to region and even from monument to monument at the same place and point of time.[74] The inscriptions of Bengal of this period are very few. As a matter of fact, the earliest record found there so far is dated 1221, and there is nothing particular about its calligraphy.[75] The calligraphy of other records from the eastern region including Bengal mostly belonging to the second-half of the 13th century conform to the style of their counterparts in north India.[76]

The expansion of Muslim authority in the fourteenth century saw, along with the increasing number of inscriptions, a greater variety in calligraphical styles. The bold monumental *Thulth* was replaced by another variety of ornamental *Naskh*.[77] It was this *Naskh* with variations here and there, or an akin variety of *Thulth*, which was extensively employed in the pre-Mughal inscriptions throughout the country.[78] These epigraphs provide a number of specimens of beautiful writing on stone in which vigour and excellence have been skilfully combined, particularly in big inscriptions where the size of letters, is unusually large. The designing of such stupendous records speaks volumes for the high

artistic talents and perfect sense of balance of the calligrapher.[79] The *Thulth* of these inscriptions is marked by easy and rhythmic flow of the strokes and graceful curves of its letters; the sweep is freer and the flow greater. These qualities invest them with a grace and charm which is accentuated by that particular decorative device called *Ṭughrā* or by simple but artistic devices like extension of horizontal stroke of a letter, usually occurring at one end or in the middle, to the other end, dividing the entire panel into halves, with symmetrically placed letters above and below,[80] or by providing a floral background,[81] or by ensuring a happy balance of the gracefully drawn letters.[82] *Thulth* continued to be employed, along with *Naskh*, right up to the Mughal period. Even when *Nasta'līq* became popular, *Thulth* and *Naskh* did not disappear altogether from inscriptions but are found employed in records, albeit in diminishing numbers, right up to the last century.[83]

Some of the best specimens of *Thulth* penmanship of the fifteenth-eighteenth century inscriptions, to quote only a few, are from Patna in Bihar, Baroda, Broach, Champaner and Rayania in Gujarat, Burhanpur, and Māṇḍū in Madhya Pradesh, Ahmednagar and Thalner in Maharashtra, Bidar, Bijapur and Raichur in Karnataka, Golconda, Hyderabad, Kurnool, Medak and Patancheru in Andhra Pradesh and Kara in Uttar Pradesh.[84]

It may also be noted here that the *Thulth* calligraphy of the epitaphs at Golconda and Hyderabad belonging to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries is almost without exception of a very high order (Plate 4). It is remarkable for the elegance and graceful flow of writing, produced by the symmetry and rhythmic sweep of the letters. The epitaphs in the Golconda Tombs and in the necropolis called Dāira Mīr Momin at Hyderabad are of great artistic merit and their uniformly superior quality shows that they must have been designed by master artists. Special mention may be made here of the epigraph on Shāh Amīn's Dargāh at Bijapur, which can easily rank among the finest specimens of calligraphic art on stone in India. Apart from excellent *Thulth* writing with *Ṭughrā*, there also flourishes the disposition of the text and the lay-out of the entire inscription running in wide panels along the three sides of the huge main entrance of the tomb. It is remarkable, aiming as it does at symmetrical distribution of well-shaped letters. The artist had an eye on diversity to avoid monotony and his ingenuity found expression in the disposal of letters and their shafts in lozenge-shaped panels, each divided into the equal parts by prolongation of horizontal parts of a letter as referred to above. The stupendous size of the epigraph—it measures 21.47 metres by 60 cms.—should also give an idea of the skill of the artist.

There are very fine specimens of *Naskh* also, which differs from *Thulth* mainly in that the thickness of its letters is about one to three of the latter and is consequently somewhat stiff and rigid. The *Naskh* of the early period, that is of the Khaljī and Tughluq periods, whether in the north or south, is bold and vigorous, but it lacks the graceful charm and rhythmic flow of *Thulth*. In the fifteenth century, it developed regional characteristics, for example, in the kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa and Deccan (under the Bahmanīs). As a result, the inscriptions at Mangrol, Ahmedabad, Khambhāt (Cambay), Patan, Bharruch (Broach), etc., in Gujarat,[85] or Māṇḍū and Canderī in Malwa,[86] or Daulatabad, Gulbargā, Sagar, etc. in the Bahmanī kingdom,[87] Bankapur, Panala, Raichur, etc. under the Ādil Shāhīs,[88] Hyderabad under the Quṭb Shāhīs,[89] and Ahmednagar under the Nizām Shāhīs,[90] though executed in *Naskh* have their own distinct features discernible in the sweep or flourish of some letters, converting the loops of letters like *fā* and *qāf*, or designing some short words into trefoil,[91] with or without too much use of ligatures and like characteristics.

At the same time, we do have perfect specimens of *Naskh*, in accordance with the principles laid down in the science of calligraphy, but these are comparatively few.[92]

Naskh, also like *Thulth*, did not completely yield its place to *Nasta'līq* in the subsequent centuries. As a matter of fact, for religious text in Arabic, it continued to be almost exclusively used until the nineteenth century, even when there was historical record alongside in Persian, executed in *Nasta'līq* characters.[93]

Sometime from the early fourteenth century itself, we get specimens of typical regional monumental calligraphy in which the artists have used their knowledge of script and inherent skill with great imagination and viability. Characteristic of Bihar and Bengal in the east and Gujarat and Nāgaur in the West, this calligraphy conforms strictly neither to *Thulth* nor to *Naskh*, but bears strong resemblance to what is described as *Bihār* script. It is almost *Naskh* in its structure, but the strokes therein are drawn thicker towards their left end, terminating either in a sharp or a blunt solid point or to Riqā. It is more roundish in its structure and its horizontal strokes and almost flattish curves descend slantingly towards the left. The inscriptions of the *Bihār* script are usually found in Bengal only (Plate 5),[94] with isolated examples in Bihar (then part of Bengal), Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat.[95] Their number, however, is few, and moreover this style disappears from inscriptions by the end of the fourteenth century itself.[96] But though it is not entirely devoid of artistic

effect, it lacks the grace and charm of what has been termed the Bihar (province as against the script just mentioned) variety of epigraphical penmanship. A number of inscriptions, dating from the early years of, and continuing right through the fourteenth century, were inscribed in a typical calligraphical style which is free from conventional restrictions. Its keynote is delicacy and refinement despite the precise and crisp vertical lines and curves of the writing. Its beautiful *Tauqī* and *Riqā*-like *Thulth* or *Naskh* calligraphy is distinguished by decorative flourishes of its profusely used ligatures, somewhat slanting strokes of the *markaz* of the letter *kāf* and flattish but graceful and symmetrical curves, the overall effect of which is heightened by boldness of execution and neat elegance.[97] The designer also indulges in a few intricate decorative devices by which a part of the letter, usually a curve, is made to serve the purpose for two,[98] a device which became very popular among the later calligraphers of *Nasta'līq*.[99] The letters move with easy grace and have an extremely pleasing harmony of strokes and curves of various patterns which produce a linear rhythm seldom achieved on paper; they reveal a graceful movement and sweep that is as natural 'as that of a flowing stream'.

It is difficult to say if Bihar was the home of this charming style. Though recent finds point to its origin further west, at or near Delhi,[100] there is no doubt that it was only in Bihar, and more particularly at its the then capital Biharsharif, the findspot of the majority of these records, that it acquired its perfectly delicate and graceful form (Plate 6). The style even continued into the first half of the fifteenth century; but by that time it had lost the symmetry of curves and graceful execution and rhythmic flow that are its distinctive features.[101]

Among other specimens of this style which have been found in regions immediately west of Bihar, the earliest and perhaps the best epigraph has been recently discovered in the form of fragmentary records of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī in Varanasi.[102] A still earlier example of this very graceful style has been found in Gujarat in an unfortunately fragmentary record of Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī from Patan (district headquarters, Gujarat).[103] The rest, bearing different dates in the fourteenth century, occur at Jaunpur, Allahabad, Koh Inām, Budāun, Bangarmau and Sambhalherā[104] in Uttar Pradesh. Their penmanship, however, varies from place to place and never touches the high level of exquisite calligraphy of Biharsharif records.

That the style may have originated away from Bihar is also suggested by its regional variations, impressive in themselves, but not as highly artistic, as were practised in distant regions like Gujarat and Malwa.[105] And while the style lost its rhythm and grace in Bihar, it was imparted new dimensions in Bengal by its sensitive artists who used the ornamental *Ṭughrā* device, as will be presently

described.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, there had appeared in Gujarat, particularly in its coastal area, a new style, as highly artistic as the Bihar one, but in a different lay-out and largely confined to arch-shaped epitaphs only. This represents the first of the three distinct facets of the calligraphy of Gujarat inscriptions. The second facet marks the calligraphy of some of the pre-Sultanate and early Sultanate records, which may be correlated to a certain extent with the so-called Bow-and-Arrow variety of Bengal to be mentioned later. While this specific decorative style of *Naskh* or *Thulth* penmanship may have originated from the early Sultanate inscriptions from Delhi having elongated strokes, symmetrically arranged and spaced equally, the available material points to the fact that it was very probably the Gujarat material which served as a model for the artists of Bengal. However, unlike their fellow-artists in Bengal, the Gujarat artists simultaneously employed different flourishes and varieties which bear the stamp of original conception and fine execution. In this Bow-and-Arrow variety, Gujarat has some fine and neat specimens of symmetrically arranged strokes,[106] some of them in equally spaced groups of three, four or five.[107] The third facet of monumental writing of Gujarat does not have any claim to originality of design, being, as referred to above, a regional version of the *Bihār*-like variety of *Thulth-Naskh-Riqā* combination which has its own flavour, but lacks the easy flow and graceful rhythm of the latter.

But it is perhaps the first facet of the calligraphy of the arch-shaped epitaphs which may be termed as typical of Gujarat and is perhaps worth some detailed description here. The most striking point about this style, which dominated epitaphic calligraphy for more than a century, is a sort of its standardized pattern: basically *Naskh* or *Thulth* in the headings or introductory formulas, but strongly resembling *Riqā* in the main text and *Kūfic* and /or *Thulth* in the headings of introductory formulas, the calligraphy of these epitaphs found mostly at Khambhāt (Cambay), but occasionally at Verāval, Patan, Ahmedabad and Peṭlād, is of a very high quality, as graceful and rhythmic, if not more, as the Bihar-type just mentioned.[108]

These epitaphs provide a rich feast to the eyes. In general design and lay-out, they follow more or less the same pattern: They are inscribed on arch-shaped marble tablets, in well-defined borders running all around, horizontal rectangular panels and bordered arches of different shapes and decorative designs. Their texts comprise, almost as a rule, *Qur'ānic* verses and the obituary proper. The *Qur'ānic* text occupies the arched portion, the running borders and also some of the horizontal panels in the main vertical portion,

followed by the obituary in the remaining panels. In some cases, the arched portion is decorated with a trefoil arch resting on jambs with foliated patterns at their sides. In others, in addition to the single margin running all along, there are two inner vertical panels and the arch-base is converted into a separate horizontal panel. In a few cases, a thick panel of arabesque contrasts the horizontal panels with the margin enclosing them, or the horizontal panels are made more artistic by dividing every alternate panel into three parts, the side ones having been filled with geometrical and floral designs and the middle one with text. The standard patterns of tablets and their style of writing are almost exclusively found employed, more or less for two centuries, without much modification.[109]

Before passing on to the highly elegant and ornamental calligraphy of the Bengal inscriptions, it may be pointed out that at Nāgaur where collateral kinsmen of Gujarat Sultans ruled for about a century, there have been found some fine specimens of calligraphical art of the Bow-and-Arrow variety of the Gujarat-Bengal type, but having a distinct individual character, as will be seen later.

The tendency towards ornamentation inherent in the temperament of Bengal gave calligraphic art some of its most beautiful and artistic *Ṭughrā* specimens on stone.[110] The script in these inscriptions, at least until the end of the sixteenth century, is a typical *Thulth* or *Naskh* in which both the lines and curves are drawn with great vigour but not always with equal grace. The parallel strokes stretch up to the top of the wide panel. They are fashioned into arrow-head points. The comparatively small-sized letters of the text are written close to one another or one upon another. Their curves are symmetrically arranged as far as practicable, with or without artistic flourishes of individual letters like the final *hā* (fashioned into almond or eye-like shape) or their points or angles which form the genesis of this *Ṭughrā* style. The penmanship proper is not, in all cases, as fine or artistic, at least in the inscriptions of the fifteenth century,[111] but the decorative scheme in various patterns is of a high order. The diverse pictorial effects are achieved by ingenious modification of the same device of placing groups of some curved letters across the long line of vertical strokes: it is Bow-and-Arrow when the bow-shaped curvatures of the letters *nūn* are symmetrically placed across the long row of the upright shafts of other letters,[112] or the words *fī* with extended *yā* with a curvilinear flourish, similarly placed, present an appearance of a row of earthen lamps aflame,[113] or birds flying in mid-air or ducks gliding majestically on water with their heads thrust out or hooded serpents,[114] or festive bunting,[115] etc. The Bow-and-Arrow device can likewise be made to represent by a minor change, the motif of a row of

arches or railings.[116]

In some inscriptions, the Bengal artist, like his earlier Gujarat counterpart,[117] indulges in a few artistic devices whereby the short and pointed letters are made more pronounced in their straightness than roundness, and the loops and curves of letters like *ain*, *hā*, *khā*, or final *hā* are fashioned into an elegant trefoil or a diamond or an almond-shaped eye; the writing of letters like *fī* also is quite artistic.[118] (Plates 7, 8, 9, 10, 11)

In all these inscriptions, the text is written in *Ṭughrā*, which is a distinctive ornamental way or arrangement of writing, irrespective of the calligraphic script, which is usually *Naskh* or *Thulth*, in which letters are written one upon the other interwoven with, or overlapping, one another.[119] Almost all the pre-Mughal Bengal inscriptions found all over the region—as far west as Balia district of Uttar Pradesh,[120] are in this style. The places outside Bengal proper where such ornamental epigraphs occur are Purnea, Bhagalpur, Amarpur, Cherand, Narhan, Salimpur, Barh and Patna in Bihar and Kharid in Uttar Pradesh.

In other regions too, the Bow-and-Arrow variety was not wholly unknown or out of practice. A number of inscriptions from Ahmedabad in Gujarat and Nāgaur and Narāinā in Rajasthan are designed in this way. The Ahmedabad inscriptions display a high quality of calligraphical art,[121] in addition to the very complicated and intricate flourishes of Bengal type.[122] In one of the Narāinā records,[123] dated 1444, one of the motifs represented is 'the passing of an army with raised banners, the flags being either conspicuous or disturbed by the intervention of a row of knotted ropes representing the halters sometime hung below banner heads, the cluster of letters at the foot of the straight-drawn vertical lines representing the thick mass of soldiers which in old times formed an interwoven group during a march.'[124] In the Nāgaur records which also date from the middle of the fifteenth century, the letters are sharp and pointed and the motifs of its decorative scheme are: a row of arcade of peculiar shape creating a highly artistic effect [125] or a tall arch-shaped railing.[126] In one epigraph, the arrangement of the text is somewhat novel and unusual: initially raised to the same level as the top of the tablet, the vertical shafts of the letters of the one-line text decrease in size and their main bodies occupy greater space, in ascending order, from right to left; the shaft-tips are banner-headed.[127] (Plate 12) In another, the apex of each of the arches formed by the joining of the extended shafts, is crowned by a pretty design resembling a trefoil or a cross; the picturesque effect produced by the theme is accentuated by the highly artistic arrangement in which the four curves representing the letter *nūn* have been placed across the vertical shafts on the left side with the

distinguishing marks (*markaz*) of the letter *kāf* on their right.[128] Another highly impressive design is that in which the elongated shafts do not cover the entire surface as usual, but are placed in groups of five, four and three commencing from right, a little apart from, and leaving blank space between, one another. But these do not produce the desired effect.[129]

On the whole, however, it is the Bengal inscriptions which present highly intricate forms of *Ṭughrā* writing,[130] and they are available in large numbers. Moreover, one has to imagine the skill and mental agility of the designers of writing on huge tablets, one of the largest being as much as 3.5 metres in length and 7.7 metres wide.[131]

The Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of India in contrast to their counterparts in Islamic countries,[132] present a pictorial form of *Ṭughrā* in which the text, usually a religious formula like the *Nād-i-Alī* or *Basmala*, is written in such a way as to form the outline of an animal. No doubt their number is small. We have such *Ṭughrā* figures of lions and a parrot[133] and in a couple of instances plain figure of lions.[134] The lion or tiger being symbolic of the valour of Alī, the fourth Caliph, popularly called 'Lion of God', these figures were freely carved on forts in the Deccan which were extensively built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Muslim kings of the Shi-ite faith.

Other decorative forms of *Ṭughrā* consist of beautiful medallions of different shapes.[135] One of these from Bijapur is a most outstanding specimen calligraphically also. In this, the prolonged shafts of letters inscribed on the periphery, geometrical designs, produce an overall effect of a circle of radiating arches.[136] Another decorative form of *Ṭughrā* is what may be termed as *Ṭughrā-i-Ma kūs* (inverted or reflected *Ṭughrā*) in which the usual writing on the right half has its reverse replica on the left, as if reflected in a mirror.[137] One of the earliest, if not the earliest, dated example of this occurs in an epitaph dated 1583 from Vadodara (Baroda) in Gujarat.[138]

The last important script employed in Indian inscriptions is *Nasta'līq* which is peculiar to non-Arabic speaking countries like India, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. It made its appearance in inscriptions in India in the second half of the fifteenth century.[139] Described as the youngest script of Arabic writing, the like of which, it has been claimed, has never been nor is likely to be, it is particularly remarkable for its inherent grace and natural ease; it is rounder in its composition and perfectly so in its letters ending in curves, 'which develop into the most sensual forms, either round and supple like the crescent, or smooth and oval like the egg' and its strokes are 'long with sharp or blunt points in the form of a straight sword or a scimitar'. These strokes, particularly the horizontal ones, flow with easy grace with a slight, gradually increasing thickness, and



Plate 1 Floral *Kūfic*, Tomb of Lal Shahbag, Bhadreshwar, Kachch, Gujarat, middle of the 12th century



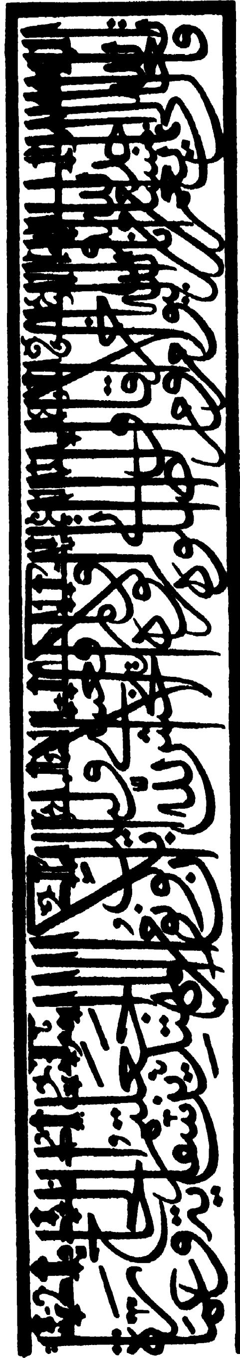




Plate 2 *Naskh* with artistic *Kūfic* (topline). Ādinā Mosque. Pandua. Malda. West Bengal. 1369

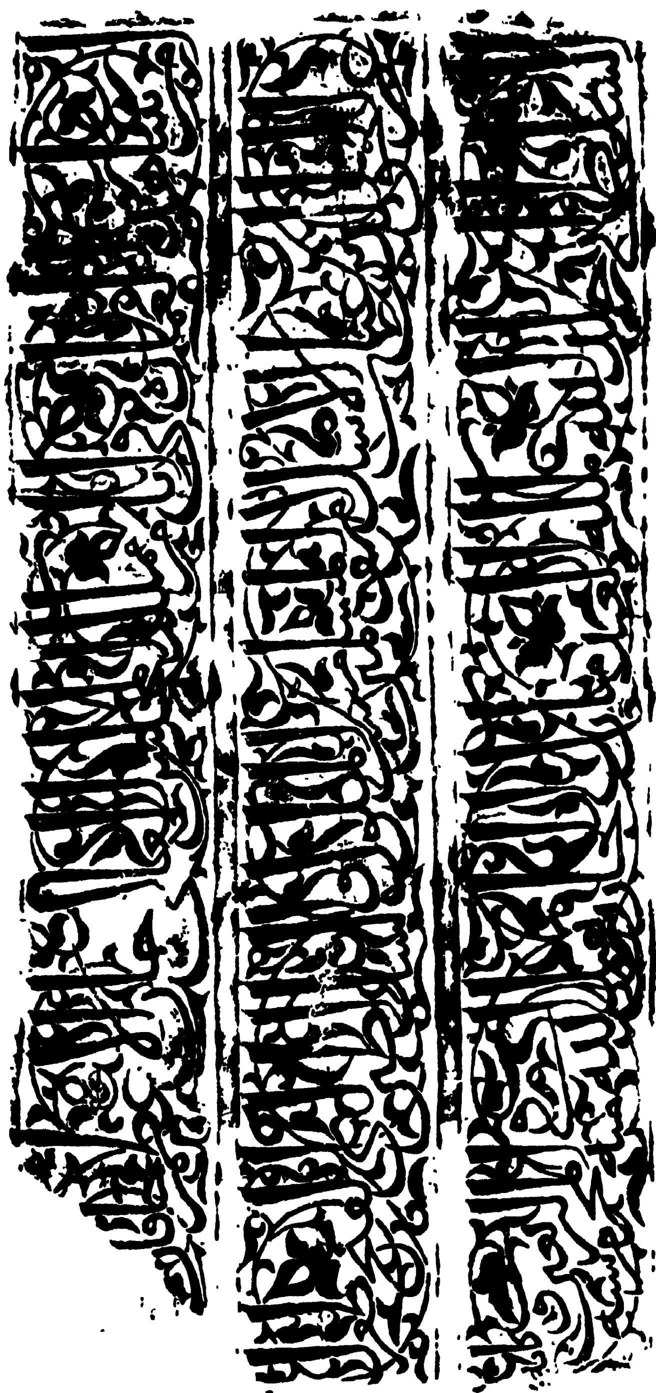


Plate 3 *Naskh* in elaborate floral setting. Chotī Dargāh. Bihar Sharif. Bihar. 1242

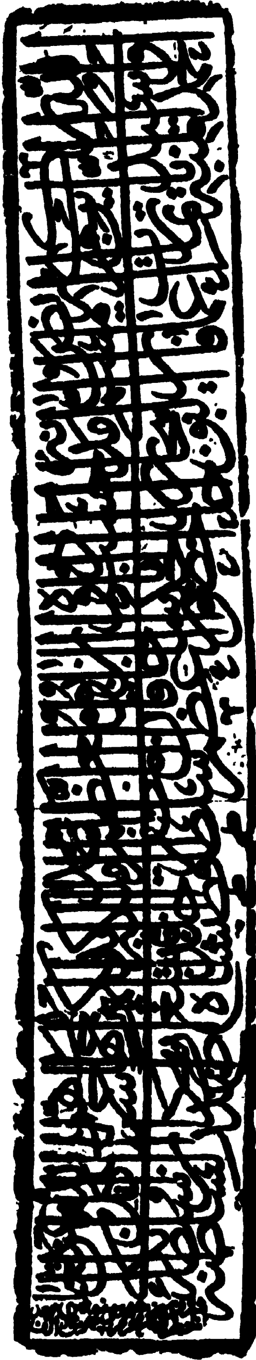


Plate 4 *Thulth*, Tomb of Miyan Mishk, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, 16th/17th century



Plate 5 *Bihar* Script. Tomb of Sayyid Fatehruddin, Adi Saptagram, Satgaon, Hooghly, West Bengal

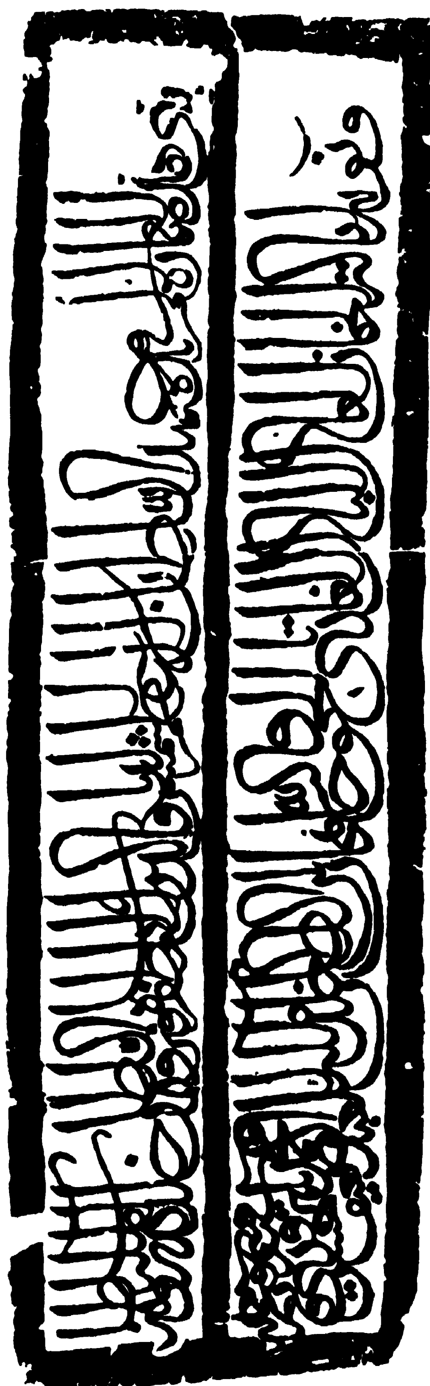


Plate 6 Unconventional variety of *Thulth*. Choṭā Dargāh. Bihar Sharif. Bihar

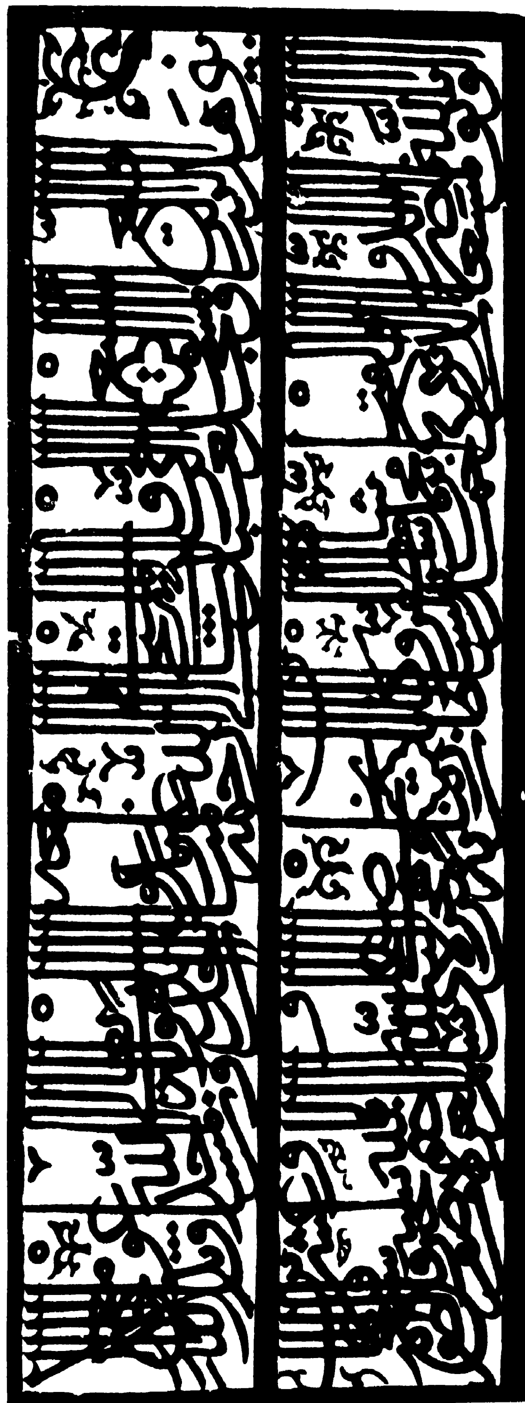
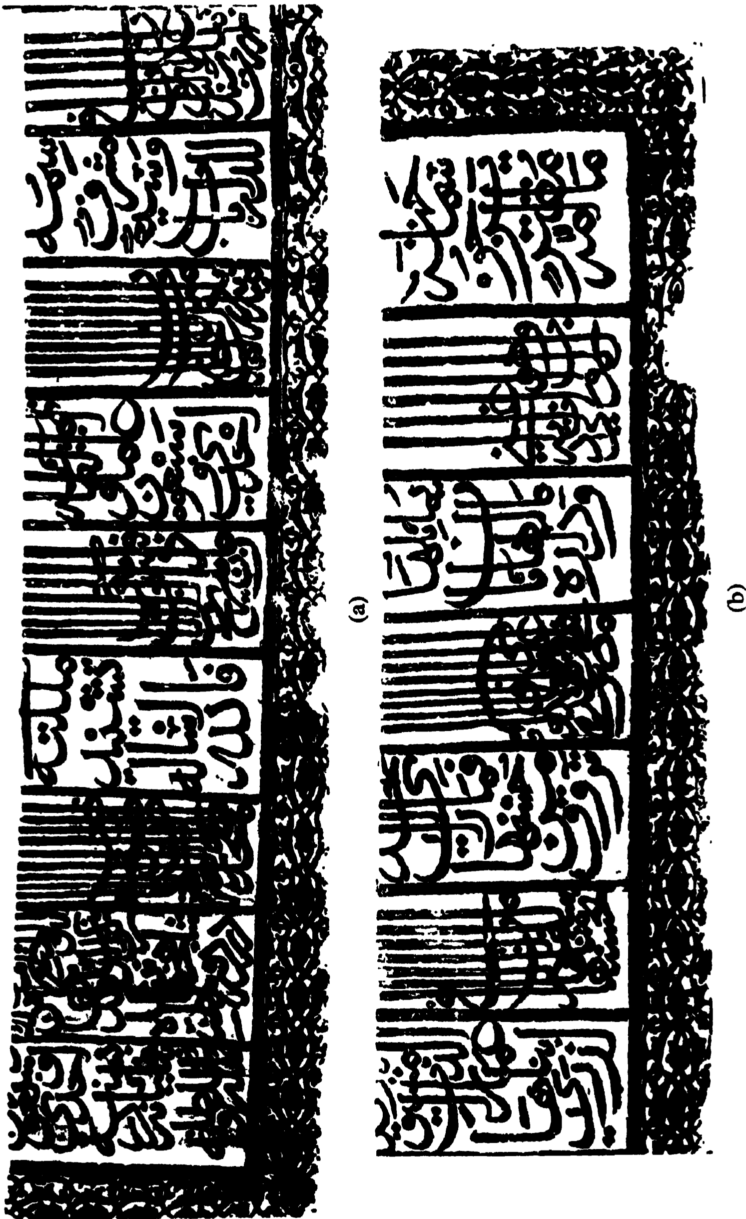


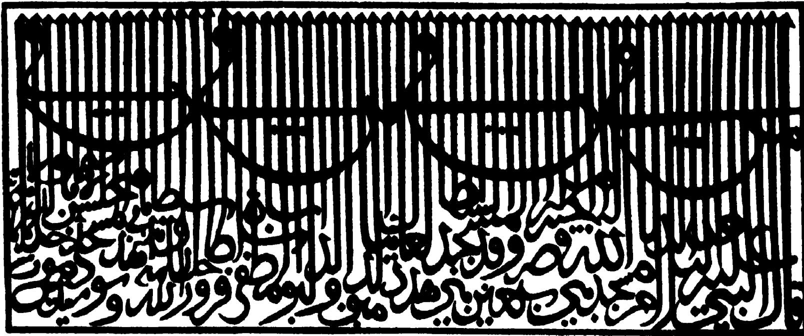
Plate 7 *Thulth* with elongated vertical strokes and embellishments. Jāmi Masjid. Ahmedabad. Gujarat



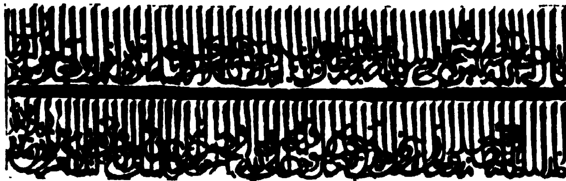
(a)

(b)

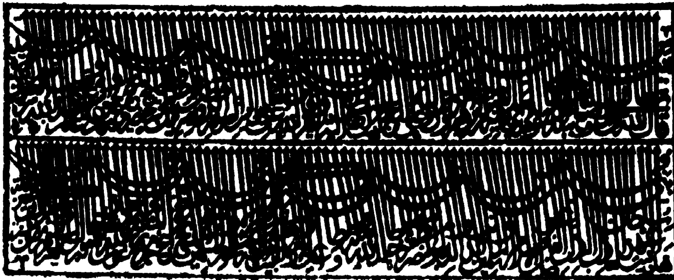
Plate 8 (a & b) Minaronwali Masjid, Inscription on the Facade, Decorative *Naskh*, *Ṭughrā*, Mahdipur, Gaur, Malda



(a)

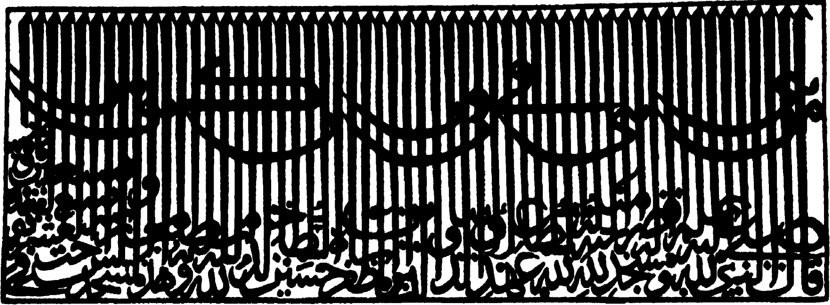


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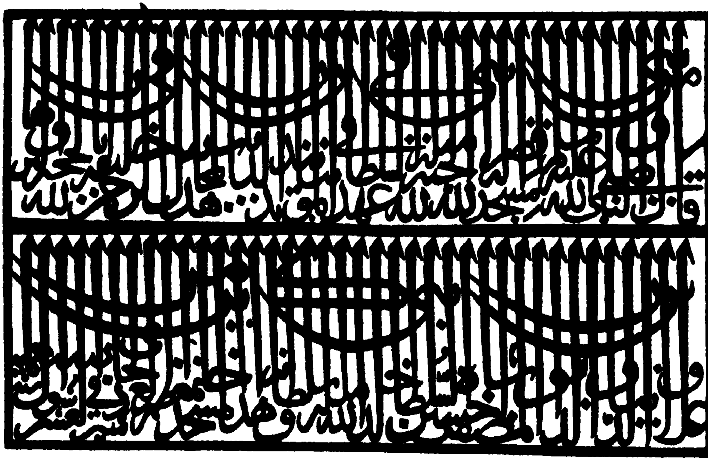


(c)

Plate 9 a) Inscription from a mosque near Malda, b) Inscription from a mosque at Gaur, West Bengal, c) Inscription from the Choṭā Dargāh at Pandua, West Bengal

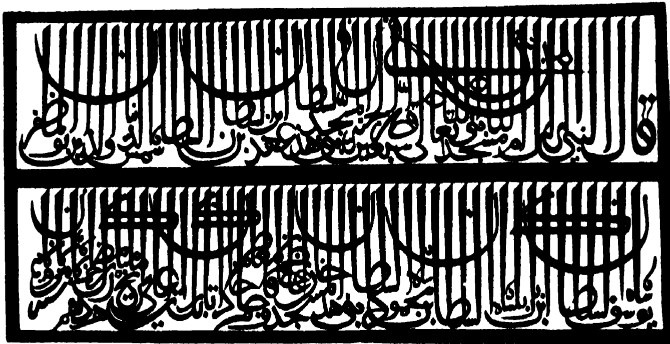


(a)

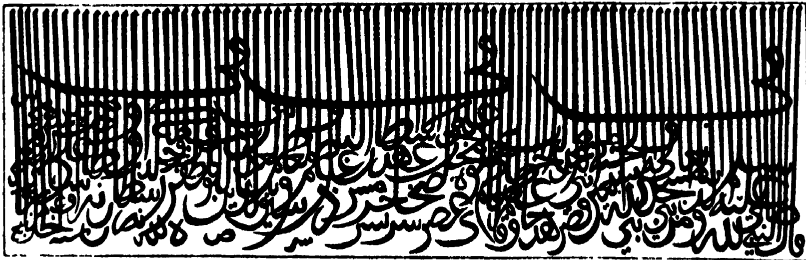


(b)

Plate 10 a) Inscription from a mosque near Malda, b) Inscription from the Fauti Masjid at Malda



(a)



(b)

Plate 11 a) Decorative *Naskh-Ṭughra* of Bengal Inscription. Tantipara Mosque, Gaur, Malda, b) Typical decorative *Naskh-Ṭughrā* of Bengal Inscription, Mosque, Goamalti, Gaur, Malda

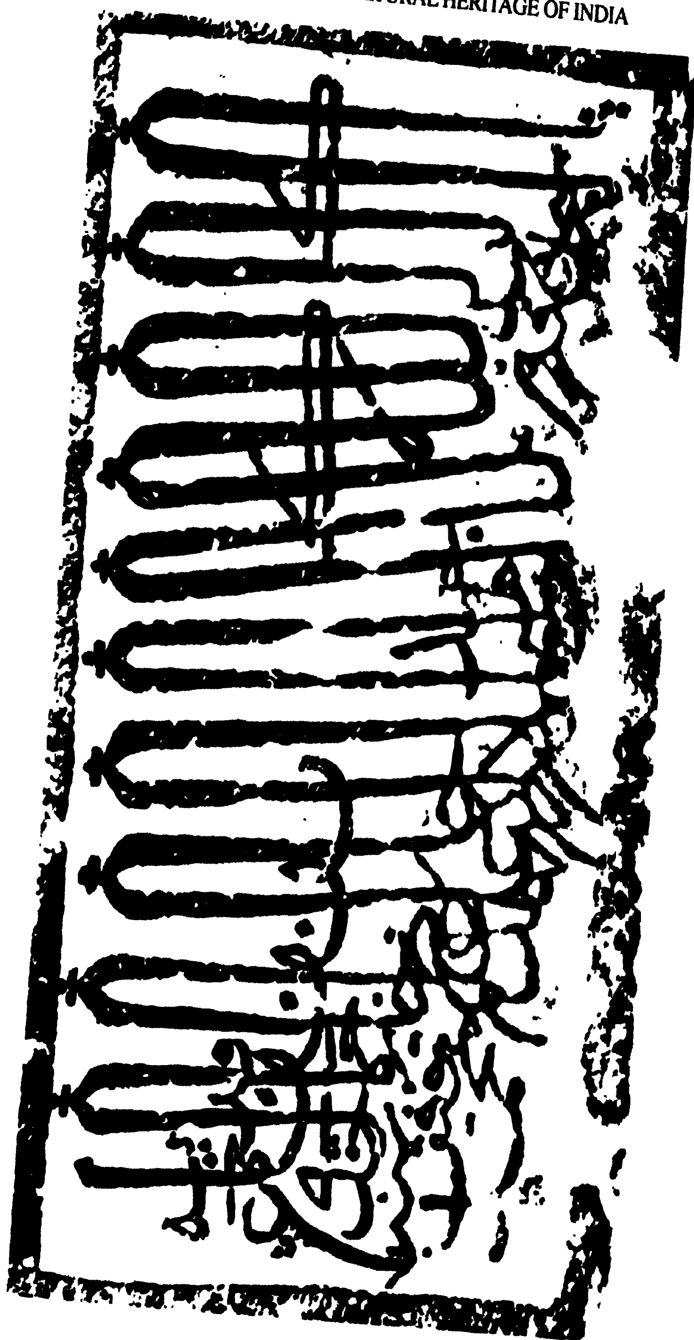


Plate 42 Typical decorative *Naskh*, City-Wall (not *in situ*), Nāgaur, Rajasthan

bend towards the middle.

These highly artistic features of the script so much captured the imagination of all and sundry that it started rapidly replacing *Naskh* and *Thulth* and totally so within the following two hundred years. Inscriptions in *Nasta'līq* in its exquisitely beautiful forms are found in large numbers in all parts of the country.[140] What is more, specimens of pure, excellent *Nasta'līq* are found in comparatively greater number than those in *Naskh* or *Thulth*. Again, apart from beautiful specimens by some unspecified or obscure master-calligraphers, those designed by a few well-known names in the calligraphic art have also come down to us.

While the style on the whole conforms to the accepted norms of *Nasta'līq* script, which is not the case with the majority of *Thulth* and *Naskh* records, it varies in its charm, elegance, chasteness and grace from place to place depending upon the masterly touch of the designer. Quite a few of these *Nasta'līq* records have been made more beautiful by ornamental designing. This has been generally the case with inscriptions set up or carried under express orders of Jahāngīr at Allahabad. In these, as in some of his coins, the text is inscribed in the floral field of delicate designs within ornamental panelling by his expert court calligrapher Mīr Abdu'llāh Mushkīn-Qalam Jahāngīr Shāhī.[141] Excellent penmanship of well-formed curves and points of letters, executed in prominent relief, against a background of floral designs, consisting of a conventional creeper with delicate twigs and leaves, makes them beautiful pieces of calligraphic art. In particular, the floral motifs drawn with great skill and taste, create the impression of trellis work -- at least in print. The most ornamental of such epigraphs is at Sonepat (District Rohtak, Haryana). It is also among the earliest to be inscribed in *Nasta'līq*.[142]

Other devices like highly artistic symmetrical or group arrangement of curved parts, slightly slanting long-drawn horizontal strokes of letters, or use of one curved part for that of two letters four five times at the same time, in the same line as seen in calligraphical specimens on paper, are absent in the mural records with a few exceptions.[143]

Some early seventeenth century epitaphs from Paithan are remarkable both for their excellent *Nasta'līq* calligraphy and their pleasing general design and lay-out—the arch-shaped tablets have been divided into square, oblong, lozenge and diamond shaped panels.[144]

Another calligraphical style represented in epigraphs, albeit numbering a few,[145] is *Shafi'ā* which is a somewhat cursive form of *Nasta'līq* written in a running hand, necessitating commission of dots and use of prohibited ligatures as well. Reference may also be made to inscriptions wrought in material other than

stone or metal. These are the records written in brilliant multi-coloured *Kāshī* or encaustic tile-work. These are found more in the Deccan, though in the north too they are not altogether unknown. The *Kāshī* inscriptions have the added advantage of multi-coloured effect and colourful ornamental surrounding in variegated designs. The most outstanding of these are those on Alī Barīd at Bidar (in which, however, the penmanship is rather disappointing),[146] Alī Shāhid Pīr's Mosque at Bijapur, which is in excellent *Thulth* style,[147] Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bidar, and Badshāhī Āshūrkhāna[148] and Begam's Mosque at Hyderabad.[149] The Ragīn-Mahal at Bidar has inscriptions executed in mother-of-pearl work on the base of a highly polished basalt, which offers a treat to the eye of a lover of art.[150] Then there are epigraphs inscribed in varied colours on plaster of polished stone. The most beautiful examples of these are to be seen in the Tomb of Ahmad Shāh I Bahmanī at Bidar. The entire interior of the hall and particularly the concentive rings of the dome and the concave squinches are decorated with inscriptions in different calligraphical styles like *Kūfic*, *Naskh*, *Thulth*, etc., in *Ṭughrā* in bright gold, vermillion, lapis lazuli, pearl-white and wherever necessary, black hues and colours. The happy contrast of these brilliant colours and superb floral and calligraphical designs executed with a perfect sense of proportion and fine taste of the artist leave the visitor bewildered.[151]

In conclusion, a few words may be said about the masters who made such valuable contributions to the art of calligraphy through these inscriptions: they include at least one king, a couple of noblemen and other known and unknown calligraphers who appear to have been first rate artists. In most cases, these inscriptions are the only surviving memento of their calligraphical skill. These are in chronological order: Abū Bakr bin Ismā'īl al-Jauharī, Uthmān bin Kamāl Khaṭṭāṭ, Quṭb, Mughīth al-Qārī a'sh-Shīrāzī and his son Nāsīr, Shukru'llāh, Khaṭṭāṭ Khān, Mahmūd Shāh the Bahmanī king, Muhammad Khaṭṭāṭ, Ahmad bin Shaikh Muhammad Sultāni, Yūsuf, Shihāb Mu 'ammā'ī, Muhammad bin Sadru'd-Dīn Isfahānī, Habīb al-Murshidī a'sh-Shīrāzī, Alī a'ṣ-Sūfī, Abdu'l-Qādir Amīn Khān, Muhammad Hussain, Darwīsh Muhammad Ramzī, Mīr Muhammad Ma 'sūm Nāmī, Kātibu'l-Mulk Daurī, Farīdūn al-Hirewī, Musṭafā bin Nūr Muhammad Khaṭṭāṭ, Bābā Khān, Abū Tālib bin Qāsim Husainī Zarrīn-Qalam, Hussain bin Ahmad Chishtī, Abdu'l-Ḥaq Shīrāzī entitled Amānat Khān (Calligrapher of the Taj Mahal inscriptions), Mīr Abdu'llāh Mushkīn-Qalam, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad al-Fakhkhār a'sh-Shīrāzī, Sharīf, Khalf a't-Tabrīzī, Lutfullāh Tabrīzī, Dūst Muhammad Sakhar, Sultān Sarhindī, Muhammad Amīn Mashhadī, Sayyid Hussain bin Faḍlullāh, Mīr Alī bin Mīr Alī Jān Mashhadī, Abdu'll-Azīz of

Belgaum and of Kashmir, Abdu'l-Hayy, Muhammad Alī, Hussain, Taqī-u'd-Dīn Muhammad Sālih al-Bahrānī, Arab Shīrāzī and his son Isma'īl, Qamaru'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī, Walīu'llāh, Jalāl, Abu'l-Khair, Mīrzā Muhammad son of Muhammad Sharīf Yumnī, Ubaidullah Shīrīn-Raqam and Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Murassa-Raqam.

Year of writing: 1976
Revised: 2001

Notes and References

[1] *Epigraphia Indica* (Hereafter *EI*), Vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 143. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (Hereafter *ARIE*), 1963-64, No. 303 of Appendix D; 1972-73, Nos. D, 31-2.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement* (Hereafter *EIAPS*), 1965, pp. 1-8.

[3] *ARIE*, 1972-73, No. D, 1.

[4] There is, however, an interesting epitaph at Viśākhāpaṭnam, which records that Tāju'd-Dīn Alī who died in 1257, was the first to conquer Shāh Paṭṭan (*Ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 77).

[5] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Hereafter *EIM*), 1935-36, p. 50; *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 165; 1965-66, No. D, 225; etc.

[6] *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 14, pl. II. Dated 1298, it is from Tribeni in Hooghly district and is also the earliest to give the date in a chronogram.

[7] *EIAPS*, 1963, p. 40.

[8] It is also found in some of the later Quṭb Shāhī epigraphs of Golconda (*EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 49-50), where the clear mention of Shuhūr era was not understood. For a fine exposition of the Shuhūr era, see *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 81-106.

[9] *EIAPS*, 1965, pp. 30-1; 1967, p. 28.

[10] *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 201.

[11] *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 1.

[12] *ARIE*, 1969-70, No. D, 214.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1971-72, Nos. D, 73-4.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1973-74, No. D, 4.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1972-73, Nos. D, 230-31.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1973-74, No. D, 250. I am told that the tablet of the Iltutmish inscription from the Gwalior Fort, believed to have been lost (*EIM*, 1911-12, p. 24) is still there in the fort-wall. If so, this would be the earliest record in Persian verse.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1969-70, No. D, 201.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. D, 191; 1965-66, No.D, 199.

[19] *Ibid*, 1969-70, No.D, 157.

[20] *Ibid.*, 1971-72, No.D, 170.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. D, 181; 1973-74, Nos. D, 6,77.

[22] *Ibid*, 1969-70, No. D, 66.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1969-70, Nos. D, 161, 167.

[24] *Ibid.*, 1971-72, No. D, 162; 1972-73, No. D, 271.

[25] *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (Hereafter *ASIR*), Vol. XXXIII (1886); *EI*, Vol. II (1893), p. 159; and illustration. It was stated to be 'for the most part illegible'. For its purport see *ARIE*, 1974-75, No. D, 71. An exhaustive description of the pillar and its epigraph, with photographic illustration thereof in seventy plates will be found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. XLVII (London, 1988), pp.12-22. Only its summarized line-to-line purport is given in English (*Ibid.*, pp. 20-2).

[26] *EIAPS*, 1975, pp. 21-5, where a detailed notice of the inscription including previous published notices with comments, has been published.

[27] *ARIE*, 1987-88, No. D, 42.

[28] H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan* (1295-1724), Vol. II (Hyderabad, 1975), pp. 363-79.

[29] *ARIE*, 1968-69, Nos. 103, 123-31, 379, 398, 406-07; 1972-73, No. D, 78; etc.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1973-74, No. D, 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, 1972-73, No. D, 1. A number of new inscriptions of Bengal Sultans particularly Hussain Shāh have been recently found in West Bengal.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. D, 131; 1968-69, Nos. D, 173, 211, 222, 373; 1969-70, No. D, 45; 1970-71, Nos. D, 59, 93; 1971-72, Nos. D, 30, 121, 123; 1973-74, Nos. D, 7, 94; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 49-77; 1963, pp. 1-50; 1964, pp. 45-78; etc.

[33] *ARIE*, 1967-68, Nos. D, 206-36; 1968-69, Nos. D, 226-347; 1974-75, Nos. D, 72-250.

[34] *Ibid.*, 1974-75, No. D, 176.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. D, 244; 1968-69, Nos. D, 119, 141, 188, 216, 268, 352, 378; 1969-70, Nos. D, 37, 101, 114; 1970-71, No. D, 53; 1971-72, Nos. D, 129, 132, 139, 142; 1972-73, Nos. D, 136-40, 144, 248, 251, 258, 259, 266; 1973-74, Nos. D, 10, 133, 137, 139, 209-10; etc.

[36] *Ibid.*, 1968-69, No. D, 215; 1970-71, No. D, 48; 1971-72, Nos. D, 20, 27, 161; 1973-74, Nos. D, 103, 223, 247, 273; 1974-75, Nos. D, 322, 382; etc. Of these, No. 161 of 1971-72 from Varanasi mentions the celebrated James Prinsep who was then stationed there.

[37] *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 12.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 11-2; 1961, p. 34; 1962, pp. 41-2, 53-66, etc.

[39] The other noblemen whose correct names have been preserved by the records are Tughluqian officials Juljīn, Talbagha, Mul and Nānak (*EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 110-11; 1966, pp 21-2, 25-6; 1967, pp. 14-6).

[40] *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 22.

[41] *EIAPS*, 1974, pp. 26-8; *ARIE*, 1973-74, No. D, 94.

[42] A glance at the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* 1952-53 onwards and *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement*, 1951 and 1952 onwards (since 1961 published annually) will bear this out. More surprising is the fact that latest research works like *Medieval Malwa* by Dr U. N. Day and *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* by Dr Radhe Shyam to mention only two, have failed to utilize these records.

[43] It may be interesting to note that such *farmāns* have been found only in Bijapur territories including Konkan, for which see *EIAPS*, 1965, pp. 42-3.

[44] Incidentally, it is on record that the queen of the last Sayyid king of Delhi had revived and repopulated a desolate village in Budāun region (*EIAPS*, 1965, pp. 16-7).

[45] For these please see *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* from 1952-53 (Appendix for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions) onwards.

[46] The most striking example is that of Maliku't-Tujjār Umar al-Kāzerūnī of Khambhāt (Cambay) whose epitaph calls him Malik-i-Muluki'sh-Sharq Zakiu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Parwīz. He had died in 1333 (*EIAPS*, 1971, p. 39, No. XX).

[47] For these, please see *ARIE*, 1952-53 onwards.

[48] *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pp. 16-7; 1935-36, p. 54; 1955 and 1956, p. 63, 1959 and 1960, pp. 53-4, 64-5; *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 46; 1962-63, No. D, 242; etc.

[49] *EIAPS*, 1970, pp. 45-61.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 43-5, pls. XI b, XIII a.

[51] *EIM*, 1937-38, p. 46.

[52] *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 120; 1961-62, Nos. D, 223-26, 228-30, 233-34; 1962-63, Nos D, 100, 225; 1963-64, Nos. D, 110, 129; 1964-65, No. D, 333; 1965-66, Nos. D, 359, 361-64, 539; 1966-67, Nos. D, 199, 234; etc. So far Nāmī's one epigraph in Qandahār and two in and near Isfahān are known. These last two he had engraved when he went on a mission to Iran from Akbar's court.

[53] For example, what has been generally described as robust indigenous style of Akbar has a number of its prominent features in buildings like Sangī-Masjid at Phulwāri Sharif in Bihar constructed in 1549-50 (*ARIE*, 1972-73, No. D, 4).

[54] *Ibid.*, 1974-75, No. D, 273.

[55] *Ibid.*, 1974-75, No. D, 269. This 16th century building which is in a fairly original condition can be taken to furnish a good example of domestic architecture of those days.

[56] *Ibid.*, 1967-68, No. D, 256; 1968-69, No. D, 413; 1969-70, Nos. D, 167, 170, 205, 265; 1971-72, No. D, 139; 1973-74, No. D, 264; 1974-75, No. D, 186; etc.

[57] *Ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 80; 1954-55, No. C, 24; 1958-59, No. D, 41; 1964-65, No. D, 242; 1965-66, Nos. D, 262-68; etc.

[58] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 69-70; *ARIE*, 1970-71, No. D, 26.

[59] For example, we have one of the earliest, a mid-sixteenth century two-couplet

inscription in Gurjarī (proto-Urdu) language current in Gujarat (*EIM*, 1935-36, p. 51).

[60] There are a few still earlier *Kūfī* inscriptions in Sindh and Hund and Tuchi Valley of North-West Frontier Provinces of Pakistan. These are in plain but fine *Kūfī* (*EIM*, 1921-22, pl. XII a; 1925-26, pl. XIb).

[61] *EIAPS*, 1965, pls. I a, II a, c, III, IV a, V b, etc. It is not entirely correct to say that 'the *Kūfī* script was chiefly used for writing *Qur'ānic* texts, a fact which shows that the calligraphists of India possessed little skill in writing the *Kūfī* characters' (*EIM*, 1913-14, p. 14).

[62] *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pl. II a, b.

[63] This is well illustrated by a 1232 epitaph from Cambay in Gujarat, the plain *Kūfī* writing of which lacks the firmness and rhythmic flow of the lines of this script (*Ibid.*, 1961, pl. I b).

[64] *ARIE*, 1969-70, No. D, 24; J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions* (London, 1878), pl. 45 (second and third comprising one example).

An extremely elegant specimen of such a combination is also furnished by a painted epigraph on the tomb of Ahmad Shāh I Bahmanī at Bidar: the band of *Kūfī* and *Ṭughrā* inscriptions in gold and white over a light blue background of floral decoration within a margin of bright vermillion and gold in the margin is extremely pleasing to look at. But the calligraphy though fine is not equally exquisite [Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments* (Oxford, 1947), pl. LXXII]. These designs were painted by an Iranian artist, Shukrullah of Qazwin (*Ibid.*, p. 126).

[65] This combination was much favoured in Iran in the 15th century [A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. II (London and New York, 1939), p. 1734]. Could it have been inspired by this Indian specimen or both had a common source? The *Kūfī* style is also refreshingly beautiful.

[66] *EIM*, 1915-16, pl. VIII a.

[67] *EIM*, 1911-12, pls. II-V, VI 2, VII, XVI, XVII, XXIII and XXIX; 1913-14, pls. IVb, VIIIb, XIb, XIVa, XVa, XVb, XVI; etc.

[68] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pl. VIII b.

[69] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pls. III, VIa, VIIIa, b, XIIIa, XVIa; 1913-14, pl. XIVb; *EIAPS*, 1966, pl. Ib, IVa; etc.

[70] *EIM*, 1911-12, pl. III. The fragmentary inscription of Queen Raḍiyya, from Bulundshahr, is also calligraphically quite impressive (*EIAPS*, 1966, pl. Ia).

[71] *EIM*, 1913-14, pl. V.

[72] *EIAPS*, 1966, pls. Ia, IIb, IIIa, b, c, IVb, c, etc.

[73] *EIM*, 1913-14, pls. XIb, XII, XIIIb, XIVa, b, XVI; *EIAPS*, 1966, pl. III a.

[74] *EIM*, 1911-12, pls. XI, XV 2, XVIII 1, 2, XIX 1, 2, XXVI, etc.

[75] *EIAPS*, 1975, pl. I b; *Corpus of the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*

(Hereafter *CAPB*) (Dhaka, 1992), pl. 82 (a); *ARIE*, 1972-73, No. D, 1.

[76] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pls. VIIIa, IXa. Two significant exceptions are Begusarāi (Bihar) and Tribeni inscriptions of Kai Kā ūs, dated 1293 and 1298 (*EIM*, 1917-18, pl. II; *EIAPS*, 1961).

[77] The Alāi Darwāza inscription of Delhi dated 1311 is an exception (*Ibid.*, 1917-18, pl. VII, etc.).

[78] An unsuccessful attempt at revival of the robust and vigorous monumental style of the early Sultanate inscriptions seems to have been made in the time of Sikandar Lodī (cf. *ibid.*, 1919-20, pls. IIa, IIIa,b, IVb, V, etc.). Also this style was not totally abandoned as is evident from the Delhi inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq dated 1352 [*Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), p. 153, pl. XXXI].

[79] *EIM*, 1913-14, pl. XIXa; the calligrapher is Muhammad Isfahānī. The inscriptions on the Buland Darwāza, Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra, Taj Mahal, Agra and a couple of inscriptions from Gaur, to name a few fall in this category.

[80] For example, *EIM*, 1917-18, pl. XVI (dated 1597). A number of epigraphs of the 17th century of this variety are to be seen at Hyderabad and Golconda. Some of these were designed by Jalālu' d-Dīn Muhammad Shīrāzī and Taqīu'd-Dīn Muhammad Bahrānī who appear to have been master calligraphers (*Ibid.*, pls. XVIIa, XVIIIc, XXIIIa, b; 1925-26, pl. XII).

[81] *Ibid.*, 1925-26, pl. VIII; 1927-28, pl. VIII.

[82] For example, *Ibid.*, 1935-36, pl. III.

[83] We have quite a few specimens of excellent *Thulth* writing in the 18th century epigraphs at Cuddapah and Siddhavatam in Andhra Pradesh in the South (*Ibid.*, 1937-38, pls. XIX, XXa; 1939-40, pls. XVI a, b, XVIII a, b; etc.).

[84] *Ibid.*, 1925-26, pl. VIII, IX a; 1927-28, pl. VIII; 1929-30, pls. IIb, III; 1933-34, pls. XVII a, b; 1933-34 (Supplement), pl. V; 1935-36, pls. XXV a, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIV, XXXV a, XXXIX; 1937-38, pl. Vb; 1939-40, pl. IX; 1951-52, pl. XVa; 1955 and 1956, pl. XXd; 1961, pls. XVII a, b; 1962, pl. XXI a; 1963, pls. XIIb, XXIV a; 1967, pl. XVII c; 1968, pls. XVI, XVII, XVIII, etc.

[85] *EIM*, 1915-16, pl. XIVb; 1921-22, pl. XIII; 1933-34 (Supplement), pls. XVIIb; *EIAPS*, 1963, pls. IIIb, IVa, VII c; etc.

[86] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pls. III, VII, IX, X, XII; 1925-26, pls. VIIa, Xa; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pls. XXXI, a, b, c; 1964, pls. XVIIc, XIXa, b, XXII b; etc.

[87] *EIM*, 1931-32, pls. VIb, VIIa, b, VIIIa, b, IXa, b, Xa, b, XIII; *EIAPS*, 1964, pls. II a, b; IX b, XIII b; etc.

[88] *EIAPS*, 1963, pls. XIXb, XXb, XXIa, b, c, XXIIa, b, c, XXIIIa, b, c; 1965, pls. XIVa, b; 1968, pl. VIa; etc.

[89] *Ibid.*, 1967, pls. VII a, b, VIII b; etc.

[90] *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), pls. VI b, c.

[91] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. VII a; 1962, pls. VIIIa, IX; etc.

[92] For example, inscriptions on the Shāh Jahānī mosque at Ajmer etc. (*EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pl. XVII; 1959 and 1960, pls. XIVa, XV; *ARIE*, 1967-68, No. D, 106).

[93] This was primarily because *Nasta'līq* script was never employed in Arabic speaking countries.

[94] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pl. VIIIc; *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Hereafter *IB*), Vol. IV (Rājshāhī, 1960), figs. 27, 31, etc.; *CAPB*, pls. 23b, 30b; *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 30; 1959-60, No. D, 5.

[95] *EIAPS*, 1962, pl. Va; 1964, pls. Va, c; *IB*, fig. 18.

[96] This is not surprising as the *Bihār* script, the origin of which has yet to be traced, has few specimens even in other media like manuscripts of the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

[97] *EIM*, 1917-18, pls. VIb, XII; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pls. IIa, b, c; 1961, pls. VIb, VIIa, b, VIIIa, b, IXa, b, X a, b, c; etc.

[98] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IIb; it is not inscribed in crude letters as stated by Dr. Paul Horn (*EI*, II, p. 294).

[99] M. Ziauddin, *Moslem Calligraphy* (Calcutta, 1936), figs. 104, 105.

[100] A fragmentary epigraph from Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh assignable to Iltutmish has been executed in this style (*EIAPS*, 1966, pl. IIa).

[101] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IIIa; 1962, pls. XIIa, b, XV a, b.

[102] *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 170.

[103] *EIAPS*, 1962, pl. I b.

[104] *Ibid.*, 1953 and 1954, pl. XVIIa; 1962, pls. VIIIa, IX, Xa; 1968, pl. IIIb; *EIM*, 1939-40, pl. II; etc.

[105] *Ibid.*, 1964, pls. XVa, b, XVIa, b, XVIIa, c, XVIII a, b, XIXa, b, XXa, b, XXII b, etc.

[106] For some such Sultanate (15th century) records of Gujarat, see Dr. M. A. Chaghtaī, *Muslim Monuments of Gujarat* (Hereafter *MMG*) (Poona, 1942), pls. VIII, IX, Xa, XIII, XIV, XVII, XIX, XX a, XXb, XXII, etc.

[107] *EIAPS*, 1963, pl. IX a; *MMG*, pl. Xa.

[108] *EIM*, 1915-16, pl. XIVa; *EIAPS*, 1961, pls. IIIb, IV; 1971, pls. Ia, IIa, b, IVb, Vb, XIb; etc.

[109] For these, see *Ibid.*, 1961, pls. IIa, IIIb, IV; 1971, pls. I-XV. This style, both of writing as well as design, was probably imported from Arabian Peninsula, where similarly designed epitaphs are found (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. IX, 1935, pls. A-1, B-1, A-2, B-2, and C). Also, an Indonesian delegate to the International Conference on Asian Archaeology held at New Delhi in 1961 had told me that in his country too, such tomb-stones were found, but I have not been able to procure any further information in this regard.

[110] The fine black basalt which is the common material for epigraphical tablets in

Bengal, must have also made the task of the artists and engravers easier.

[111] The calligraphy of the inscriptions of Alāu'd-Dīn Hussain Shāh and his son, which is *Thulth*, is of an uniformly high quality, but not so their overall decorative scheme, which is comparatively plain (*EIAPS*, 1951 and 1952, pls. XI a, b; 1955 and 1956, pls. V c, d, VI d; 1961, pls. XIV a, b, c, XV a, etc.). The Purnea record of Ghiyāthu' d-Dīn Mahmūd, dated 1537, is an exception—It is remarkable for its fine calligraphy and group arrangement of strokes (*Ibid.*, 1968, pl. II b).

[112] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IV b; *IB*, fig. 36.

[113] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IV c; *IB*, fig. 36; *EIAPS*, 1975, pls. IVa and b.

[114] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IIIb; *IB*, figs. 18, 23; 1955 and 1956, pl. IXc.

[115] *IB*, figs. 35, 37, 38, 46, etc.

[116] *EIM*, 1935-36, pl. XXXV a.

[117] An exquisitely beautiful specimen of artistic devices and fine calligraphy is afforded by the inscription of the Jāmi Mosque of Ahmedabad; in particular, the artistic drawing of the curves of the letters, group-arrangement of vertical strokes and parallel arrangement of other strokes are a treat to the eye. It is rather curious that even the names of the designers of such artistic epigraphs should have remained unknown. A recently discovered inscription of the time of Hussain Shāh from Suāṭa in Burdwan district gives the name of scribe as Qāḍī Mīnāzī (*EAPS*, 1975, pp. 33-4, pl. IV b).

[118] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. VIIa; *IB*, fig. 37.

[119] A large number of Bengal epigraphs have been published in the various issues of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and its continuation *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*. A fairly representative selection of the Bengal variety of mural calligraphy at one place will be found in J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: Its Ruins and Inscriptions* (London, 1878); Shamsu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajashahi, 1960); and (with new specimens) in Dr. Abdul Karim, *Corpus of the Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bengal* (Dhaka, 1992).

[120] *EIAPS*, 1961, pl. XVI b. In this category may also be placed a Lodī record dated 1503 from Sambhal in Morādābād district of Uttar Pradesh. Remarkable for artistic execution, it may have been designed by or after a Bengali artist (*Ibid.*, 1967, pl. IX a).

[121] *MMG*, pls. IX, Xa, XIII, XIV, etc.

[122] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IV.

[123] *EIM*, 1923-24, pls. VII a, b, c.

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 18, pl. VII b.

[125] *EIAPS*, 1970, pl. V a.

[126] *Ibid.*, pl. VI b.

[127] *Ibid.*, pl. VII a.

[128] *Ibid.*, pl. VII b.

[129] *Ibid.*, pl. VIII a. In similar instances of Gujarat inscriptions, the arrangement is quite impressive, as the artist has taken care to see that there is not much blank space left between the groups (*MMG*, pl. X a; *EIAPS*, 1963, pl. IX a).

[130] Among the other examples of highly complicated writing which is not without artistic merit are one each from Peril near Dhaka and Hatkhola in Sylhet district (*EIM*, 1925-26, pl. XXXVIII a; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pl. VIII b). These two inscriptions are identical in purport as well as calligraphy and arrangement except for the difference of one year in their dates.

[131] It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pl. IV a). It is extremely difficult to decipher its text, the letters of which are bewilderingly interspersed and interwoven with one another.

[132] This is understandable in view of strict religious injunction against practice of figurative or pictorial art, particularly living forms. But in India, professional calligraphers in the past few centuries have practised it on paper to represent diverse pictorial motifs of a tiger, an elephant with a Howdah facade of a mosque or a tomb and even a human head (M. Ziauddin, *op. cit.*, figs. 149-52, 154). There is also a *Ṭughrā* portrait-epigraph of a human head of the same design as fig. 154 of M. Ziauddin's book, formed out of the names, Muhammad, Alī, Fātima, Hāssān, and Hussain Prophet's Family, on the Dargāh of Ghulām Alī Shāh Qādirī at Hyderabad (*ARIE*, 1976-77, No. D, 47, dated A. H. 1259/ A. D. 1843-44).

[133] An unpublished epitaph of Sayyid Sālih from Hyderabad dated 1612 has figures of a lion and a parrot formed out of *Nād-i-'Alī* and *Basmala* respectively (*ARIE*, 1967-68, No. D, 82); also *EIM*, 1935-36, pl. XXX a; *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 148; 1960-61, No. D, 121; etc.

[134] *EIAPS*, 1971, pl. XXa. A seventeenth century inscription from Akbarpur near Rohtāsgarh in Bihar has small figures of lion and birds engraved in relief in the midst of the text (Dr. Q. Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscription of Bihar* (Patna, 1973), pl. 50.

[135] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pl. IX b.

[136] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, pl. XXIII c. A more spectacular but calligraphically not so fine example is of a similar medallion on the Tomb of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī at Bidar; it is painted in bright vermillion and gold with the contrast of dark brown; its *Ṭughrā* is of the reflected variety. (Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX).

[137] *EIAPS*, 1951 and 1952, pls. XIX a, b. There is a large number of unpublished records in which this device is employed (*ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 296, 315; 1965-66, Nos. D-1-2, 5, 204-06, 209, 210, 275, 279-81; 1967-68, Nos. D, 28, 33, 38-9; 1968-69, Nos. D, 91-2, 319, 324· etc.).

[138] *EIAPS*, 1970, pl. XVIII b. The Bidar medallion mentioned above is also in this

style.

139 It is generally believed (*Archaeology in India*, Delhi 1950, p. 194) to have made its appearance immediately after the close of the first quarter of the 16th century; the earliest inscription in this script is supposed to be one dated 1521 A. D. (*EIM*, 1921-22, pl. X b), but its chronogram yields A. H. 888 and not A. H. 928. Again, in recent years we have come across inscriptions dated A. H. 889/1483 A. D. from Nāgaur and A. H. 889/1484-85 A. D. from Sonepat (*ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 262; 1963-64, No. D, 306; 1973-74, No. D, 151).

140 Some of these are: *EIM*, 1911-12, pl. X (Māṇḍū); 1917-18, pls. XVII a, XIX a, XIX a (Hyderabad); 1921-22, pls. I a, III a, IV b (Bir); 1923-24, pl. VI a (Ahmedabad); 1927-28, pls. XVII, XX, a, b, c, XXI a, b (Bidar); 1929-30, pls. XIII a, b, XIV a, b, XV a, b (Udgir); 1931-32, pl. XVI b (Bidar); 1933-34, pls. XII b (Dhaka), XII b (Cuttack), XIII c (Burhampur); 1933-34 (Supplement), pl. VI a (Ahmednagar), XIX b, c, XX b, c (Bharuch, Broach), XXII b, XXXIII a, b, c, XXIV b (Surat); 1935-36, pl. XIII (Shaikhpeṭ near Golconda); 1949-50, pls. II (Paithan), XIII b, c, XVII b, XXII b, XXII c (Nāgaur); *EIAPS*, 1951 and 1952, pls. IIb, III, IV (Agra), VIII c (Maner), XIV, XV c (Kurnool); 1953 and 1954, pl. III a (Hānsi); 1955 and 1956, pls. XVI b (Nāgaur), XVIII a (Belgāum), XX a, b (Bijapur), XXX a (Burhampur); 1957 and 1958, pl. VII (Thāna), XIV (Ajmer), XV a (Gangwānā, near Ajmer); 1959 and 1960, pls. IV (Delhi), VII (Murshidabad); 1961, pls. XXI a, b, XXII (Allahabad); 1962, pl. XXIV (Burhampur); 1967, pls. XIII a, b, XVI, a, b (Panchgāwhān in Berar, Maharashtra), XV (Gālnā); 1969, pls. III a (Gaya), XVIIIa (Jaunpur); *ARIE*, 1967-68, No. D, 231 (Srinagar), etc.

141 *EIAPS*, 1951 and 1952, pls. IIb, III, IV; 1961, pls. XXI a, b; *EI*, II, pl. II facing p. 138; etc.

In Deccan also, we have the most remarkable epigraphs with highly floral background drawn in excellent taste in two contemporary inscriptions from Hyderabad and its vicinity, both being by the same artist, Lutfullāh al-Husainī at Tabrīzī (*EIM*, 1917-18, pl. XIX a; 1935-36, pl. XIII) and in a number of epigraphs from Bidar (*Ibid.*, 1927-28, pls. Xa, XX a, b, c).

142 *EI*, II, pl. II, facing, p. 138.

143 *EIM*, 1911-12, pl. XIV, No. 2; 1933-34 (Supplement), pl. X.

144 *Ibid.*, 1949-50, pls. VI a, b, VII a, b.

145 *Ibid.*, 1917-18, pl. XXI; 1929-30, pl. IX b, c; 1937-38, pl. VI a, b. This script was generally employed in official or semi-official documents.

146 Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. XCV.

147 This is unfortunately not illustrated in H. Cousen's excellent work *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* (Bombay, 1946), p. 63.

148 S. A. A. Bilgramí, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), plate facing p. 22 (a black and white only).

[149] *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Hyderabad Art, Archaeology and Handicrafts held at New Delhi*, 1952, pl. V.

[150] Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII.

[151] *Ibid.*, pls. LXX-LXXIV.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

* *Courtesy:* Archaeological Survey of India

33

CALLIGRAPHIC ART IN PERSO-ARABIC EPIGRAPHS

CALLIGRAPHY, as the name implies, is the art of beautiful writing. It reveals an inherent elegance and fair penmanship. The first traces of calligraphy can be noticed in the use of Hebrew characters which were square, separate, distinct and well-proportioned. When from Hebrew and other allied alphabets Arabic took its birth, it imbibed some good qualities of beautiful writing which slowly but steadily was chiselled out to beautiful forms through its contacts with a number of exotic cultures. In Arabia, before the advent of Islam, writing was mostly an unknown or forlorn means of expression, and it was because of the necessity of writing down the sacred words of Allah, as revealed to the Prophet, that writing became in Islam a potential medium both for the stabilization of the Faith and its subsequent propagation. When the political and religious conquest of Persia was achieved, the latter was not slow in imprinting her artistic taste in all spheres of social behaviour, and writing was one of the most important areas in this respect. Islamic Persia devoted herself to writing in beautiful hand the Holy Text. The Persians were serious advocates and ingenious innovators of different styles of writing, and in a short period, became masters of the art of calligraphy, decorative designs and colour paintings. It is true that a hostile attitude developed among the orthodox legists in the second and third centuries of the Muslim era against plastic as well as pictorial art, but the art of writing escaped this negative attitude in view of its close relationship with the recording or copying of the Holy Text.

In the development of the writing art, the Arabic characters themselves provided an inspiration for decorative designs, and by a slow, unconscious but steady process, became a potential motif in Islamic art. Each of the letters of the alphabet with a band of stout verticals and interwoven cursive bases, happened to mark a balance and a fluidity. The ancient Phoenician towns like Tyre were great centres for the encouragement of this art indirectly. For, these and places like Antioch, Aleppo and Damascus were the industrial towns where enamelling and gilding received considerable scope and encouragement. It soon attracted the attention of the artists who took to decorative writing as an art-motif on enamelled and gilded surface. It soon spread to areas where Islam gradually

made missionary and military inroads. In India, one very conspicuous example can be cited where a part of the text of the celebrated *Umar-i-Khayyām* was written on enamelled tiles. This *Rubā'iyāt* writing, discovered in Lahore or Multan, is in the beautiful *Naskh* style.[1]

The primary motive being perpetuation of the words of Allah through written texts, the tendency to beautify the letters by varieties of formations internally, and by putting in decorative elements in between the letters or as the background, was but natural. The former gave rise to different styles, such as we meet with the passage of time in different regions. The instances of the latter are also available through widely distributed areas of Islamic influence.

The first impetus to writing as an essential instrument for propagation of religious beliefs and practices in Islam is given directly by the Holy Text itself. In the words of the *Qur'ān*,[2] it was a direct teaching of Allah to mankind that the latter must learn the use of pen. In fact, in the very first revelations, Allah reminds the Prophet and his followers that the foremost thing Allah desired in man was the power to wield the pen.[3] The most potent idea that motivated this desire was that it would guarantee the correctness of the text for all time to come. Further, one of the 'Wise Men' had eulogized 'writing' by saying that it is 'the offspring of thought, the lamp of remembrance, the tongue of him that is far-off and the life of him whose age has been blotted out'. It is interesting that the *Qur'ān*, in Chapter LXVIII, entitled القلم (the Pen), invoked as witnesses, the inkstand (نون=ن) and the Pen (القلم), to bear out that the Prophet is not a 'mad man' (مجنون),[4] but rather that every Revelation in the Holy Text was put down in writing as soon as it was communicated to the Prophet. From the religious sanction it received, it soon became naturally a popular art of the Muslims all over the world. Its adoption as such, and the encouragement it received from the orthodox section by dint of the sanction of the Holy Text itself, resulted in much of Islamic painting being almost invariably supplemented by calligraphic writing on it to aid the visual communication.

Calligraphy thus gradually became a powerful outlet to vent the aesthetic urge in Islam. It opened up a range that had its scope far too wide when compared with the limited delineation of animate objects. For early Arabic writing the art of calligraphy expressed itself in two styles: a formal one characterized by sharp angular letters, and another cursive one with letters rounded at the base, the former being mostly used for official purposes, and originating at Kūfa, in Mesopotamia, from which it derives its name, *Kūfic*. Though this angular variety was 'the preferred script of the Government', it was also used in inscriptions and for copying the Holy Text, and on tombstones.

The *Kūfic* style accentuates the vertical strokes of the characters and was used extensively during the first five centuries of Islam, in architecture, for copying the *Qur'ān*, in woven textiles and on pottery. There are eight different types of *Kūfic,* though only three are worthy of note. These are: (i) Simple *Kūfic*, (ii) Foliated *Kūfic* having verticals ending in lobed leaves or half-palmettes and (iii) Foliated *Kūfic* where floral motifs and scrolls are added to the leaves and half-palmettes. In India, though Plain or Simple *Kūfic* is rare, reasonably because of the late appearance of Islam in this land, perhaps a singular instance of its use comes from Hund, Peshawar, within the Sub-continent, dated 482 H (1090 A. D.), now preserved in the Peshawar Museum, Pakistan. On the Indian soil writing, especially Islamic writing, received almost always an ornateness at the hand of scribes because of their inherent bent towards artistry. A superb example of an inscription in ornate *Kūfic* on the eastern wall of Ahmad Shāh Wālī's tomb at Bidar, dated *c.* 1436 A. D. (Plate 1), exemplifies the height of artistic excellence that *Kūfic* writing reached in India in the fifteenth century. The artistic *Kūfic* writing in India can, however, be taken back to the twelfth century A. D., when in Delhi one encounters an inscription in *Kūfic*, dated 587 H(1191 A. D.), on the Quwwat ul-Islam Mosque, recording a quotation from the *Qur'ān*. Closely following, in 629 H(1232 A. D.) there is another record in the same style on the tomb of Sultān Ghorī, within the same enclosure, proving the essentiality of using the script for an allied purpose. Within four years, in 633 H(1235 A. D.), we find a still more elegant *Kūfic* on the tomb of the celebrated Emperor, Iltutmish, taken up with quoted extracts from the *Qur'ān*. These writings in an ornate *Kūfic* style are rightly described as *Kūfic Ṭughrā*.[5] In Bengal, this *Kūfic Ṭughrā* received due attention, specially as carvers in stone in this region were working with the easily pliable basalt. By the latter part of the eighth century of the Hijri era (14th century A. D.) when *Ṭughrā* was in great favour in Bengal, an example of a special style of *Kūfic Ṭughrā* was executed on the upper panel of a piece of *Ṭughrā* writing over the prayer niché in the transept of the Adina Mosque at Pandua, Bengal (Plate 2). As expected the writing relates to a quotation from the Holy Text[6] and thus justifies the use of the archaic style in a comparatively late carving. The *Ṭughrā* style exhibited in the lower panel bears close similarity with another inscription exclusively in this style, dated 770 H (1368 A. D.), and found in the same mosque.[7] It would be a mistake to conclude that this style of artistic writing was confined to a limited area, or to a specific period. During the Quṭb Shāhī rule in Golconda, for *Qur'ānic* quotation, specially on tombs, *Kūfic* of an ornate type was equally accepted. On the top slab of Mīrzā Muhammad

Āmīn's grave at Golconda, a *Qur'ānic* quotation from the Surah *Ikhlās* (Unity) is inscribed in the *Kūfic* style. Derived from the rectangular 'simple' type of *Kūfic*, the 'labyrinth' type that is composed by the letters, at right, is almost a unique and ingenious creation in the art of writing (Plate 3). The writing on the slab is dated 1004 H(1596 A. D.). A real jugglery in letter-forms the 'labyrinth' design in letters shows the vertical and the horizontal lines joined up in perfect symmetry and fret-work suggesting the most intricate lattice-work of screen. It is an well-executed rectilinear riddle created as though to defy decipherment. Taken together with the arrow-headed *naskh*-based writing at left, a quotation from Chapter III. 16 of the *Qur'ān*, one may feel that what inspired the artist in Bengal during the fourteenth century A. D. was still effective two hundred years later at Golconda, and only that a complex variation in style had taken place, specially in the *Kūfic*. It is, however, not true that *Kūfic* was never used in historical documents or for other purposes. In fact, one such instance can be found on a slab set into the western wall of the Aḍhāi-Din-kā-Jhomprā at Ajmer, bearing the date 596 H(1200 A. D.).

The meaning of the root *Naskh* from which the style *Naskhi* derives its name is 'transcribing', 'obliterating', 'copying', defacing, etc. This style was introduced into Egypt in the eleventh century A. D. In fact, *Naskhi*, in origin, is a rounded form of the same style of Arabic writing which in its angular variety was known as *Kūfic*. Used in combination with *Naskhi*, however, *Kūfic* originally was restricted to the writing of chapter headings of the Sacred Text. In the Mameluk period, *Naskhi* became very popular. A thirteenth, or probably fourteenth, century copy of the *Qur'ān* written in gold with diacritical signs in red and blue, is available at the Metropolitan Museum. The art that pervades the *Naskh* style of calligraphic writing is vast indeed. It manifests not so much in the form of the letters, as in the decorative elements around the writing, though twisting of the letters in *Naskh* is often found to contribute in no small measure, to the over-all artistic appeal of the writing. The function of *Naskh* in *Naskh*-based *Ṭughrā* e.g., in the 'Procession' or the 'Procession and Festoon' (Plate 4) type of writing, mainly available in the Bengal inscriptions, allows the elongated shafts of the letters to stand by themselves or to hold the festoons formed by letters like long-tailed (nūn) ن of the drawn out (bay) ب , attached to the shafts which are deliberately made slanting. The crowd below is formed by rounded and closely knit cursive letters. While thus the latter forms the *Naskhi* base, the elongated shafts because of their decorative and complicated and undistinguishable nature reveal the *Ṭughrā* part of the writing. This innovative style of writing also takes a few other forms in Bengal. These are generally

CALLIGRAPHIC ART IN PERSO-ARABIC EPIGRAPHS

Plate 1 Inscription in ornate *Kūfic*, Ahmed Shah Wali's Tomb, Bidar, *c.* 1436 A. D.

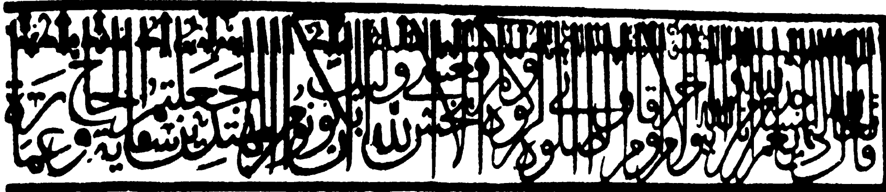


Plate 2 *Kūfic Ṭughrā*, Adina Mosque, Pandua, Bengal, *c.* 1368 A. D.

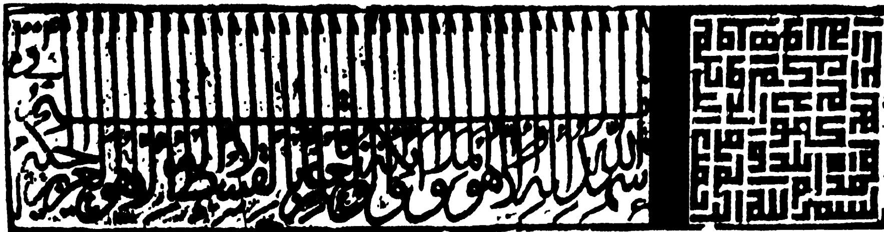


Plate 3 *Kūfic*, Mīrza Muhammad Amin's grave, Golconda, *c.* 1596 A. D.

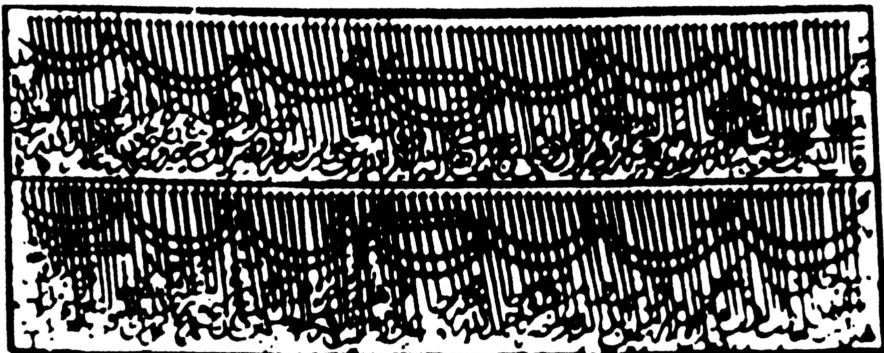


Plate 4 *Naskh*-based *Ṭughrā*, Bengal, *c.* 1493-1519 A. D.

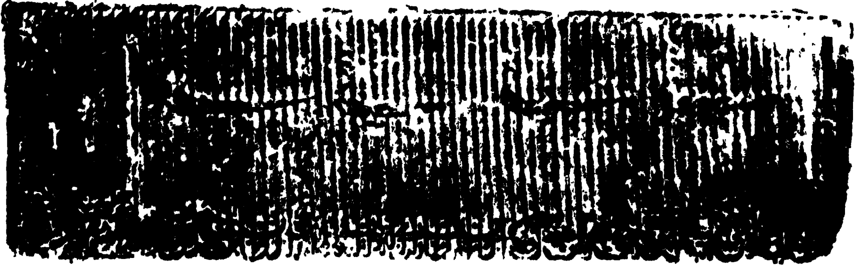


Plate 5 Inscription reveals four 'Swan' formations, Gaur, Bengal, *c.* 1461 A. D.

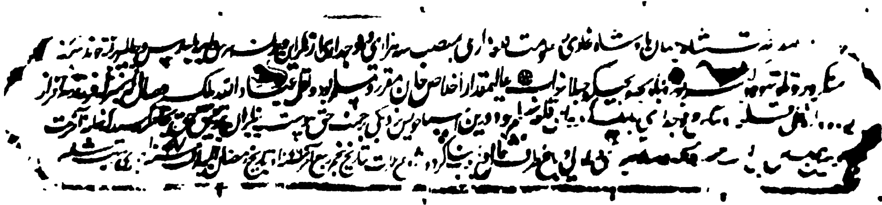


Plate 6 *Nasta'liq*, Rohtas, Bihar, *c.* 1636-37 A. D.



Plate 7 Chronogram for the date of a mosque, Archaeological Museum, Bijapur, *c.*1672 A. D.

characterized as 'Bow and Arrow' variety of the *Naskh*-based *Ṭughrā*. Within the general orbit of this artistic form of writing, sometimes we get forms of 'Serpents' brought about by a combination of the letters '*fay*' and '*yā'i huṭṭī*' (ي & ف) with the latter's tail long drawn out to the right. Besides, there are at least two instances that show attempts at giving vent to artistic forms in the shape of 'duck' and 'swan' in two epigraphs from Bengal, these also constituting varieties of *Ṭughrā*, as conceived above. An inscription from Nabagram, Pabna, now in Bangladesh, dated 932 H(1526 A. D.), shows the 'duck' type of letter formations with the '*tanwān*' marks forming the wings of the bird,[8] while another from Gaur, dated 865 H(1461 A. D.), of the time of Barbak Shāh, the Sultan, reveals four 'swan' formations with the same letters 'fay' and 'yay', the *nuqta-s* indicating the feet of the birds (Plate 5).

While the above descriptions show only the association of *Ṭughrā* as an ornamental device with other basic styles like the *Kūfic* and the *Naskh*, *Ṭughrā* as an independent form of writing was adopted in quite a number of inscriptional records. *Ṭughrā* is, in fact, a distinctive style that arose out of Arabic writing directly. The word *Ṭughrā* means 'an imperial signature' or the royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas and other public deeds. The style which thus originated with the ornate mode of scribing the imperial sign-manual came to be known by the word denoting the nature of such writing, namely, the signature. This is proved by its prevalence on the Othmanli coinage, where the monogram consists of the Sultan's name and that of his father, with the composing letters and their elongated shafts inter-crossing each other rendering the interlacement difficult to decipher. The difficulty to decipher, and imitate, was surely a motive in making the writing so complicated, yet ornamental. Interestingly, Ṭughril is the name of a king of the Seljuk dynasty, and the Mameluk patronage was responsible for the birth and growth of this yet another Arabic style of writing that appropriately came to be known as *Ṭughrā*. With the assumption of power at Delhi by the Mameluks, the scope for the introduction and flourishing of this decorative style in India became much widened. It introduced a profusion of decorative letter-formations to endow the writing with both beauty and complexity on a style which is basically *Naskh*. In *Ṭughrā*, the artist thus gets the freedom of shifting groups of letters in a line to bring about the pattern he means to demonstrate. The *Ṭughrā* in inscriptions in Bengal got a firm foot-hold primarily because of the strong and beautiful black basalt with which the scribes were working in this part of the country though it was occasionally ceremonially used in other regions of India as well. The specific purpose in most of the latter cases was the inscribing of *Qur'ānic* texts. During the period of the

Independent Sultans of Bengal, however, *Ṭughrā* is found used in almost all kinds of epigraphic writing. This is because, as mentioned above, the artistic letter-forms that the style provided, needed a smooth and fine-grain surface as is only available in basalt procured from the northern parts of Bengal. In fact, the intricacies of the decorations and the sharp bends, and thin and straight lines in a patterned composition could only be executed in the soft but stout stuff of the Gauḍian basalt. Further, there might have been some relationship of this Arabic style with the language used, viz., Arabic, current in the epigraphs of the Independent Sultans of Bengal, though with some exceptions. It is interesting to mention here that in confirmation of what has been stated above, the earliest inscription in *Ṭughrā* in the Bengal-Bihar region belongs to the reign of Ṭughril Tughan Khan connected with the Mameluks of Delhi. Dated 640 H(1242 A. D.), the record in decorative *Ṭughrā* is carved on a decorated ground of flower-and-leaf design, thus producing a singularly artistic effect.[9] In fact, the curvatures and the straight standing shafts of the letters are interwoven with the foliage decoration. Though there is a baffling intricacy in separating the letters, the artistic integrity of the entire presentation remains unaffected.

Though *Ṭughrā* was generally discontinued under the Mughals who took to clearer *Naskh* and *Nasta'līq*, specially as Persian trends, the *Iqbalnāma* mentions a coin couplet of Nūrjahān wherein it is stated that the formula on Nūrjahān's own *farmāns* was in *Ṭughrā* characters,[10] though the word '*Ṭughrā*' here has been taken by some scholars as meaning 'imperial signature'.

An interesting type of the *Ṭughrā* style of writing can be seen in an epigraph, dated 719 H(1319 A. D.), where much attention has been paid to the *Dawāir* or curves with the least number of standing shafts. The indulgence in *Dawāir* provides a balanced form of the total writing resembling a type of calligraphic *dīwāni* generally used in official documents, letters, *farmāns*, etc.

Although it is true that *Ṭughrā* reached its zenith in Bengal-Bihar area during and around the period of Husain Shah, specially as an ornamental style, it is not the only style indulged in during the time. It is *Naskh* which in its peculiar elongation of shafts and the deft use of curved letters accompanying them, at the base and elsewhere that gave rise to the *Ṭughrā* in this part of the country. *Naskh* by its own ornate form of letters was also in use by the artist-calligraphers whose compositional skill some times endowed the entire writing with a rare grace. This *Naskh* style of eastern India is clearly distinguishable from that followed, for example, in the Mughal period, by a deliberate flourish at the curves at the base, while the latter, characterized by a freedom, reveals a boldness in the execution.

In tracing the development of the *Ṭughrā* form of writing, one must discern a downward move in respect of its artistic intricacies. With time, the style has been made more and more free from its decorative complexity. Yet, we may generally say that all *Ṭughrā* writing 'tends to be beautiful and not whimsical and obscure'.

Finally it is to be said that the *Ṭughrā* style of writing as an ornate scribing was not confined to any geographical boundaries in India. For, though Bengal was its home and the place where it was nurtured most, for reasons already stated, it was used beyond its borders, and even as far back as the first quarter of the eleventh century of the Hijri era, we get an example of its use with a rare charm in the inscription on the top slab of Mīrzā Muhammad Āmīn's grave at Golconda[11], where the writing at the left relates to a *Qur'ānic* quotation, Ch. III. v. 16, and still another of the same quotation on the tombstone of Muhammad Quṭb Shāh's grave, also from Golconda—both of which may prove, by the way, the definite purpose for which this ornate style was chosen.

Throughout the Sultanate period at Delhi, and elsewhere, except for a few special type of writing relating to the Holy Text, as mentioned before, in the records of Iltutmish and his successors, in those of the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs, and the Lodhi Afghans, *Naskh* has been the usual style for them. Sher Shāh also had *Naskh* used in records of his time. The Khaljīs used the style as exemplified in the inscriptions on the Alā'i Darwāzah at Mehraulī, Delhi, dated 710 H(1310 A. D.). This is basically a vigorous *Naskh* which is in perfect harmony with the structural boldness and majesty on which it is carved. The elegance and the perfect arrangement with which the beautiful letters are formed are deftly matched with a measured thickness in relief. The text going up, according to an interpretation, indicates the relationship of the *Qur'ān* to God in the heaven, and their downward movement in another line suggests their message to the people on the earth. This basic *Naskh* also shows an evident trend towards ornamentation that was responsible perhaps for its leading ultimately to *Ṭughrā*. In Bengal-Bihar area, during this period there has been a style which may be called a combination of the *Naskh* and the *Ṭughrā*. The example is aptly provided by the inscription of Sultan Fīroz Shāh, dated 709 H(1309 A. D.) where the record 'shows great command in drawing vertical lines and curves which, compared with the contemporary writings on the Alā'i Darwāzah at Delhi, discloses the fact that the keynote of the Bengal style from the beginning was delicacy and refinement, while the aim of the Delhi artist under the early Sultans was strength and grandeur'.[12]

According to Islamic tradition there are seven artistic styles of writing known as 'Seven Pen' (هفت قلم). These are mostly adopted by the

monumental writers in India. In the early sixteenth century, during the rule of the Lodis in Delhi, before the ascendancy of the Mughals, we find one of these seven calligraphic styles, namely, Tauqī, used in a Quṭb Shāhī inscription of 919 H(1513 A. D.). Fixed to the southern wall of Hazrat Nizam u'd-Din's tomb at Kodangal, Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh, this record, in the form of a *farmān*, is in Tauqī, which word derivatively means 'signing with the royal signet'.[13]

Another pre-Mughal form of writing, artistic indeed, also needs mentioning. It is *Riqā'ī* (رقاعى) which, in its origin, is a kind of hand-writing used in short letters or notes (رقاع). Put in stone as an inscription, it is generally a mixed style of *Naskh* and *Riqā'ī*. An inscription in such mixed form of *Naskh* and *Riqā'ī*, recording the building of a Khānqāh for Sūfī-s, is dated as early as 618 H (1221 A. D.). It lies in the tomb of the saint Makhdūm Shāh at Sian, Bolpur, Dist. Birbhum, West Bengal.[14] About two hundred years later, in 818 H(1416 A. D.), another beautiful record in basic *Naskh* with *Riqā'ī* flourish is available from Canderī. Of the Malwa Prince Qadr Khān, this states the building of a mosque.

Although the Mughal period is marked by exquisite specimens of calligraphy, specially from the time of Shāhjahān and in the newly introduced script of the period, viz., *Nasta'liq*, there are a few examples of a very crude type of *Naskh* during Shāhjahān's reign, probably marking the gradual neglect which the latter style suffered from this time. The inscription on the Bina Neokī Masjid in Bandī Bāgh, Gwalior, dated 1050 H (1640 A. D.)[15] reveals this deterioration in style.

A very elegant cursive form of writing prevalent in Persia contributed largely to the development of a more popular style *Nasta'līq*. This basic style, known as *Ta'līq*, one of the most beautiful forms of calligraphy, was in use in a number of epigraphic writings in India, one of which over the door-way of the Jāmi' Masjid, Hyderabad City, of the time of Muhammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, is dated 1006 H(1597 A. D.).[16]

Perhaps a well-known artistic style frequently used in Indian Perso-Arabic epigraphy is *Shikasta*. Of this style it may be said that it is the most suitable and widely used script for documentary records on paper in the nature of *farmāns* and *sanads*. However, a very elegant specimen on stone, stated in the record to be a copy of a *farmān*, is available carved over the eastern door-way of Miyan Miskh's tomb in Hyderabad, dated 1089 H (1677 A. D.) and issued by Sultan Abū'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.[17] The writing style is elegant and clear, the text being divided up into lines by straight bands

horizontally. In fact, *Shikasta* is an over-all balanced form of writing that suits hand-written texts, the *Waslī*-s, though quite a few exquisite examples in carved stone are available. Drawings of human faces, of birds, lions etc., are done in *Shikasta* by skilful manipulation of the lines of letters. One very interesting instance among *Waslī*-s is a piece of writing that, in slanting lines, shows as though words are ripples in a sheet of water, probably indicating the instability of human existence.

So far as a commendable blend of art and clarity is concerned, nothing can perhaps compare with the style of writing that was developed in Persia and later introduced in India along with the Persian language which came with the advent of the Mughals. This was *Nasta'līq*, though originally based on *Naskh* and *Ta'līq*, as aforesaid, and was a newly created facile form of scribing that is primarily cursive. Although according to Abū'l Fazl, *Nasta'līq* reached its zenith of perfection during the time of Akbar, the beauty and mobility of the style is maintained through a few generations more. According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, *Nasta'līq* received a great impetus from Akbar, though he was also much regardful for the art of calligraphy in general and largely interested in the development of different other systems of writing. However, it was not only in the time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān but also during the rule of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors that we have inscriptional calligraphy in *Nasta'līq* of a high order as also names of the eminent scribes who executed them. An elegant specimen of *Nasta'līq* of the time of Shāhjahān comes from a record now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, noting the building of a mosque by Sarāndāz Khān, the record being dated 1045 H(1635 A. D.). Of this reign, another piece of writing in *Nasta'līq*, perhaps the best in that style, deserving to be called classical, is set on the house of Sazāwār ul-Mulk in Udgir, Bidar.[18] It bears the dates 1046 and 1047 Hijri (1637 and 1638 A. D.), and is bordered with a band of floral patterns and the field strewn over with floral decorations in between words. Yet another record, dated 1052 H(1642 A. D.), originally on the *Khaṣṣ-Mahal* and now preserved in the Museum of Archaeology, Delhi, provides a continuity in the art of *Nasta'līq* writing in the Mughal period.

Of the reign of Aurangzeb a well-attempted writing in *Nasta'līq* on wood, in four lines of a Persian verse, dated 1079 H(1668 A. D.), designed by a famous calligraphist Isma'il from Shīrāz, is in the Hīra Masjid, Golconda Fort. Falling within the reign of Aurangzeb, is still another beautiful *Nasta'līq* by Muhammad Sādiq, son of Alī, the calligrapher, on the tomb of Neknām Khān, Golconda, which is dated 1083 H(1673 A. D.). This bears witness to the continuation of this artistic style in a Provincial Sultanate, the Quṭb Shāhīs.

A portion from the *Qur'ānic* Text, Chapter IX. v. 18, engraved in *Ṭughrā*, bearing a date earlier, 1077-8 H(1667 A. D.), in the Hīra Masjid,[19] referred to before, by Taqī ud-Dīn Muhammad bin Sālih, from Bahrāin, considered along with the artist of the *Nasta'līq*, already noted, proves verily that calligraphers from abroad, especially Persia and the Persian Gulf area, were readily available in the Deccan, particularly in the Quṭb Shāhī Court. Of the numerous *Nasta'līq* records of the time of Aurangzeb, a few very elegant ones may be mentioned. One from a mosque in the suburb of the Bidar city, dated 1082 H(1671 A. D.),[20] another inscribed on the wall of a well in Baḍā Bāgh, Bhonrasa, Gwalior, dated 1102 H(1691 A. D.)[21]—both during the reign of Aurangzeb reveal artistic *Nasta'līq* of an elegant type. That the style was continued in the following reigns is proved by one dated 1130 H(1718 A. D.) on a mosque in Giñgee, in the time of Farrukhsiyar, the Mughal Emperor,[22] while Muhammad Shāh can claim another with the same level of perfection, in the Sa'dullah Khān's mosque at the same place, dated 1135 H(1723 A. D.).[23] With examples of inscriptions in this refined and pleasing style, *Nasta'līq*, it appears, was patronized down to the time of Shāh Alam II.

Like *Nasta'līq*, *Thulth* was another pleasing style used for Persian texts of inscriptions. An early example executed in very elegant *Thulth* characters comes from Bengal during the time of Sultan Sikandar Shāh. Dated 765 H(1363 A. D.), the record from Maulana Aṭā Shāh's shrine, Dinajpur, North Bengal, exhibits very fine *Thulth*[24] on the easily pliable black basalt of Bengal. Less than a hundred years later, in the tomb of Ahmad Shāh Wālī, at Bidar, we have *Qur'ānic* texts painted in *Thulth* along with writings in *Kūfic* and *Naskh*.[25] During the rule of the Bahmanīs also *Thulth* was the style used by a calligrapher from abroad. The artist was Mughīth al-Qārī ash-Shīrāzī, that is, hailing from Shīrāz and well-versed in reciting the *Qur'ān*, the text being executed on the shrine of Hazrat Khalīlullah, near Ashtur, Bidar. A beautiful example of *Thulth* with *Ṭughrā*[26] is noticed on the western gate-way of Miyan Mishk's tomb, Hyderabad, which is dated 1085 H(1674 A. D.), the scribe being the well-known calligrapher, Husain bin Taqī. In elegant *Thulth* we find a Quṭb Shāhī inscription in Persian from Patancheru, Medak, Hyderabad, dated 984 H(1576 A. D.), recording the building of a lofty vault by one Abdul-Qādir.

The art of calligraphy flourished under the Adil Shāhī-s of Bijapur with writings in *Thulth* of a good standard. A few good examples include a record on the New Village Mosque at Mudgal, dated 991 H(1583 A. D.),[27] another in an inscription over the gate towards the west at the shrine of Shāh Chānda Husainī at Gogi, Gulbargā, dated 1007 H(1598 A. D.).

An inscription from a mosque at Gornalli, three miles off Bidar, during the time of Amir Barid Shah, and dated 1019 H (1610 A. D.) shows this style in its elegant fashion. For a *Qur'ānic* quotation, *Thulth* is used in an inscription over the arch of an entrance to the mosque at Golconda Fort.

From the South, from Cuddapah, Tamilnad, dated 1135 H(1723 A. D.), we have a record in this style, *Thulth*, that reveals an admirable ornamental character.[28] Contrary to the general practice, the language used is both Arabic and Persian, the former being cofined to a religious text. From the same place in Tamilnad, an inscription on the tomb of Ahmad Shāh, about twenty-five years later, shows the continuance of the same style; the ornamentation done here is carried to such an extent that the intricate variety of the writing almost baffles decipherment.

In elaborating on the decorative devices in Perso-Arabic inscriptions in medieval India, one may draw attention to a few selected examples which reveal high artistic expression through foliage decoration, generally forming the background of the carved texts. The depiction of life as an element of decoration being against fundamentalist Islam, the artistic expression took the form of laid out vegetation in flowers and foliage on which the writings appear superimposed. A usually noted instance in this regard is the inscription dated 640 H(1242 A. D.) from Bari Dargāh, Bihar,[29] though no less beautiful and of pleasing effect is the foliage decoration in a record on an old palace in Bidar Fort, bearing the date 1027 H(1618 A. D.) and mentioning repairs made by Malik Amarjān to buildings comprising mosques, forts, palaces and halls.[30] A loose slab lying in the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad reveals another instance[31] of a highly picturesque decoration of foliage on arabesque against which appears laid out a metrical composition in Ramal in *Nasta'līq*, where the chronogram yields the date 1043 H(1633 A. D.), and where the letters appear to move about in a fragrant garden. The workmanship is attributed to the scribe, Luṭfullah al-Husainī, a Tabrīzī.

Interestingly, belonging to Shāhjahān's reign is a fine *Nasta'līq* from Rohtas, Bihar, where the writing bearing the dates 1046 and 1047 H (1636-37 A. D.) has three figures on three letters as decorative elements—one, of a lion, the second, of a duck, and the third, of a bird—testifying to the great artistic acumen of the scribe in miniature portrayals (Plate 6).

One would, lastly, be tempted to cite in this connection two records about forty years later, one dated 1082 H (1671 A. D.) and the other 1083 H (1672 A. D.), both now in the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, the former giving the chronogram for the date of a cistern and the latter that of a mosque (Plate 7).



Here both provide almost unique examples of back-ground decoration in arabesque strewn with flowers as bed for the letters almost in an unsurpassed beauty and softness on which the letters of the *Nasta'līq* writing are laid.

Year of writing: 1993

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[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, ch. LXVIII, 1, 2: نٓ ج وَالْقَلَمِ وَ مَا يَسْطُرُوْنَ ۙ مَا اَنْتَ بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ بِمَجْنُوْنٍ ۚ

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[6] *Qur'ān*, Surah IX, 18,19.

[7] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLII, pt. 1, p. 257.

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[18] *EIM*, 1929-30, p. 23.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 36.

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[21] *Ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 31.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[24] *Ibid.*, 1929-30, pp. 10-1; *JASB*, Vol. xli, 1872, pp. 102-05.

[25] *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 21.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1917-18, pp. 55-6.

[27] *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 17.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 56.

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[30] *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 26.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

* *Courtesy:* Author

INDIAN ART AND THE EAST

34

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ART

THE main element of the population of this area may be described as Malay-Polynesian. Probably a thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era northern races were moving southwards from Tibet and Yunnan and settling in the Irawadi, Menam and Mekong valleys and the Malay Peninsula, where they are afterwards known as Pyus, Mon-Khmers, and Malays. Most likely by 500 B. C. they were also reaching and occupying the islands of the Indonesian archipelago, driving out and replacing the aboriginal Negritos. Previous to their contact with India, these northern races probably possessed a knowledge of the terrace-cultivation of rice, metal-work and carpentry, weaving, ship-building, some forms of musical and dramatic art, and locally differentiated but related languages. Apart from certain dolmens and other so-called Polynesian antiquities, these races have left no monuments; but they are nevertheless of importance as representing the local psychological factor in each of the great national cultures, Indo-Khmer, Indo-Javanese, etc.

Indian contacts may have been made some centuries before the beginning of the Christian era; Suvarṇabhūmi (Sumatra) is mentioned in the *Jātakas*, Epics, and *Mahāvaṁsa* and the sea-route must have been familiar, before the commencement of the general eastward extension of Indian culture. What is probably the oldest positive evidence of this Indian movement eastwards occurs in the remotest area, in the Sanskrit inscription of Vocanh in Annam, datable about 200 A. D. Before the fifth century the greater part of the area, so far as accessible by sea, had been more or less thoroughly Hinduised, and rulers with Indian names ending in the patronymic *varman*, and using an Indian alphabet, were established in Campā, Cambodia, Sumatra, and even Borneo. Traces of Indian culture have been found in the Philippines, and some scholars believe that the Maya culture of Central America has an Indo-Polynesian background.

According to Ptolemy, the principal Indian port of departure for the Land of Gold, *locus unde solvunt in Chrysen*, was Gūdūrū, undoubtedly the modern Koddura at the mouth of the Godāvarī, and thus on the Āndhra coast, and giving access to the west. This agrees well with the fact that it is really the art and culture of the Deccan, rather than those of Southern India, of which the

traces are most apparent in the earlier art of Cambodia, Campā and Java. The early Cām Sanskrit inscription of Vocanh, for example, is in an alphabet closely resembling that of Rudradāman's inscription at Girnār, and facts such as these at one time led to the view that the colonists of the East had sailed from western India, which is not likely to have been the case, nor do the facts require this explanation. In the same way, the Indianesque of Funan is much nearer to the Gupta art of the western caves and of Bādāmī, than to anything further south, and parallels between the architecture of the Dieng plateau and that of the early Cālukyas have been drawn by Dutch scholars. That Indian immigrants in the Malay Archipelago are still called *Orang Kling* is a survival of the name Kaliṅga, by which the inhabitants of Orissa were once known. It cannot be doubted that long before the time of the Pallavas at Kāñcī, the Kaliṅgas and Āndhras of Orissa and Veṅgī had laid the foundations of Indian or Indianized states 'beyond the moving seas'. Ceylon in the same way as the more distant islands, but probably at an earlier date, received its Buddhist culture by sea from northern India; the later development is similar in principle to that of the more distant islands of the Indian archipelago, subject to the condition of much greater proximity to the mainland.

Broadly speaking we can trace in each area, first of all, an Indianesque period, when the local art constitutes to all intents and purposes a province of Indian art, so that the art of Funan in the sixth and seventh century, may indeed be said to complete and fulfil our knowledge of Gupta and Pallava art; then a classical period (800-1200 A. D.), in which a local national formula is evolved and crystallized; and finally a local national phase no longer in direct contact with India and passing into an age of folk art which has generally survived up to the present day.

To apply the name of 'Indian colonial' to the several national schools, after the end of the eighth century, is an injustice to the vigour and originality of the local cultures. There is scarcely any monument of Farther Indian or Indonesian art which, however nearly it may approach an Indian type, could be imagined as existing on Indian soil; equally in architecture, sculpture and in the drama and minor arts, each country develops its own formula, freely modifying, adding to, or rejecting older Indian forms. India, indeed, provided the material of a higher culture, and perhaps a ruling aristocracy, to less developed and less conscious races; but the culture of these races, plastic, musical, dramatic and literary, as it flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and still survives in Java and Bali, may justly be called native. Japan, which owes more than is generally realized to direct Indian influences, is but a more obvious example of the same condition.

Thus the history of Indian and Indonesian art deserves in the general history of art a higher place than can be denoted by the term colonial. It is true that like much of Chinese and Japanese art it can only be understood in the light of Indian studies; but it derives its energy from indigenous sources.

It is only within the last twenty years that Farther Indian and Indonesian art have been seriously studied. Much has already been accomplished by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, the Archaeological Survey of Burma, the Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient, at Hanoi, the Oudheidkundige Dienst in Java, and more recently by the Service archéologique du Siam. But only the broad outlines have been deciphered, and there remain to be investigated innumerable undescribed monuments, and unsolved problems of more than local interest.

CEYLON (SRI LANKA)

The earliest inhabitants of Ceylon are spoken of as Yakkhas (Yakṣas) and Nāgas. Tradition[1] asserts the settlement at an early date of a prince from the Ganges Valley, by name Vijaya, who founded a city at Tambapaṇṇi in the southern part of the island near Hambantoṭa in the fifth century B. C. Vijaya allied himself with a native princess, Kuvenī, and acquired power. About a hundred years later, with the foundation of Anurādhapura, the whole island was brought under one rule. In the reign of Devānam-piya Tissa (247-207 B. C.) Aśoka sent his son Mahinda, and later his daughter Saṅghamittā to Ceylon as apostles of Buddhism; a branch of the Bodhi tree of Gaya was brought to Ceylon and planted at Anurādhapura.[2] A little later the South Indian Tamils made incursions, usurping the throne for several decades. Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi (101-77 B. C.) recovered the sovereignty and reoccupied Anurādhapura; he holds a place in Siṁhalese history analogous to that of Aśoka in Indian. In succeeding centuries and during the whole of the medieval period the Tamils and Siṁhalese were constantly at war, with varying success, only the south of Ceylon and the mountains remaining continuously in Siṁhalese possession. In the fifth century A. D. Fā Hsien visited Ceylon; the *Mahāvaṁsa* chronicle was composed; and the parricide king Kassapa retired to Sīgiriya and made a fortress of that isolated rock. In the latter part of the eighth century Anurādhapura was abandoned to the Tamils, but later restorations were effected on various occasions up to 1290 by the kings of Polonnāruva, to which city the seat of government was now transferred. But before long this city too was taken by the Tamils, and Ceylon became a viceroyalty of the Cola kings of Southern India. Siṁhalese rule was reestablished by degrees. In the twelfth century the greatest of Siṁhalese kings, Parākrama Bāhu I (1164-1197), the Great, recovered

possession of the whole island, invaded Southern India, and maintained relations with the transmaritime kingdoms in Siam and Sumatra. Renewed Tamil invasions again wasted the country, and although in the thirteenth century under Vijaya Bāhu IV, Bhuvaneka Bāhu I, and Parākrama Bāhu III Polonnāruva was again occupied, and in 1361 Ceylon was still in a position to respond to a Siamese request for a Buddhist mission, the capital had to be shifted successively to Dambadeṇiya, Kuruṇegala, Gampola, Koṭṭe, Sītāvaka, and finally in 1592 to Kandy, where the Siṁhalese maintained their independence until 1815. By this time the ancient seats of population in the north, at Anurādhapura and Polonnāruva had long been deserted, and that once most populous and best irrigated part of the island reverted to forest; and Siṁhalese culture and art had acquired a provincial and 'folk' character. The last great Buddhist king, builder and patron of religion and the arts ruled in Kandy from 1747 to 1780, and to him the surviving beauty of the city is largely due.

The remains of earlier architecture in their present aspect, though often of earlier foundation, date mainly from the late Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and early medieval periods. The extant remains of Siṁhalese art thus fall broadly into three groups, a classical period (before the eighth century), a medieval period (ninth to fourteenth century) and a late medieval period (fifteenth century to 1815)[3].

The earliest surviving structures are *stūpas*, or *dāgabas* as they are called in Ceylon. At Tissamahārāma in the Southern Province, near the probable landing place of the first settlers at the mouth of the Kirindi River, there are remains of several which must have been built in the third or second century B. C.; the Mahānāga Dāgaba was repaired in the first and third centuries A. D. and again about 1100, and has not been restored since the thirteenth century. The Yaṭṭhāla Dāgaba dating from the third or second century B. C. was repaired in 1883, and on this occasion many important finds were made, amongst which the inscribed bricks, silver square coins without marks, crystal and amethyst relic caskets, and a very fine carnelian seal, representing a seated king.[4]

Few of the early *dāgabas* at Anurādhapura exist exactly in the form in which they were first constructed, but most of them nevertheless preserve the early Indian hemispherical *stūpa* type. The typical Siṁhalese *dāgaba* consists of a hemispherical dome rising from three low circular courses, which rest directly on the ground on a single square basement approached by four stairways; above the dome is a small square enclosure and a railed pavilion, the Indian *harmikā,* here called *devatā Kotuwa* or 'citadel of the gods', and above thus rises the tee, in all extant examples a pointed ringed spire representing an earlier *chatrāvalī*; the relic chamber was often a relatively large

cell contained in the mass of the dome. The first *dāgaba* to be founded was the Thūpārāma (244 B. C.)[5], which stood on a circular paved basement and was surrounded by a quadruple ring of tall slender pillars, of which the two inner rows bore tenons, and most of which are still standing. The main purpose of these pillars was to support festoons of lamps. This *dāgaba* was preserved and adorned throughout the classical period, the last restorations being made by Parākrama Bāhu II in the thirteenth century.

The third *dāgaba*, the much larger Maha Seya, was likewise erected in the reign of Devānam-piya Tissa *c.* 243 B. C., at Mihintale, about eight miles from Anurādhapura, a place deriving its name from the apostle Mahinda, whose stone couch, affording a magnificent view over wide stretches of forest, then populous and cultivated, can still be seen. It has probably been rebuilt by Parākrama Bāhu I after the Tamil invasion, in the twelfth century.

The famous king Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi built two large *dāgabas* at Anurādhapura. One of these, the Ruanweli, was of very great importance, and we possess a much more complete history of it and of its construction than of any other early building either in Ceylon or India[6]. It is said to have been completed by his successor Sadhā-Tissa (77-59 B. C.); its long history ends with the restorations begun in 1873 and not yet completed. Undoubtedly the original *dāgaba* has been enclosed in a later addition; but the whole is of brick, as are all the Ceylon examples, and the enlargement was probably made before the beginning of the Christian era. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the relic chamber was adorned with paintings (rows of animals and *haṁsas*), and contained a Bodhi tree with a silver stem and leaves of gold, relics of Buddha, jewellery, a gold image of Buddha and a representation (painting) of the *Vessantara Jātaka*. As regards the image, some doubt may be entertained as to the existence of a Buddha figure in the first century B. C., but it is not impossible that images of precious metal were made long before any in stone. The dome is 254 feet in diameter, and this is but one of several Siṁhalese *dāgabas* that are as large as all but the largest of the Egyptian pyramids; the paved platform measures 475 by 473 feet. Facing each of the four cardinal points and attached to the dome there is a kind of frontispiece (*wāhalkaḍa*) consisting of superimposed horizontal stone courses, flanked by pillars, decorated in a style recalling that of the Sāñcī *toraṇa* posts. On the platform of the Ruanweli Dāgaba there were formerly preserved colossal dolomite standing figures, two of Buddhas and one of a king (traditionally known as Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi) or Bodhisattva, in a severe and very grand style (Plates 3, 4), related to that of the Amarāvatī images. The probable date of these images is the latter part of the second century A. D.; together with

the well-known seated Buddha (Plate 5) in the forest near the circular Road, Anurādhapura, these images were until lately the noblest and at the same time historically by far the most important monuments of Siṁhalese sculpture extant; quite recently the misplaced zeal of pious but ignorant and insensitive Buddhists has resulted in their ruthless restoration, and a complete destruction of all their original qualities; it is devoutly to be hoped that the seated Buddha will escape a like fate. Two early heads (Plates 1, 2) and a standing image in the same style are preserved in the Colombo Museum; another standing image at Wāt Binchamopit, Bangkok, Siam.

The description of the Ruanweli Dāgaba applies in a general way to the second great *dāgaba* erected by Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi, the Mirisweṭiya, Maricavaṭṭi, but here the decoration of the *Wāhalkaḍ* with processions of animals—horses, bulls, lions, horned lions, and elephants—is more elaborate; the flanking pillars have lion capitals, and are ornamented with elaborate trees, with *pāduka* below and a *dhamma cakka* above. On the stylistic effect of these two buildings Parker remarks that 'Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi and his brother Sadhā-Tissa may claim the credit of being the first rulers to appreciate the grandeur of the effect of an enormous white dome, far greater than anything of the kind previously erected in Ceylon or India, and admirably adapted to be an expression of stability, and permanence, and inaccessibility, such as the purpose of its construction demanded.'[7]

The Jetavana Vihāra and Dāgaba were built by Mahāsena (277-304 A. D.). The present *dāgaba,* so called, seems to be wrongly identified. Waṭṭha-Gāmaṇi Abhaya (*c.* 100-76 B. C.) had meanwhile built the Abhaya-giri Dāgaba, and this structure has since been confused with the Jetavana. The latter, properly so called is the largest in Ceylon, the diameter of the dome at its base, that is to say above the three basal cylinders called 'bracelets' (and corresponding to the Indian *stūpa* 'drum') being 325 feet, that of the lowest 'bracelet' 367 feet. Beside the *wāhalkaḍ* of the Jetavana stand finely carved pillars with figures of Nāgas and Nāginīs and decorative motifs reminiscent of Sāñcī [8].

The Nikawe Kande Dāgaba, in the North Western Province, has yielded crystal and blue glass beads of very early types, ten relic cases of crystal, and two of green glass.

The Loha Mahāpeya, Loha-pāsāda or 'Brazen Palace', constructed by Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇi, and so called from the gilt bronze dome with which it was once crowned, must have been a magnificent building[9]. It was a monastery, and originally consisted of nine storeys; destroyed by fire in the fourth century A. D.

it was rebuilt with five. All that now remains is the foundation, consisting of 1600 granulite monoliths twelve feet in height covering an area 250 feet square; the superstructure was always of wood. The best idea of the general appearance of such a building may be gained from some of the *rathas* at Māmallapuram, and from Akbar's five-storeyed pavilion, which is in a thoroughly Hindu style, at Fatehpur Sikri.

At what is now the Isurumuniya Vihāra near Anurādhapura there is an outcrop of enormous granulite boulders, divided by a fissure and having before them a partly artificial pool. This site, no doubt in the seventh century, has been treated very much in the manner of the Gaṅgāvataraṇa *tīrtham* at Māmallapuram, though less elaborately. A niche cut in the face of the rock contains a seated figure in relief [10], accompanied by a horse; apparently representing the sage Kapila, it is in pure Pallava style, and one of the finest sculptures in Ceylon; the rock surface below, down to the water level, is carved on each side with beautiful but unfinished groups of elephants amongst lotuses. The effect is to increase the apparent dimensions of the pool, in the same way that the painted scenery at the back of a modern stage apparently extends its actually limited area.

Similar in style are the groups of elephants amongst lotus and fish, carved in low relief on the rock slopes bordering a *pokuna* (tank) near the Tissawewa lake bund, not far from Isurumuniya. More remarkable on account of its extraordinary realism is the elephant carved in the full round from a boulder in the bed of a stream at Kaṭupilana in the North-West Province; when partly covered by water, this could easily be mistaken for a real elephant.[11]

The natural fortress of Sīgiriya ('Lion Rock') was occupied by Kassapa I (479-497 A. D.) during a great part of his reign.[12] On the summit of the rock he constructed a palace, of which the foundations survive, and as a means of access built a remarkable walled gallery, with a facade in the form of an enormous seated lion, which may have given its name to the rock. In the vertical wall of the cliff above the gallery are two sheltered rock pockets, not deep enough to be called caves, but in which are still preserved frescoes of the fifth century, in a style closely related to that of Ajantā, and representing celestial women, with their attendant maids, casting down a rain of flowers; the fact that the figures are all cut off by clouds a little below the waist proves that the persons represented cannot have been regarded as human beings. These paintings combine a great elegance of manner with a penetrating sensuality. The colours used are red, yellow, green and black. The perfect preservation of these paintings is extraordinary, considering that they have been exposed to the open

air for fourteen hundred years. It may be noted that many of the figures wear a *colī*, quite unmistakably indicated.

Another painting, in the Pulligoḍa Galkande, Tamankaḍuwa, near Polonnāruva represents five seated male persons, all nimbate, and may date from the seventh century.[13] Many of the *dāgabas* at Anurādhapura, wherever plastered surfaces are preserved, show traces of decorative colouring.[14] Rock paintings at Hindagala, near Kandy, representing Buddha in the Trayastriṁśa Heavens, have been assigned to the seventh century, but are probably of later date.[15] Those at the Ridī Vihāra do not seem to be very old.

All of the buildings at Polonnāruva (Pulatthipura) must date between 781 and 1290, including the periods of Tamil (Cola) occupation from about 1049 to 1059 and one of a few days in 1198. What survives even to the present day constitutes a veritable museum of medieval styles, but only a few of the most important buildings can be referred to in detail. There is a large series of *dāgabas*, of the usual hemispherical type, amongst which the Rankot Vehera or Ruanweliseya, and the Kiri, and Laṅkātilaka *dāgabas*, all of the 'bubble' type, are the largest. Of the many works ascribed to Parākrama Bāhu I (1164-1197) may be mentioned the Gal Vihāra, consisting of an apsidal cave shrine, containing a seated rock-cut Buddha and traces of ancient painting, and with a seated Buddha over fifteen feet in height to the right of the entrance; and a rock-cut Parinirvāṇa image over forty-six feet in length, with a standing figure of Ānanda, with arms crossed, beside it, nearly twenty-three feet in height.[16] The Thūpārāma (Plate 13) is a rectangular brick temple in Dravidian style[17], but with vaulted arches and narrow triangular windows like those of Bodhagaya and other brick temples in the Ganges valley. The roof is flat, with a low pyramidal tower of successively reduced storeys; the inner walls were plastered and painted, the outer decorated with architectural facades. The whole structure recalls the 'cubic' architecture of Campā.[18] The Northern Temple, formerly but incorrectly designated Demala Mahā-seya, has plaster covered brick relief figures in the niches of the external decoration (Plate 12); when the interior was cleared much of the plastered surface covered with paintings of Jātakas, the *Vessantara* and *Maitribala* amongst others, was found in a fair state of preservation, but as a result of some twenty years' exposure and neglect, these paintings, which formed by far the most extensive remains of their kind anywhere in India or Ceylon, have almost disappeared. Both temples contained large standing Buddha figures of brick.[19]

The Jetavana monastery at the other end of the city consists of a group of buildings, amongst which the Laṅkātilaka, containing a gigantic standing Buddha

of brick, is the largest Buddhist temple in Ceylon. The roof was probably a storeyed structure like that of the Thūpārāma. Remains of frescoes include a *nārī latā* design on the ceiling.[20]

Still another building due to Parākrama Bāhu I is the Potgul Vihāra, the 'delightful circular house' where he was accustomed to sit and listen to the reading of the *Jātakas* by the learned priest who dwelt there.[21] The building consists of a circular cella, originally painted, now roofless, with a small *antarāla*, and a *maṇḍapa* added later by Candravatī, while at each angle of the outer platform are small *dāgabas*.[22]

The colossal rock-cut statue (Plate 11), eleven and a half feet in height, carved in high relief from a granulite boulder to the east of the Topawewa bund, is traditionally regarded as a representation of Parākrama Bāhu himself. One of the finest sculptures in Ceylon, it represents a dignified bearded sage reading from a palm-leaf book; the identification has been doubted, but it does not seem at all impossible that the pious king should have wished to be represented in this fashion.[23]

The Sat Mahal Pāsāda is a solid seven storeyed building, more like a traditional Mt. Meru than any other building in India or Ceylon. Bell has called attention to the Cambodian affinities of this and other buildings, calling this the 'Cambodian quarter of the city'.[24]

To Nissaṅka Malla (1198-1207) is attributed the beautiful Nissaṅka Latā Maṇḍapaya, a railed enclosure containing eight curvilinear lotus pillars which once supported a roof.[25] Credit is given to the same king for the Waṭa-dā-ge (Plate 14), a building quite unique, but for the similar circular shrine at Meḍa-giriya twenty miles distant. Bell calls it the 'most beautiful specimen of Buddhistic stone architecture in Ceylon'. It consists of a circular terrace, 375 feet in circumference, stone faced and paved; upon this a circular pedestal, elaborately ornamented and supporting a low railing of stone slabs divided by octagonal pillars twice their height; a narrow circular passage separating this pillared railing from a high brick wall; and within this a small *dāgaba*, with two circles of pillars round it, and seated Buddhas facing each of the four entrance stairways, which are provided with Nāga *dvārapālas* of the usual Siṁhalese type. Quite possibly this was the shrine erected by Parākrama Bāhu I as a 'round temple of the Tooth-relic', and Nissaṅka Malla merely restored it.[26]

Also ascribed to the twelfth century are the colossal standing Buddha at Seseruwa, N. W. P., 16′2″ in height, that at Āwkana, 46′ in height, and the seated Buddha protected by the Nāga Mucalinda at Kon Wewa, N. C. P.[27]

There is also at Polonnāruva a series of Hindu temples (*devāles*) built in the time of Cola occupation and in Cola style.[28] The Śiva Devāle, no. I, miscalled

the Daladā Māligāwa, is the finest Hindu shrine in Ceylon. The Śiva Devāle no. 2 is of granulite and limestone, and consists of *garbha-gṛha*, *antarāla*, *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *maṇḍapa*, with a four storeyed *vimāna*; the exterior was originally plastered and painted, traces of a lattice pattern in red and white remaining on the facade of the second storey. Originally known as the Vaṇuvaṇmā-devī Īśvaramuḍaiyār, it has inscriptions of Adhirājendra Coladeva, *c.* 1070 and Rājendracola I (1020-1042), and like most of the *devāles* at Polonnāruva, seems to have been desecrated by Parākrama Bāhu II of Dambadeṇiya in the thirteenth century, a fact which affords a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the bronzes, found in the course of excavations. Five other *devāles* are found outside the old city walls, three of these being Vaiṣṇava; with the exception of No. 2, described above, all are of brick, or brick and stone, and have enclosing walls (*prākāra*) of brick.

Another fine temple of the Cola period, known as the Geḍige, is found at Nālandā. This temple which may be dated about 1040, has a barrel roof and *caitya*-window gable, and was of mixed Hindu and Buddhist dedication.[29] Later, probably of sixteenth century date, is the beautiful, but unfinished Bereṇḍi Kovil at Sītāvaka.[30] There is also an elegant early Hindu shrine at Ridī Vihāra, consisting of a stone *maṇḍapam* in front of a cella situated beneath an overhanging rock. Smaller Hindu shrines (*kovils* and *devāles*) are numerous (e.g. Kataragama, Kandy and Ratnapura), and in many cases these are associated with or even form a part of Buddhist temples, as at the beautiful Buddhist temple of Laṅkātilaka, near Gaḍalādeṇiya, a fine building partly of stone, in a Dravidian style with Kandyan roofs.[31]

A fair number of Siṁhalese bronzes, actually in most cases of copper, and ranging in date from about the fifth to the twelfth century A. D. have been recovered and published, mainly by myself.[32] A purely Gupta type is represented by the fine example from Badullā, in the Colombo Museum (Plate 6). Two of the finest small figures known from any site in India or Ceylon are the bronze Avalokiteśvara (Plate 7) and Kuvera (Jambhala) (Plate 8), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the former a spiritual type in style and movement like the rock-cut Śiva of the Kailāsanātha at Ellorā, the latter wonderfully realizing an ideal of material well-being, and very like the Siṁhala-dvīpa Jambhala of a Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century.[33] Both of these may be assigned to the eighth century. Probably of the ninth century, and not quite equal in conception to these, is the Vajrapāṇi of Plate 9; the pedestal shows marked analogies with early Pāla and Javanese forms. There are other good examples of Mahāyāna bronzes from Ceylon in the British Museum. In

this connection it may be pointed out that while Siṁhalese Buddhism has remained predominantly Hīnayāna, there existed a Mahāyāna monastery of the eighth or ninth century at Anurādhapura, known as the Vijayarāma Saṁghārāma, and a scroll has been found, inscribed with a hymn to Tārā.[34] On the other hand, no characteristic example of Tāntric Buddhist art has been found in Ceylon.

A standing Bodhisattva from Anurādhapura, of adequate workmanship, but scarcely a masterpiece, may also be assigned to the close of the classic period.[35] Much finer was the copper figure of a Bodhisattva, heavily gilt, but greatly corroded, purchased for the Boston Museum, but stolen in transit.[36] This figure was clearly related stylistically to the colossal statue known as Parākrama Bāhu I at Polonnāruva above referred to.

The British Museum has possessed since 1830 a very splendid brass or pale bronze image of nearly life size (Plate 10), from somewhere between Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and traditionally identified as a representation of Pattinī Devī.[37] The drapery, below the waist, is very sensitively realized, the material clinging closely to the limbs in Gupta style. It is difficult to date the figure exactly; the angularity of the elbows may perhaps relate it to the Polonnāruva Parākrama Bāhu and the copper figure above referred to; but it compares well in aesthetic value with the Indian Sultanganj Buddha and is far superior to the twelfth century sculptures of the Gal Vihāra, with which the figure of Parākrama Bāhu is supposed to be contemporary.

Another bronze of great beauty is a panel, which once formed part of a door jamb, from Anurādhapura, now in the Colombo Museum; the floral scroll and *palā-peti* band have all the decorative abundance of the Gupta style at its best.[38]

Very different from the bronzes described above are the Hindu bronzes excavated at the Śiva Devāles in Polonnāruva.[39] These include copper images of Śiva in various forms (Naṭarāja, etc.), Pārvatī, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, the Śaiva saints Sundara-mūrti Svāmi, Māṇikka Vāsagar, Tirujñāna Sambandha Svāmi, Appar Svāmi; Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Bāla Kṛṣṇa, Hanumān; and Sūrya. Some of the Śaiva saints, especially the Sundara-mūrti Svāmi and Māṇikka Vāsagar are superior to any South Indian examples, but all the figures are in Dravidian style, and though probably cast in Polonnāruva, must have been made by South Indian *sthapatis*. They are further of interest as being necessarily to be dated before 1300; it is certain that metal images were made at Tanjore in the eleventh century, but no positive evidence exists enabling us to date any of the known Indian examples so far back.

By the eighteenth century, Siṁhalese art had become a provincial, and practically a folk art, and as such is extraordinarily rich and varied. We possess, too, a more detailed account and knowledge of it than is the case with any similar area in India. What survives of it is to be found mainly in the Colombo and Kandy Museums in Ceylon and in the Victoria and Albert Museums, London. It is more adequately represented in the architecture and painted decoration of the countless Buddhist temples and monasteries of Kandy (Maha Nuwara) and the Kandy district.[40] These, as they stand, are mainly due to the patronage of the last great king of Ceylon, Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṁha (1747-1780). The finest temples are the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy, where the tooth-relic is preserved, and the Gaḍalādeṇiya, Laṅkātilaka and Ridī Vihāra temples; the best preserved monastery, the Malwatte Pansala in Kandy. Admirable paintings, in the formal style of the period, are preserved at Degaldoruwa,[41] executed between 1771 and 1786 in part by Devaragampala Silvatenna Unnānse, an 'unordained' Buddhist priest who worked also at the Ridī Vihāra; at the Danagirigala, Laṅkātilaka, Doḍantale and Gaṇegoḍa temples; and at the Kelaṇiya Vihāra[42] near Colombo, though in the latter case affected by European influences. The paintings at the Dambulla Gal Vihāra, and at Aluvihāra, while not ancient in their present state, to a large extent preserve ancient designs.[43] A few illustrated Buddhist manuscripts on paper, of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century date are known. The Kandyan craftsman of the superior class practised several arts, as painting, ivory-and wood-carving, metal work and jewellery; the blacksmiths, potters, ivory-turners, and potters belonging to lower groups. In jewellery, two techniques are of special interest, the one that of decoration of surfaces with rounded grains and wire, the other that of 'gold-embedding' or incrustation, in which a surface is covered with thin rounded stones set in soft gold shaped with a hard tool; the variety and beauty of the beads are remarkable. Probably the finest as well as the largest collection of jewellery and encrusted gold plate and silver ware is that of the Daladā Māligāwa in Kandy, the jewellery for the most part representing personal adornments dedicated by royal benefactors. Purely Kandyan weaving is always in cotton, the decoration being added while the work is in progress in tapestry technique; textiles of finer quality were imported from Southern India. In pattern almost all of the oldest Indian motifs are to be met with. Broadly speaking the Kandyan style is closely related to that of Southern India; many of the higher craftsmen, indeed, are of south Indian extraction, although so completely adapted to their environment that this would never be guessed from their appearance, language or workmanship.

Descendants of the higher craftsmen are still able to carry out difficult tasks with conspicuous ability, and suffer more from lack of patronage than lack of skill. But the taste of 'educated' Siṁhalese has degenerated beyond recovery, and some modern Buddhist constructions are not surpassed for incongruity and ugliness by any buildings in the world.

BURMA[44] (MYANMAR)

At an early period, probably by 500 B. C., the dominant races of Burma were the Pyus, of Central Asian Origin, in the north (Arakan and as far south as Prome), and the Talaings in the south (Thaton, and after 573 A. D. also Pegu). The latter belong to the Mon-Khmer family, which embraces the Khmers in the east, and the Bhīls and Goṇḍs in India proper. Contact with India both by land and sea had been established perhaps already in the Maurya period. In all probability by the first century A. D., Tagaung in the north, Old Prome (Śrīkṣetra and Pisanu Myo or City of Viṣṇu) on the Irawadi, and Thaton on the sea coast possessed Indian colonies or at least were strongly subject to Indian influence. From the fifth century onwards Prome and Thaton were certainly important centres of Buddhist and Hindu culture; Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sculptures, Buddhist *stūpas*, brick buildings and terracottas in or closely related to the Gupta tradition have been found at Tagaung, Prome, Thaton and other places.[45] The Buddhism of Prome, source of the oldest and indeed the only Burmese Sanskrit inscription, was Mahāyāna, that of Thaton, where the inscriptions are in Pali in a South Indian alphabet, Hīnayāna. The Śaka era was in use; a later Burmese era was established in 639. Buddhaghoṣa is said to have visited Thaton about 450 A. D. bringing with him the books of the Pali canon, and from this time onwards Burma has been more exclusively a Buddhist country than was the case in any other part of Further India or Indonesia. Northern Burmese Buddhism on the other hand at an early date acquired a Tāntric character and had close connections with Nepal.

In the eighth century the Talaings of Pegu conquered Prome and a new northern capital was established at Old Pagān. The walled city, of which the southern gateway still survives, dates from 847. The eighth and ninth centuries were marked by Shān-Thai invasions from the north, bringing in a fresh influx of Tibeto-Burman blood, and introducing the Burmese proper who have gradually replaced the old Pyus and absorbed the Talaings.

Only a few of the Pagān temples and *stūpas* date from the tenth century. The Vaiṣṇava Nat Hlaung Gyaung (Plate 15), traditionally dated 931, is the only surviving Hindu building.[46] The Ngakywe Nadaung (Plate 16) is a cylindrical or more accurately bulbous *stūpa*, recalling the Dhāmekh at Sarnath. The

Pawdawmu too has evident Indian affinities; the Pebin Gyaung is of the Siṁhalese type.

The unification of Burma was first accomplished by Anawratā (Aniruddha) of Pagān (1040-1077). Anawratā invaded and conquered Thaton, and brought back with the Talaing king (Manuha) Hīnayāna books and priests to Pagān; he attempted to drive out the Tāntric Arī; he established connections with foreign countries, obtained relics, and initiated a great era of building. Remains of more than 5000 'pagodas' can still be traced in and near Pagān. The following are the names and dates of some of the most important:

- eleventh century— Kyanzittha cave temple (1057-1059); Shwezigon (1059, enlarged 1084-1112), Ānanda (1082-1090), Nanpaya, Seinnyet, the two Petleik pagodas, and the library (Bidagat Taik);

- twelfth century— Sapada, Thatbinnyu (Plate 17) and Shwegugyi pagodas;

- thirteenth century— Mahābodhi, Kondawgyi, Mingalazedi (1274) and Tilominlo pagodas.

With the exception of the Kyanzittha and Nanpaya these are all brick structures, and were decorated with carved stucco. The Nanpaya is of stone. The Nat Hlaung Gyaung and Ānanda pagodas are remarkable for their contemporary sculpture (Plates 21, 22), the Kyanzittha, Kondawgyi and others for their mural paintings, the Shwezigon, Ānanda, Petleik and some others for their glazed terracotta bricks illustrating the *Jātakas*. The Tilominlo is unique in its decoration of green glazed sandstone.

The architectural forms are very varied and reflect a contact with many countries. The bulbous (Plate 16) and cylindrical forms recall Sarnath and the votive *stūpas* of the Pāla period; the Pebin Gyaung and Sapada are of the old Siṁhalese hemispherical type; several others are crowned by a kind of Āryāvarta *śikhara* shrine; the Mingalazedi and Shwesandaw have truncated pyramidal terraced bases with angle towers, and a central stairway on each side, recalling Cambodian terraced *prāngs* and the older Borobudur; the Mahābodhi (Plate 18) with its high straight-edged *śikhara*, is modelled on the older shrine at Bodhagaya; the library is surmounted by a five-fold roof with angle points suggesting the wooden forms of the Mandalay palace, and the prison-palace of King Manuha is in the same style; the decoration of the Seinnyet shows Chinese peculiarities.

In the most distinctively Burmese types (Ānanda, Thatbinnyu, Shwegugyi, Gawdawpalin, etc., and the Hindu temple of 931) one of the lower terraces is independently developed to a great height, giving a cubic aspect to the main part of the building, and chapels and galleries are opened in the solid mass thus made available. An Indian parallel can be cited at Mirpurkhas, Sind, where a brick *stūpa*, which cannot be later than 400 A.D. has a deep square base containing within its wall mass, though only on one side, three small shrines.[47]

The modern Burmese pagodas of the Shwezigon type, like many in Siam, slope almost smoothly upwards from the broad base, thus without a marked distinction of the separate elements, and presenting a very different appearance from the old Indian and Siṁhalese bell and domed types, as well as from the medieval cylindrical forms of Sarnath, Pagān and Hmawza; the later type is more picturesque, but architecturally over-refined, and aspiring, but unsubstantial. Many such pagodas are built over and conceal much older structures.

Materials for the study of Burmese sculpture are rather scanty. The older fragments of the seventh or eighth century reflect Gupta tradition; the typically Gupta bronze Buddha figure (fifth century, now in Boston), said to have been found in Burma, is probably of Indian origin. The Das Avatāra sculptures of the Nat Hlaung Gyaung are still markedly Indian, so too the Nanpaya reliefs, and most of the small bronzes [For a bronze figure of the Buddha of 12th century now in Pagan Museum, see Plate 20.] and stone reliefs of the eleventh century; many of the latter may be importations from Bihar or Bengal. Classical Burmese sculpture is best represented by the eighty-one reliefs of the Ānanda pagoda[48] (Plates 21, 22), which represent scenes from the life of Buddha according to the *Avidura-Nidāna*, with one panel perhaps referable to the *Lalitavistara*; a figure of Kyanzittha, warrior-king and founder of the Ānanda temple, is included in the scenes. These reliefs are remarkable for their clarity, animation and grace. Each is inserted in a niche of its own; thus there are no continuous relief surfaces like those of Borobudur or Aṅkor Wāt. Very much in the same style, but rather nearer to old Indian terracottas and to reliefs like those of the Caṇḍimau pillars[49] are the glazed *Jātaka* bricks of the Petleik, Ānanda, Shwezigon, Mingalazedi and other pagodas; the earliest and best are those of the western Petleik.[50]

Several of the Pagān pagodas contain contemporary frescoes. The *Jātaka* paintings of the Kubezatpaya (11th-12th centuries) and Kubyaukkyi consist of small square panels closely grouped and collectively covering a large area.[51] Separate figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are on a larger scale. Other

frescoes are found in the Nandamannya pagoda (Plate 19). Those of the Payathonzu triple temple at Minnanthu near Pagān illustrate the Tāntric Buddhism of the Burmese Arī sects, a mixture of Buddhism, Hinduism and local elements, often highly erotic.[52] Frescoes in the Kyanzitthu cave temple, datable about 1287, represent unmistakable Mongols.[53] Those of the small brick monastery near the Ānanda temple are quite modern, and show European influence. A pair of carved wooden door panels of the Pagān period is preserved in a temple near the Shwezigon.

The stylistic affinities of the frescoes are with Bengal and Nepal as illustrated in Cambridge Ms. Add. 1643 (Nepalese of 1015 A. D.), Ms. A. 15 Calcutta (Nepalese of 1071 A. D.), Mss. Cambridge Add. 1464 and 1688 (Bengali of the eleventh century)[54]; the Boston manuscript 20. 589, Nepalese of 1136 A. D., and more remotely with Ellorā. The wiry nervous outline is characteristic. The hair line above the brow descends in a central point, the eyebrows and eyelids are doubly curved, the round chin clearly indicated, the whole pose has conscious aesthetic intention. The three-quarter face is often shown, and in this case the further eye is made to project; this peculiarity, in conjunction with the long very pointed nose presents a rather close parallel to the Gujarati (Jaina, etc.) painting of the 12th-16th centuries. Thus from Ellorā, Nepal-Bengal, Gujarat, Polonnāruva, and Pagān we can obtain a fairly clear idea of medieval Indian painting.

Another extensive series of remains is to be found at and around Prome (Yathemyo and Hmawza). Urns with Pyu legends may date from the fourth century. Inscriptions on gold scrolls in Eastern Cālukya characters date from the seventh century or slightly later. Of ancient cylindrical *stūpas* the best preserved is the Bawbawgyi, a hundred and fifty feet in height, and supported by five low receding terraces, dating perhaps from the eighth century. Sculptures representing the Buddha with *caurī*-bearers as attendants are of Kuṣāṇa-Gupta derivation. At Yathemyo there are very extensive remains of walled cities, burial grounds, sculptures and pagodas, mostly perhaps of the eleventh century.

At Tagaung, the earliest seat of Burmese rule, and receiving its Indian culture rather through Assam and Manipur than from the south, nothing has so far been found but terracotta plaques of the Gupta period.

Pegu, Talaing capital from 573 to 781 and again from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, attained the zenith of its development in the latter period. The remains include a number of *stūpas*, of which the Shwemawdaw has grown by successive additions from an original height of 75 feet to one of 288, with a base circumference of 1350. On the west side of the town there is a Parinirvāṇa Buddha image 181 feet in length.

At Thaton in the south, the Shwezaya and Thagyapaya may date from the classical period; the latter contains terracotta panels like the glazed bricks of Pagān, but with Śaiva subjects.

After the twelfth century, when direct Indian influence is no longer strongly felt, the quality of Burmese sculpture rapidly declines; as the art grows more provincial the element of local colour becomes more evident. Some of the postclassical lacquered wooden figures of standing Buddhas are not lacking in nobility and grace, and much of the older architectural woodcarving, or that seen on the decorated sterns of the river boats is altogether delightful. After the eighteenth century taste becomes increasingly rococo. The characteristic seated and reclining alabaster Buddhas which have often been regarded as typical of Burmese art are quite modern, and usually sentimental and inefficiently realistic.

The great expenditure of resources during the Pagān period prepared the way for the northern invader— 'the pagoda ready, the people destroyed'. In 1287 Kublai Khan sacked Pagān; after this followed Shān-Thai incursions. The Shāns then built a capital at Ava and pushed down the Irawadi to Prome. Later history has mainly to do with the struggle between the northern Shān (Burmese) kingdom, and the Talaings of Pegu, who were finally dispersed by Alaungpaya in 1760. Bawdawpaya (1781-1819) planned the Mingun Pagoda, which was to have been the largest in Burma; still over a hundred and forty-three feet in height, this represents only a third of the originally intended dimension. The great bell mentioned below was intended for this shrine.

A series of painted alabaster plaques, illustrating *Jātakas*, in imitation of the old terracottas, was made for the Pathodawgyi, Amarapura, in 1820.

Mandalay was founded only in 1857 and occupied two years later by Mindon Min, the last great patron of Burmese art, to whom we owe the Mandalay palace, as well as innumerable beautifully illuminated Buddhist texts prepared for him and presented to the monasteries as an act of pious devotion. The palace buildings and several groups of monasteries, e.g. the Myadaung Kyaung of Queen Supalayat, and the Sangyaung monasteries at Amarapura, are magnificent examples of richly decorated wooden architecture, and in scale and plan, afford some idea of the magnificence of older Indian palaces in wood of which no trace remains. The main features of the style are the use of immense teak columns, finely lacquered and gilt, the multiple roofs and spires with flamboyant crockets, and the interior decoration with glass mosaic inlay.[55]

Of the minor arts, Burma is famous for its lacquer,[56] which is applied both architecturally and to small objects designed for personal or monastic use; thus wooden columns, boxes of all sizes, and book covers are typically so

decorated. The chief centres of modern work are Nyaung-u near Pagān, Prome, and Laihka. In the case of small objects the framework is made of very finely plaited bamboo or of plaited horse-hair; the interstices are filled, and the whole varnished black. Other colours, red, green, and yellow are then successively applied, engraving of the design and polishing of the surface being necessary after each coat of colour is applied. A good deal of the work is restricted to black and gold, in other and coloured examples the design may be extremely elaborate, including figures of Buddhist divinities and illustrations of *Jātakas*. Three or four months are required for all the stages of manufacture. The lacquered Buddhist texts alluded to above are written in black on a surface richly decorated in red and gold. The basis is palm leaf of the usual form. Here as elsewhere in Indo-China a decline in the quality of the minor arts is apparent only after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Repoussé silver-work, niello and cloisonnée, and gold and silver jewellery have all been made in fine designs and with admirable technical skill; but most of the modern production is designed for European buyers, and is often nothing but an imitation of the 'swami-work' of Madras. The Burmese have always been expert founders, especially of images and bells; and makers of fine gongs. The great bell cast for Bawdawpaya in 1790, the second largest in the world, weighs eighty tons; such works as this are undertaken, of course, with what would now be regarded as totally inadequate apparatus. Burmese shot silks, still made at Amarapura, are deservedly famous. *Ikat* technique is found only in narrow bands of v-shaped elements in lengthwise succession in the skirts woven by the Kācin tribes. Embroidery, too, with the exception of the well-known Burmese appliqué curtains, is mainly the work of hill tribes.

The Burmese theatre (*pwe*) is well developed. Plays are performed at temple fairs, occasions of domestic celebration, dedications and as an honour paid to the dead. The stage is a temporary thatched or mat covered pavilion open at the sides; but the Mandalay palace has a regular dancing hall, where performances took place for the entertainment of the royal family. The favourite themes are drawn from the *Jātakas* (*Zāt*) and from romantic legends. There exists too an elaborate marionette (*zotthe*) theatre, the puppets being worked by strings from above. There appears to exist also a shadow play, in which large cut-leather scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are employed, without any movable parts.[57]

SIAM[58] (THAILAND)

Siam was by no means a unified kingdom before the fourteenth century. The simplest possible statement of Siamese history would be to the effect that at the

beginning of the Christian era the greater part of the Menam valley was in the hands of the Mon-Khmers, whose sway extended from Cambodia to Southern Burma, and that gradually the Sino-Tibetan Lao-Thais, ancestors of the modern Siamese, pressed downwards from the north until they obtained possession of the whole delta, Cambodia, and the greater part of the Malay peninsula.

An early Thai capital was established at Lamphun about 575. A little further south, from the combination of Lao-Thai-Khmer races developed the powerful kingdom of Sukhotai-Sawankalok (twin capitals also called Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya), and here Indian culture, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist, derived from the south through the Khmers, prevailed. This kingdom attained the zenith of its power in the eleventh century.

Meanwhile the southern kingdom of Lopburi (Lapapurī) formed a part of the Cambodian hegemony known to the Chinese as Fu Nan and Kan To Li, and embraced, at any rate nominally, a part of Southern Burma (Thaton-Pegu) and the northern part of the Malay Peninsula as far as Kedah and Ligor (Śithammarat = Śrī Nakon Thamarat = Śrī Dharmarāja Nagara) in Jaiyā. The chief city of this southern kingdom was Dvāravatī, afterwards Sano, later the site of Ayuthiā. Indian influences were here strongly felt; remains of the Gupta and Pallava periods have been found at Rājaburi, Prapathom, Chantaburi, Kedah, Takua-Pa and Ligor. From the sixth to the thirteenth century Lopburi was politically, and culturally a part of Cambodia. It is therefore not at all surprising that just as in Southern Cambodia (Fu Nan) so in Southern Siam we find unmistakable remains of an Indianesque art of Gupta character. Amongst the more important examples of this type may be mentioned the Viṣṇu from Vieṅ Sraḥ, and a Lokeśvara from Jaiyā, both in the National Library, Bangkok; a pre-Khmer Buddha of the Romlok kind in the Museum at Ayuthiā; Buddhas from Dvāravatī in the Museum at Lopburi; a bronze ajourée pedestal in the manner of the Kāṅgrā brass and a *Dhamma-cakka* at Prapathom (Plate 23).[59]

About 1100 the northern Lao-Thais established another capital at Pitsanulok in what had hitherto been Khmer territory. Sukhotai-Sawankalok maintained a diminished power for several centuries, but its cities were certainly abandoned by the end of the fifteenth. Pitsanulok became the main centre of power, under princes of mixed Thai-Khmer blood. Meanwhile Cambodia and Pegu attempted with varying success to assert or maintain their supremacy. About 1280 a new Khmer capital was founded at Sano.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a new Thai invasion resulted from the Mongol pressure, exerted by Kublai Khan in Southern China. The Thais

soon occupied the whole Menam valley, and in 1296 ravaged Cambodia. They gradually wrested the Peninsular provinces from Śrīvijaya, and about 1400, after a long struggle with Malacca (Malayu), reached the Straits. In the same century a Siamese army reached Aṅkor, and the Cambodians never recovered their independence. The building of Ayuthiā on the site of Sano, taken from the Khmers, is dated 1350 according to the Annals, but most likely a date nearer to 1460 would be more correct. Siam could now at last be regarded as one country, Ayuthiā remaining the capital for four centuries; even Chieṅmai in the north, which had replaced Lamphun as the Lao capital, owed allegiance to Ayuthiā. Wars with Burma met with varying success. About 1600 Siam was the dominant power in Southern Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia, and an active trade developed with India, China and Europe. In 1757, however, the Burmese captured and destroyed Ayuthiā, and the capital was transferred to Bangkok.

Little is known of the beginnings of Indo-Thai art at Lamphun and Sukhotai-Sawankalok. Buried in the jungle and yet unstudied there may well exist some traces of an Indianesque period (Plates 23, 24) dependent like that of the south[60] on Gupta tradition. Before the eleventh century all the northern building is in laterite, contrasting with the brick of the Indo-Khmer south. Bronzes have been found that may have come from Ceylon.[61] Later, and quite definitely by the tenth and eleventh centuries the classical Siamese (Thai) type emerges and asserts itself. In spite of occasional Khmerisms recognizable even at Sukhotai, and the use of the Khmer language in inscriptions up to the end of the thirteenth century the northern Thais remained artistically independent; even in the south we find occasional bronzes of Thai character, and the stucco modelling in Lopburi is by no means so purely Khmer as the stone sculpture. The Thai type evolved in the north is characterized by the curved elevated eyebrows, doubly curved upward sloping eyelids (almond eyes), acquiline and even hooked nose, and delicate sharply moulded lips and a general nervous refinement contrasting strongly with the straight brows and level eyes, large mouth and impassable serenity of the classic Khmer formula. The Buddha heads referable to the classic Thai period, as well as the earliest of those from Pitsanulok, dating from about 1000 A. D. are the supreme achievement of the Thai genius. Almost equally fine examples have been found even at Lopburi (Plate 26 and probably 27).

In the meantime, in the south, at Lopburi (Plate 28) and Prapathom, and in the east (Korat), there developed a stone architecture and sculpture in stone and bronze in a purely Khmer style; so much so that the early medieval art of the 'Siamese provinces' belongs rather to the study of Cambodian than of Siamese archaeology.[62]

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the classic type is already becoming a matter of routine; all the features are defined by outlines, and there is a general attenuation of the form and the modelling is less sensitive. Meanwhile the north, including Chieṅmai, remains superficially nearer to the Gupta tradition; but the curiously heavy rounded forms are not true volumes corresponding to an inner concentration, they are rather inflated than modelled.

Perhaps the most pleasing work of the later period at Sukhotai is the series of *Jātaka* (Pali canon) engravings of Wāt Si Jum (Plate 25),[63] datable with some exactitude in the reign of Sūryavaṁśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja (1357-1388), the script being identical with that of the inscriptions of 1357 and 1361. These engravings are essentially outline drawings on stone, rather than sculpture. The draughtsmanship shows no Siamese peculiarities on the other hand it exhibits a very close affinity with that of the *Jātaka* frescoes of the Northern temple at Polonnāruva in Ceylon, datable in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Intimate relations had long been maintained between Ceylon and Ramañña; and Mahādharmarājādhirāja's long inscription of 1361 states that in that year a very learned Saṁgharāja (Buddhist priest of the highest rank) came by invitation from Ceylon to Sukhotai, that he was received with great honour, and that in connection with his arrival temples were built 'in the mango garden west of Sukhodaya'. So that there exists every possibility that the engravings, which in any case appear to have been executed after the completion of the building in which they are found, may be from the hand of a Siṁhalese artist, perhaps a priest who accompanied the Saṁgharāja.

Much less interesting from an artistic point of view are the large bronze statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu, cast, according to the inscription, in 1354 and 1361 and erected by a later king at Kampeṅ Phet, when Sukhotai was already in ruins.[64] Only their large size, perfect preservation, and the romantic circumstances of their discovery have given to these figures, now in the Museum at Bangkok, a fictitious value. Here too may be mentioned a Buddha figure from Grahi, in Jaiyā, likewise now in Bangkok, of which the pedestal bears a Khmer inscription in which it is stated that it was made by order of a Malayu king, through his Viceroy; this inscription is datable about 1250.[65] The first inscription in Siamese, that of Rāma Khamheṅ, about 1292, records the Siamese advance as far as Sithammarat, or Ligor.

When the Khmers were finally expelled from Lopburi, or at least reduced to impotence, and a new capital at Ayuthiā inaugurated, the later political development of the Thais, Siamese art was already decadent. Only occasional pieces, hardly to be dated after the fifteenth century reflect the former perfection. The general tendency is to a simplification of the formula; where art

and craft were once indivisible, the craft now predominates. This kind of simplification, accompanying the transition from classic to folk art must be clearly distinguished from the abstraction of primitive art, whose tendency is always toward fuller expression. Here, the simplification is the effect of exhaustion, there of concentration; and the resemblance is altogether superficial. In late Ayuthiā art we find not merely the linear definition of the features accentuated, but that the area between the eye and eyebrow is modelled continuously with the side of the nose, and that the elongated fingers become first languid, then unbending, and finally of equal length. On the other hand the decorative emphasis is heightened; the jewellery is over-wrought and the drapery is covered with restless excrescences representing heavy gold embroidery. Thus at the same time that the art declines, it travels further and further from obedience to canonical prescription. Thus a formula is exhausted; there is nothing more to be said, because everything has been said, and only the phrase remains. The only possible 'development' of an art in this stage is in the direction of a sentimental realism (Raphael), or an equally sentimental archaism (Pre-Raphaelites); both of these tendencies already exist in the East. Only a new experience can lead to another creation of living form'.

Siamese painting exists mainly in illuminated manuscripts, also on temple walls, and banners with figures of Buddha and *Jātaka* scenes in late Ayuthiā style.[66] Lacquer painting on wood attained a high state of perfection; it is found chiefly on temple doors and windows, book covers, and book chests.[67]

A Siamese manufacture of porcelain attained importance at two different periods. At Sawankalok, where the art was introduced from China in the eleventh or twelfth century, monochrome crackled wares and 'celadon' were made in considerable quantity and even exported; the fine 'Siamese jars' of the Borneo Dyaks may be instanced. The remains of ancient kilns are extensive; the manufacture persisted for six or seven centuries but declined in quality. A later attempt to imitate Chinese porcelain was less successful.

Nearly all the later porcelain called Siamese was imported from China; the same is true of the fine blue, yellow, and red glazed tiles used for temple, monastery and palace roofs. That is to say, the porcelain was made in China, but in Siamese designs as regards form and decoration. The period covered by these wares ranges from the sixteenth century to about 1868. They consist of coarse white porcelain in shapes designed for practical use, such as rice-bowls, enamelled in five vivid colours, often with a black ground. The quality of the base continuously improved. Before the fall of Ayuthiā the favourite decoration included lotus ('flame') motifs, and very often the whole bowl represented a

lotus flower; figures of praying *devatās* (*tayponam*) and mythical animals such as the man-lion (*nara-simha*) are also characteristic. Afterwards, the figure motifs are replaced by diapers, and bird and flower designs on a gold ground come in; finally the latter are still more general, and at the same time the old figure motifs reappear, but in a thinner enamel. Most of the porcelain now in use is of modern European or Chinese origin.[68]

Weaving and embroidery have been highly developed. Beautiful shot silks are characteristic; *ikat* technique occurs only to a limited extent, and may be essentially Khmer. Cotton prints were especially printed in Masulipatam, and exported to Siam. The principal garment, worn by men and women alike is the *phā-nung*, a form of the Indian *dhoti*, but with both ends twisted together and passed between the legs. Country women still wear above this a breast cloth (*phā-hom*) corresponding to the Javanese *slendang* and old Indian *Kuca-bandha*; but tight and loose bodices are coming into general use. Silver work and jewellery of a very fine quality have been made until about the end of the last century. The former (*tompat*) is decorated in niello in lotus and arabesque forms, and often with the mythical lion (*rachi si*). The art is supposed to have originated in Ligor, and may have come from India, where it was certainly practised at Lucknow in the eighteenth century. Excellent silver filigree is also made. All the silverwork, like the porcelain, appears in forms adapted to practical use. In Siam, as in India, the production of objects whose only use is ornament is a modern development.

Of the jewellery, the finger-rings are perhaps the best examples; some of those not older than the late nineteenth century are comparable with the best classical productions. A common type is enamelled in bright colours and set with cabochon rubies. The enamel resembles that of Jaipur, and here again the technique is probably of Indian origin, though the forms are characteristically Siamese. Good examples of damascening on steel are also met with. A highly developed art peculiar to Siam is the making of fresh artificial flowers by recombining the separate parts of living blossoms.[69]

The regular Siamese theatre is known as *lakhon*, which is the Siamese form of Malay Ligor (Sithammarat), and is held to indicate an indirect Indian origin of the drama. In form the Siamese theatre resembles the Cambodian, or rather, the Cambodian theatre in its modern form is essentially Siamese. The dresses are gorgeous; there is no scenery. The gesture is abstract. *Pas seul* dances of love, triumph, defiance, etc., are characteristic; *morceaux de ballet* represent the array of armies, flight of *apsarases* or wanderings of princesses accompanied by their maids of honour. All parts except those of clowns, are taken by women;

masks are worn only by divinities, demons and monkeys. There exists also an ancient masked play, called *khon*, always representing *Rāmāyaṇa* themes, in which all the parts are taken by men. A special form of the theatre known as Lakhon Nora or Lakhon Chatri is again played entirely by men, and to it attaches a miraculous legend recalling the origins of drama related in the Indian *Bhāratīya Nāṭya-śāstra*. In the puppet-plays, the figures are manipulated from below by means of concealed strings. In the shadow plays, *Nang Talung* (from Patalung, the supposed place of origin) the leather figures are supported from below, and as in Java may be stuck in a banana stem if the scene is long and movement is not required. The themes are mythological, and the performances are sometimes used to *exorcize* evil spirits, and in this case the ritualistic character of the performance is strongly emphasized.[70]

CAMBODIA[71]

The Khmers, Mon-Khmers, or Kāmbujas (=Cambodians) are of Sino-Tibetan origin, and at the beginning of the Christian era had already occupied the Mekong and Menam deltas as well as Southern Burma (Talaings). Most of our information about the early period is derived from Chinese sources. The kingdom or group of kingdoms including Cambodia, Cochin China and Southern Siam is spoken of as Fu Nan. We hear of an Indian Brāhmaṇa, Kaundinya, who probably in the first century A. D. landed in Fu Nan from a merchant vessel, married a princess who had or received the name of Somā, and so became master of the country. The story is again referred to in a Cām inscription of 659 where the princess is called a Nāginī.[72] The name Nāga is applied in India both to certain actual races and to half-human, half-serpentine beings who inhabit the waters, are guardians of treasure, are renowned for their beauty, and are the first inhabitants of the country. These Nāgas were long the object of a cult, which is not yet extinct even in India; in general, however, they have become attached as guardians and worshippers to the higher beings of more developed cults, e.g., to Buddha and Viṣṇu. The Kaundinya-Somā story is probably of Indian origin, where the Pallavas are derived from the union of a Cola king with a Nāginī.

Śrutavarman, under whom Cambodia (Fu Nan) seems to have become for the first time fully organized on the lines of Hindu civilization, ruled about 400 A. D. He was followed by other kings, direct descendants, having the same Pallava patronymic, *-varman*; this was a Lunar dynasty.[73]

The Indianesque, pre-Khmer (Indo-Khmer of some authors) art of Fu Nan in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries differs radically from the classic Khmer of the ninth to twelfth, chiefly in its greater concentration and more definitely Indian

character.[74] Bilingual inscriptions in the South Indian (Pallava) script, revealing a knowledge of the Vedas, Purāṇas and Epics, appear; the Sanskrit is very correct, the lettering magnificent, fully equal to anything of the sort to be found in India proper. Buddhist influences seem to have predominated in the fifth, Brāhmaṇical in the sixth and seventh centuries, but neither exclusively. That wooden architecture was well developed may be taken for granted.

At the old capital Vyādhapur there survive remains of laterite ramparts over a kilometre and a half along each side, and a monolithic column with a bull capital.[75] In other localities in the delta area there are found numerous shrines in brick, one in laterite and a few in stone, of sixth and seventh century date, in a style that may in a general way be spoken of as Gupta. Thus at Hanchei, near Saṁbuor[76] there is an elegant rectangular cell built of slabs of sandstone, the lintel of the porch bearing a four-armed Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin, the roof flat and likewise of slab construction; there is a close resemblance to the little shrine on the roof of the Lāḍ Khān temple at Aihole. The Hanchei cella may well have been the *garbha-gṛha* of a Brāhmaṇical shrine like that of Bhumara, but with a surrounding wooden *maṇḍapam* now lost; it certainly cannot have been, as Groslier suggests, the relic chamber of a *stūpa*. At the same site are found two small shrines with pyramidal towers, one in brick, the other in laterite, both having stone doorways and *makara* lintels, and as decorative motifs, *haṁsas* with extended wings and *caitya*-arches enclosing heads. The tower of the brick temple consists of successive stages repeating the form of the cella, that of the laterite tower by diminishing repetitions of the roll cornice; and inscription of the first half of the seventh century dates the former.

Another and even more elegant rectangular sandstone cell (Plate 29), is found at Préi Kuk, Kompoṅ Thoṁ,[77] but here there is no porch; there are delicately ornamented narrow corner pilasters, between which the wall is perfectly plain; the roll cornice and pedestal are decorated with the usual arches enclosing heads. Here too there is a group of fifty or more brick tower shrines, of which some are polygonal; the walls are decorated with architectural reliefs, the stone doorways with *makara*-lintels. The whole group is even more conspicuously Indian than Hanchei, and affords a substantial addition to our knowledge of late Gupta art.

Somewhat further south are the Bayang tower (Plate 30), of the same type, and the unique granite temple, Aśrām Mahā Rosei.[78] The latter may have been dedicated to Harihara; the cella is square, the roof a blunt pyramidal tower with deep horizontal mouldings, in all three cornices with *caitya*-window ornaments, the lowest and projecting cornice bearing the largest of these; the whole effect is

remarkably like that of the Pallava temple on the hill at Panamalai in Southern India. Other early brick temples, of Gupta character, are found on the summit of Mt. Kulen, together with monolithic elephants carved *in situ* in the round.[79]

The contemporary stone sculptures of deities form a group of great importance, not merely for the history of local stylistic development, but for the general history of art; more than one is at least as fine as anything to be found in India proper at any period. A standing female figure from Phnoṁ Da, with some others, may date from the fourth century.[80] More surely of fifth or early sixth century date are the characteristic standing Buddha figures from Romlok, Ta Kèo;[81] in the simplicity of the form, the *hanché* (*ābhaṅga*) stance, and the complete transparency of the drapery they are very closely related to the rock-cut Buddhas in the precinct of cave XIX at Ajantā, and to some Gupta types from Sarnath. From the same site is a very fine Buddha head, of Indian character with Chinese affinities; not that it shows Chinese influence, but that it may be taken as an indication of the kind of Buddhist art that reached Southern China in the time of the Six Dynasties.[82]

A beautiful and well preserved standing figure of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) from Rach Gia, now in private possession in Saīgon, is probably of sixth or early seventh century date.[83] A superb Lokeśvara (Plate 37), now in the Stoclet collection, Brussels, exhibits the Indianesque school of Fu Nan at its highest level of achievement. To judge from the costume and wig-like ringlets it cannot be a Buddha, as the absence of ornaments might otherwise suggest; the absence of ornaments, as in the case of the Hari-Hara of Prasāt Andèt, must be regarded as a characteristic of the style and not iconographically significant. A close parallel to the treatment of the hair may be found at Kāṇheri, Cave LXVI, in the Tārā of the Avalokiteśvara litany group, on the right, from which it is evident that the projection on the head is not an *uṣṇīṣa*.

The Cambodian figure exhibits a miraculous concentration of energy combined with the subtlest and most voluptuous modelling. Works of this kind are individual creations—not, that is to say, creations of personal genius unrelated to the racial imagination, but creations of a unique moment. It is as though the whole of life had been focussed in one body. In classic Khmer art the situation is different; there the whole of life is represented in all its multiplicity, and in such abundance it is impossible that individual works should possess the same insistent and poignant intensity. The Bayon towers in terms of like concentration would be unthinkable. In other words, the classic art can only be compared in its cumulative effect with individual sculptures of the earlier school

of Fu Nan; and it is in this sense that Aṅkor Wāt, exhibiting a lesser profundity only in detail, should be regarded as an extension rather than as a decadence of Khmer art. Perfection is only possible where, as in the figure under discussion, the coexistence of infinite potentialities is realized; where these potentialities are severally manifested in detail and infinite variety, perfection is present in every part only in so far as each part presupposes every other part. Pre-Khmer sculpture is complete in itself, and needs no architectural background.

An almost equally impressive example of pre-Khmer Brāhmaṇical art is presented in the Hari-Hara of Prasāt Andèt, Kompoṅ Thoṁ (Plate 38) now in the Musée Sarrault at Phnoṁ Peñ.[84] Here the ornament is restricted to the narrow jewelled girdle; but the ears are pierced for the reception of earrings, a feature characteristic of Pallava art of the same period in India (Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram, *c.* 700 A. D.). The cylindrical headdress occurs likewise in India, in works of late Āndhra, Gupta and Pallava date at Amarāvatī, Deogarh, and Māmallapuram. Another figure of Harihara, from Phnoṁ Da, now in the Musée Guimet, is of similar type.[85] Both figures may be dated early in the seventh century; the latter should perhaps be associated with the Aśrām Mahā Rosśi temple above referred to.

After the seventh century the Chinese began to speak of Chenla rather than Fu Nan. The history of the seventh and eighth centuries is obscure. This much is clear, that it was a period of unrest and of continual warfare, and here lies the explanation of the absence of monuments and rarity of inscriptions. The name Khmer (Kihmieh, Kmir, Qimara respectively in Chinese, Javanese and Arabic) likewise appears. At the same time Fu Nan or Chenla was apparently subject in some degree to Java (Śrīvijaya).

The best explanation of these facts, and of the artistic revolution revealed in the ninth century, is to be found in the view that Chenla was originally a northern kingdom centring in or near the Dangrek range, and that here lived the Kāmbujas, 'born of Kambu', the legendary founder (with the nymph Merā) of the Cambodian Solar dynasty; the wars of the eighth century resulting in the establishment of a Khmer autonomy, the original Chenla becoming Chenla of the Land, and the former Fu Nan becoming Chenla of the Sea.[86]

Purely Indian art in Cambodia disappears just at the time when permanent building materials, which are quite exceptional before the classic period, are first found. Classic Khmer art is on the other hand, a unified style and fully developed when it appears for the first time in the sandstone buildings of the Praḥ Khān and Bantéai Chhmar; and it preserves its essential character, though with internal development, for at least three centuries. Classic Khmer

architecture seems to be derived mainly from northern indigenous wooden types; there is no direct continuity with the older Indianesque of the south, described above, but only a general parallel with the evolution of the Indian *śikhara* by the reduplication of similar elements. We must not forget too that other than Indian sources of culture, the Chinese above all, were always available to Cambodia as to Campā: the appearance of glazed tiles, and of imitations of tiles in stone construction are a case in point. Classic Khmer rejects the characteristic Pallava motifs—the *makara toraṇa* lintel, the *caitya*-window, and the use of *haṁsas* with extended wings as abacus supports; its round and square columns are un-Indian; and new and quite un-Indian elements such as the towers with human faces, Garuḍa caryatids and Nāga balustrades are introduced.[87] In sculpture, too, a national formula is evolved (Plates 40, 42, 43); this type is characterized by the straight line of the hair, the level brows, the scarcely sloping eyes, full and wide lips and impassable serenity, often, especially in the case of the beautiful faces of the *apsarases*, by an exotic smile and a peculiar sweetness. This type, again, has practically nothing in common with the older Indianesque sculpture of the south above referred to; it persists throughout the classical period, only gradually acquiring a mechanical facility of execution and only after the thirteenth century modified by Siamese contacts (Plate 41). All that has been said applies of course equally to the classic art of Cambodia as now delimited and to the old Cambodian provinces of Southern Siam.

Mythology and cult on the other hand remained Indian in all essentials, though not without special local developments. Śaivism at first predominates, later on with an increasing mixture of Tāntric Mahāyāna Buddhism; but specific dedications are to be found in all reigns, and almost all the deities of the Hindu and Mahāyāna pantheons are represented. Two cults must be specially referred to. The first, the deification of royal ancestors; identified after death with the deity of their allegiance, under corresponding posthumous names, their images, in the outward form of these same deities, were set up by their descendants in memorial temples. The same custom existed in Java, cf. the portrait of King Erlaṅga as Viṣṇu. In India, royal images were indeed often set up in temples, but so far as we know always in human form; that temples were sometimes specially erected for this purpose is indicated in Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭika* where the scene is laid in a temple of royal images in Ayodhya. In Cambodia it is mainly in connection with temples of this ancestor cult that the old type of brick tower survives in the classical period, e.g. the Ruluos group near Aṅkor. Still more abstract is the other cult, that of the Devarāja or King-god, founded by

Jayavarman II at Mahendraparvata, and served by the great Brāhmaṇa Śivakaivalya, the king's chaplain, and his descendants for many generations. The King-god, always represented by a *liṅgam*, did not appertain to any particular king, but embodied the divine fiery essence incarnate in every king and essential to the welfare of the kingdom. The famous inscription of Sdok Kak Thoṁ (1042) states that the Devarāja was first set up and the cult initiated by Jayavarman expressly to the end that Cambodian independence of Java (Śrīvijaya) should be secured.

We must now discuss in greater detail the more important monuments of the classic period (802 to the end of the twelfth century). Jayavarman II (802-869) who, according to the last mentioned inscription came from 'Java' and at first ruled at Indrapura, perhaps a preexisting capital near Phnoṁ Peñ, appears to have founded three other capitals, Amarendrapura, Hariharālaya, and Mahendraparvata. These have been identified with Bantéai Chhmar in the Battambang district, the temple and city of Praḥ Khān near Aṅkor Thoṁ, and Beng Méaléa at the foot of Mt. Kulen; but some scholars regard the two last as of later date. Bantéai Chhmar is a great temple and fortress city in the north-west, in the Khmer hills. Here the Khmers for the first time, and with extraordinary boldness, considering their lack of experience, undertook to create a permanent fortress city and temple in stone. That they did this without regard to the foreign style of the south involved the copying of the preexisting national wooden architecture in the new material; and in fact, these imitations of wooden forms and tiled roofs, reproduced in Stone, are characteristic of the classic style from first to last. The main features of the Khmer city and temple are already fully evolved—the moats crossed by causeways with Devas and Asuras supporting Nāga parapets, triple gateways, Garuḍa caryatids, vaulted and half-vaulted roofs, high towers, ogee tympanum framed by Nāgas, and long galleries covered with bas-reliefs.[88] Hariharālaya repeats the Bantéai Chhmar formula on a smaller scale. The city lies in the fertile plains; it was surrounded by a moat, 40 metres wide, crossed by superb causeways with parapets of giants supporting many-headed Nāgas. Next came the city wall of laterite, measuring 850 by 750 metres, in which were four triple gates crowned by towers with human masks representing Śiva or possibly Lokeśvara; the giant Garuḍa caryatids are a striking feature of this wall. An inner enclosure surrounded the temple proper, now a ruin, overgrown with rank vegetation, a complicated and almost indecipherable maze of buildings, minor chapels, and galleries, of which the four largest lead to the central sanctuary, a high sandstone tower. It cannot now be determined whether or not the sanctuary towers had masks. East of the

city and forming part of the whole plan lay an artificial lake, 3000 by 1000 metres in area, now dry, in the centre of which is the beautiful shrine called Néak Péan, laid out on a square, partly artificial island. On this island, at the corners, are four basins, and within these, four others surrounding a central pool, in the centre of which is the actual shrine, facing east, circular in plan and girt by many-headed Nāgas. Some scholars find in this shrine and in the similar shrines of the great lakes at Bantéai Chhmar and Beng Méaléa, temples dedicated to the Nāginī Somā, the legendary ancestress; more recently Goloubew has plausibly suggested that these were shrines of Lokeśvara, the Buddhist divinity of healing powers, whose cult, in Cambodia, may have been combined with that of the *liṅgam*. Magnificently conceived, the Praḥ Khān must have been a royal residence of the first importance, and the centre of a large population. It is surrounded by fertile lands. Its eastern wall lies very close to the outer boundary of the future capital, Aṅkor Thoṁ; and here, at the close of his long reign the first of the great Khmer builders returned to spend his last days.

Aymonier identifies Beng Méaléa with Mahendraparvata. On the other hand, Goloubew, mainly because of the high sense of order in the planning and the fineness of the workmanship, and also Parmentier, regard the city as contemporary with Aṅkor Wāt or even later. Goloubew (3) is inclined to recognize the remains of Jayavarman's capital rather in some of the ruined temples on the summit of Mt. Kulen, and in fact, as he suggests, the great laterite stairway on the western ascent is evidence of the importance of the site. The question is still unresolved.

Indravarman I (877-889), who married the famous Indradevī, claimed descent from an Indian Brāhmaṇa named Agastya, suggestive of South Indian origins. Indravarman must be credited with the planning and initial construction of Aṅkor Thoṁ; and with the building of the Baku temple, a shrine of six brick towers dedicated to his grandparents, and also of the important Śaiva foundation of Bakong, which together with the later Lolei towers constitute what is now called the Ruluos group, from the village of that name. The Bakong is a construction of the *prāng* type with a pyramidal base in five receding stages, doubtless originally crowned by a *liṅgam* shrine. Forty lions adorn the four median stairways, and huge stone elephants stand at the corner of the terraces. Around this structure and below it are eight brick towers (Plate 31); the whole is enclosed by a wall and moat, with bridges guarded by many-headed Nāgas on two sides. A whole treatise[89] has been devoted to the 'Art of Indravarman', regarded as a distinct and well-defined style: Parmentier emphasizes the stylistic

succession and development in classic Cambodian art, while Groslier maintains its essential unity.

The building of Aṅkor Thoṁ and its central temple the Bayon belongs to the last quarter of the ninth century, Yaśovarman removing from the Praḥ Khān and taking up his official residence in the new capital about 900. The city is walled and moated, measuring over three thousand metres along each side of its square plan. The moat is 100 metres in width, and crossed by five bridges with parapets of Devas and Asuras, fifty-four on each side of each bridge, supporting the bodies of many-headed Nāgas. The five bridges lead to as many triple gateways, surmounted by towers over twenty metres in height, with human masks, and flanked by three-headed elephants. The high wall encircling the city is of laterite, interrupted only by the five gates. From the four symmetrically placed gates straight paved streets lead to the Bayon, whose central tower is precisely the centre of the city. The fifth street, parallel to one of the four, leads directly to the main square in front of the palace. This palace, with the royal temple, Phiméanakas, must have been the main feature of the city, after the Bayon.

The palace occupied a relatively restricted area behind the great terrace; it was protected on three sides by a double wall and moat, and on the fourth, the eastern side, next the terrace, by an elegant gateway of later date. The plan of the palace, which must have been of wood, is irrecoverable,[90] but the Phiméanakas[91] (Plate 36), a Vaiṣṇava foundation occupying the court between the palace and the terrace, is still in a fair state of preservation. As it now stands it consists of a three storeyed pyramid with central stairways on each side, and a fenestrated stone gallery above; here it was that the king slept each night with the legendary foundress of the race. The terrace itself, three or four metres in height, stretched before the palace for some three hundred and fifty metres, and was provided with five projecting stairways leading to the street level; along its edge ran a Nāga parapet. The long panels between the projecting stairways were treated as a continuous frieze representing lions, Garuḍas, elephants, horses, warriors mounted and on foot, hunting scenes, games and combats, and this long series of reliefs still presents a magnificent spectacle. A belvedere at the north end of the terrace projects beyond it and rises higher; the retaining wall is richly decorated with superimposed rows of high relief sculpture representing kings, queens and *apsarases*. This was perhaps a place of honour reserved for the King's own person on state occasions, such as the review of armies or public festivals. On this belvedere is still to be found a nude male statue, traditionally known as the Leper King, who may have been Yaśovarman himself.

North east of the belvedere on the other side of the square are the remains of the Praḥ Pithu, an elegant and richly sculptured temple or monastery, perhaps of later date.

South of the palace, but further east, and as has already been remarked, in the exact centre of the city, is the Bayon temple (Plates 32, 35) originally approached by the eastern street, but now generally from the south. Within the main eastern entrance we find a paved platform with Nāga parapets; inner gateways led on to the first galleries, about a hundred and sixty metres long on two sides and a hundred and forty on the two other sides. These galleries had a vaulted roof, with a half-vaulted roof in addition on the outer side, supported by square pillars, an arrangement quite un-Indian but highly characteristic of classic Khmer design. Within, on the second level, is another series of galleries. The inner walls of both series are richly decorated with low-relief representations of divinities, epic legends. Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, kings, princesses, palaces, processions of soldiers and elephants, horses, chariots, naval combats, fisheries, markets and other scenes of daily life (including the transport of heavy stones), and animals and trees; as though the royal founders of Aṅkor had desired to perpetuate for ever a picture of their glory.[92] These reliefs are naively executed, rather drawn than modelled, and lack the technical assurance of the Aṅkor Wāt series, though their vitality and interest are abundant. Not only the galleries, but the whole surface of the great structure is decorated; apart from the galleries, mainly with foliage and with standing or dancing *apsarases*. A bronze *apsaras* (Plate 66) dancing on a lotus flower, now in Boston, is almost certainly of Bayon origin.

The lateral porches of the great gallery entrances lead to the interior of the temple by narrow openings, only wide enough for the passage of men in single file. These narrow doors lead to a third system of smaller inner galleries surrounding the enormous base of the central tower. All the great gallery gateways and gallery transepts of the second stage are surmounted by towers with four human masks. The central tower rises from a terrace which forms the upper part of the base just mentioned, and on this terrace are other towers, all with masks; it is possible that a fifth head once crowned the central tower. In the lower part of the tower are a dozen small cells or chapels opening on the terrace, and beneath the tower itself a central chamber which probably held the Devarāja *liṅgam*, the smaller chapels holding the 'portrait' statues of deified kings and queens. As regards the towers (Plates 32, 39), it is most probable that they represent four-faced *mukha-liṅgams*, emblems of Śiva . It is just possible, however, that Lokeśvara, whose cult is closely associated with that of the *liṅgam*, may have been intended.

The Bayon enshrined many other images, beside the Devarāja *liṅgam*. Thirty-four are mentioned in inscriptions, and these fall into four classes as follows: (1) Hindu deities (Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī in various forms), (2) Buddhas (including Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaidūrya Prabhārāja, the Buddha of healing, whose cult was much favoured in the time of Jayavarman VI) having the character of (3) patron deities of particular places, especially the chief cities of Cambodia, and (4) the majority, representing deified human beings in two forms, one that of a 'portrait', the other, that of the deity from whom their posthumous name derived. The Bayon was thus a veritable gallery of historical portraits and a national pantheon.

So far as we can tell, all the great buildings of the Aṅkor Thoṁ construction period were Brāhmaṇical; the Buddhist foundations within the city are all on a much smaller scale. But the two cults were closely assimilated, and no doubt every great temple contained chapels where the image of Buddha was enshrined and worshipped, just as the modern Buddhist *vihāras* of Ceylon all contain Brāhmaṇical images.

A little to the south of Aṅkor Thoṁ lies the three-storeyed pyramid known as Phnoṁ Bakeṅ, a typical *prāng*, with its pyramidal base consisting of three diminishing stages, with a stairway in the middle of each, and angle-towers at the corners. The shrine can no longer be made out, but a *liṅgam* has been found with an inscription speaking of 'Yaśodheśvara' showing perhaps that this was Yaśovarman's funeral shrine. The two large temples of Bantéai Kedéi [For a dancing bronze figure of Hevajra from Bantéai Kedéi, see Plate 65.] and Ta Prohm, east of Aṅkor, belong to the same period. Further away, at Ruluos, not far from Indravarman's two foundations, Yaśovarman erected the Lolei temple, consisting of four brick towers with stone doorways; the inscriptions show that these towers were dedicated to Śiva and Pārvatī by Yaśovarman 'for the well-being of his parents and grand-parents', whose images, indistinguishable from those of the deities, doubtless once occupied the shrines.[93]

By this time the old South Indian script had been considerably modified. Yaśovarman made use of one nearly identical with the Śrīvijayan script of Kalasan. The reign affords many magnificent examples of bilingual stelae.

A new capital, Liṅgapura, was built by Jayavarman V and occupied by himself and by his son Harṣavarman II, whose combined reigns extended from 928 to 944. The construction is referred to in an inscription of 948. The site is now known as Koh Ker (Komponṅ Sway), and lies far from Aṅkor, beyond Mt. Kulen, in the midst of wild and inhospitable forests. The principal temple lies to the west of a group of *liṅgam*s, which are monoliths hewn from masses of rock

lying *in situ* along a line running twenty degrees south of east, and this alignment seems to have determined the unusual orientation of the town and all its buildings. The temple is moated, as usual with bridges guarded by Nāga balustrades. The park within contains a dozen brick shrines, and beyond this is another enclosed park within which is a pyramidal structure of the *prāng* type, faced with sandstone.

Rajendravarman (944-968) returned with the Devarāja to Aṅkor Thoṁ, and restored and beautified the city. Though himself a Śaiva, numerous Buddhist foundations were dedicated in his reign. Two important Brāhmaṇical constructions of the reign are those of Pré Rup, and the 'Mebun' or island-temple in the middle of the great lake excavated by Yaśovarman fifty years earlier. The latter consisted of five brick towers dedicated to Brahmā, Śiva, Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, and a Śiva-liṅgam. This was perhaps the latest survival of the old brick tower type.

Jayavarman VI constructed the Baphuon, a temple of the *prāng* type, of enormous bulk, situated north-west of the Bayon and south of the palace. The present remains consist of the usual pyramid of three receding terraces (the two upper with *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs) with steep median stairways, and above this a fenestrated stone gallery. The temple was approached from a triple gateway on the line of the great terrace, by a causeway two hundred metres in length, guarded by Nāga balustrades, and resting on circular pillars where it crosses the temple moat. It is no doubt this temple, which probably carried a tall *śikhara* shrine, that Chou Ta Kuan in the twelfth century refers to when he says 'about one li north of the Tower of Gold (Bayon) is a copper tower still higher, and its appearance is indeed impressive.'[94] The shrine was called, in fact, the 'Horn of Gold'. Pyramidal shrines of this kind generally represented such mythical mountains as Mt. Meru, the habitation of gods; the older Phnoṁ Bakeṅ had been called the 'Resting Place of Indra'. The name of the architect of the 'Horn of Gold' and of the Jayendragiri palace has been preserved; he was a certain Vap Śivabrahma (presumably he would have been called a *śilpin* and *sthapati*), and he earned by his labour the price of seven slaves.

In this reign the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical rites were assimilated so that the priests of the Devarāja could officiate in both rituals. All that we know of the next reign is that the king in the year 1001 dedicated to Viṣṇu a golden statue 'which was his own future effigy', which proves that the deified portrait figures were not always posthumous.

Sūryavarman I (1002-1050) seems to have been especially devout, to judge by the long list of the foundations by himself and his ministers. Buddhist

and Hindu deities were equally favoured, but the king's posthumous name Nirvāṇapada indicates that he died a Buddhist. One of the largest temples of the reign is the Ta Kèo (not to be confused with the province of the same name) lying east of Aṅkor and north of Ta Prohm; a rather severe pyramidal structure of the usual type, faced with sandstone and surmounted by stone towers, dedicated by the king's Guru, Paṇḍit Yogeśvara, to Śiva Kapāleśvara, it originally held images of Śiva and Durgā.

Thirty leagues east of Aṅkor, Sūryavarman constructed a temple and residence of some importance, known as Praḥ Khān (Kompoṅ Sway), not to be confused with Jayavarman's Hariharālaya of the ninth century. In the principal temple, which was provided with the usual moats, causeways, gateways, terraces and cells, Buddhist and Śaiva deities were associated, the inscriptions honouring both in their ascetic aspect. It will be recalled that even in India (Elephanta) the figure of Śiva as Mahāyogī is practically indistinguishable from that of a Buddha.

Praḥ Vihéar, built on a spur of the Dangrek mountains, is not only nobly designed and soberly but exquisitely decorated, but its situation is uniquely dramatic. From the north the approach is gradual, and it is quite suddenly that one reaches the edge of a dizzy cliff four or five hundred metres above the low country. The view is magnificent; on either hand extends the escarpment of the Laos hills, and to the south there is an endless undulating tropical forest. The temple is situated at the edge of the cliff, and was dedicated to Śiva Śikhareśvara, the 'Lord of the Peak'.

Phnoṁ Chisor, 'Ancestral Sun', is the name of a hill near the old capital of Aṅkor Baurei. Near the summit is a temple, whose situation, though less remarkable, nevertheless recalls that of Praḥ Vihéar. A laterite stairway leads to the monumental gate of the narrow outer gallery; within is a brick sanctuary with a vaulted roof, which once held the figure of a seated king, perhaps Sūryavarman himself.[95] The temple was built by a courtier, the Brāhmaṇa Śivācārya, between 1015 and 1019.

Sūryavarman's successor is one of those who laid claim to having erected the Horn of Gold, more probably he added to or embellished it. In this reign a victorious general set up a golden *liṅgam* in which to worship the king's 'invisible personality'.

Sūryavarman II (1112—*c.* 1152) is in all likelihood the Paramaviṣṇuloka of Aṅkor Wāt (Plates 33, 34, 44, 45), and to him must be attributed its building, though the work may have been begun in a previous reign. The planning is spacious and generous to a degree; everything is on a huge scale, and all in

proportion. The moat, a hundred and ninety metres in width and eight in depth requires a walk of nearly twenty kilometres to complete its perambulation. It is crossed on the west side by a paved bridge, guarded by Nāga parapets, leading to the central gate of the western enclosing wall, a gate in itself to be regarded as one of the great monuments of Khmer art. To right and left extends a double gallery; the gate has triple openings surmounted by towers, and is decorated both within and without with richly carved porticos and pediments. The porches at the remote ends of the gallery, east and west, large enough to admit both elephants and chariots, balance the whole design of the main western approach.

From within this main entrance a paved causeway, raised above the ground level and protected by a Nāga balustrade, leads between two small and elegant buildings which were probably libraries (*pustakāśrama*), to a cruciform platform immediately in front of the main entrance of the temple proper. This entrance is one of four, situated in the middle of each of the four sides of the great double gallery, vaulted and half-vaulted, which encloses the inner terraces. The inner wall of this gallery, to a height of some three metres and along a length of, in all, about eight hundred metres, is covered with low reliefs illustrating Hindu epic mythology, as follows: On the west side, left, battle scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*; north side, right, battles of Devas and Asuras; left, legend of Garuḍa and Bāṇāsura; east side, right, apparently Viṣṇu's battle with the Dānavas, for the rescue of Nārada; left, the Churning of the Ocean, perhaps the most magnificent composition of all, the Devas and Asuras using Śeṣa Nāga as the churning rope and Mt. Meru as the churning post; south side, right, a double register, representing, above, the delights of Paradise, and below, the pains of Purgatory; left, promenade of queens and princesses, and a royal *darbār* (here the king is named in the accompanying inscription as Paramaviṣṇuloka), followed by the march past of an army (Plate 45), wonderfully realizing Chou Ta Kuan's descriptions;[96] west side, right, *Mahābhārata* scenes. Other themes of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva mythology are represented on the walls of the vestibules at the four corners, where the galleries intersect. In these gallery reliefs are combined a superb vitality and a complete preoccupation with the heroic themes, as correlated and inseparable conditions; technically superior to those of the Bayon, the Aṅkor Wāt reliefs are thus spiritually greater than those of Borobudur, where the craftsman has deliberately devoted a part of his energies to the successful pursuit of tangible graces.

Four entrances lead from these galleries to an inner court on a higher level, and this court, on the western side, encloses a smaller court of richly sculptured galleries (Plate 44) surrounding four shallow reservoirs; passing through this, we

reach the outer wall of the innermost gallery, and again ascending, reach the innermost court, in the centre of which stands the enormous pyramidal basement supporting the five ultimate towers, reached by very steep stone stairways (Plate 33). The platform at the top is occupied by the five towers (*śikhara shrines*) and the rectangular and cruciform galleries connecting them together. The total height of the central tower above ground level is sixty-five metres.

Thus the last and greatest of Khmer temples adheres to the already well-known scheme of moat, outer wall, paved causeways, inner concentric galleries forming a terraced pyramid, and central shrine surmounted by a high tower, with rich decoration of all the wall surfaces. During a period of some three centuries the fundamental elements of the design, like the methods of the workmen, have not changed. Nevertheless, a very distinct evolution has taken place: the towers with masks have altogether disappeared, the whole conception is clarified and ordered, the decoration more brilliant and more sophisticated, without any loss of vitality. Even though the plastic elements of twelfth century architecture are perhaps a little less monumental than those of the ninth, e.g. the great terrace of Aṅkor Thoṁ, and though the sculpture in the round has by this time acquired a rather mechanical perfection, it is still true that on the whole the movement has been a forward one, and the last great monument of Khmer architecture may well be considered the finest.

No inscription has been found that certainly dates or refers to Aṅkor Wāt. We do know, however, that a great temple of Śiva Bhadreśvara was in process of building between 1090 and 1108 and was still receiving dedications in 1146. This may have been Aṅkor Wāt; and it is not unlikely that its architect was the powerful and learned Divākara, Sūryavarman's Guru, and master of the coronation ceremonies for Sūryavarman and two predecessors. In any case the name Aṅkor (= Nagara) Wāt is of much later origin, and the temple can only have been adapted to Buddhist usages in the Siamese period; the Buddhist sculptures now found in the temple are all of post-fifteenth century date.

With Aṅkor Wāt the history of Cambodian art is almost at an end; the very succession of the later twelfth century kings is doubtful. To Jayavarman IX (1182-1201) may be attributed the main sanctuary at Phimai, Korat, now a part of Siam; this is a Buddhist foundation, with towers like those of Aṅkor Wāt. In 1195 the same king carried his conquests as far west as Pegu, and we find the Khmer language still in use at Jaiyā about 1250. The Siamese, however, were growing in strength; Chou Ta Kuan describes Cambodia in 1296 as having been laid waste.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth century however are to be attributed a good number of Buddhist sculptures which show the influence of the Thai formula in

the now more elongated *uṣṇīṣa*, and almond eyes. Some scholars, as we have mentioned, regard Beng Méaléa as of later date than Aṅkor Wāt.

By the fifteenth century, however, Aṅkor Thoṁ was deserted. When another series of inscriptions begins at Aṅkor Wāt, ancient Cambodia is no more, and we are introduced to a comparatively modern world of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the only survivals of the ancient Brāhmaṇism being traceable in the sacerdotal functions of a group of descendants of Brāhmaṇas, still exercised at the court of Phnoṁ Peñ.

On the other hand, the theatre (dramatic dances), music and minor art (textiles, metal work, jewellery) have survived almost in their former perfection up to the present day. The theatre[97] is precariously protected by the patronage of the court at Phnoṁ Peñ, and a local troupe at Siem Réap presents the legends of Prince Préa Samuth and of Prince Chey Cheth for the benefit of visitors to Aṅkor. The remnant of the other arts is protected and fostered at Phnoṁ Peñ by the Direction des Arts Cambodgiens. The silk weaving is mainly of *sampots*, the Cambodian garment corresponding to the Indian dhoti and Siamese *phā-nung*. Of *sampot* weaves, those of shot silk are called *sampot phā-muong*, those with designs produced by the dyeing of the warp threads before weaving, *sampot hol*.[98] The latter are probably the finest of all the textiles that are still actually produced anywhere in India, Farther India and Indonesia.

CAMPĀ[99]

Campā, the land of the Cāms and of Indo-Cām civilization during a period of about a thousand years, corresponds with the modern Annam, the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Before the beginning of the Christian era the country was under Chinese rule as far south as Binh-dinh; Chinese culture again predominated after the fourteenth century, by which time the Annamites, advancing southwards, had made themselves masters of almost the whole country.

The oldest Hindu monument is the Sanskrit inscription of Vocanh, in an early South Indian script recording the name of a king of the Śrī-Māra dynasty and dating from the third or second century A. D. At this time there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindu kingdom known as Kauṭhāra, succeeded a little later by that of Pāṇḍuraṅga at Phanrang. Indo-Cām rulers of Cambodian, and ultimately of Pallava origin, gradually extended their power to the north and established a capital at Tra-kieu (Siṁhapura or Indrapura) with a citadel at Kiu-su and temple cities at Mi-son and Dong-duong. In the tenth century the Tonkinese Annamites began their advance, and the Cāms were slowly but

surely forced to retrace their steps; a new capital was set up at Binh-dinh (Vijaya), guarded by the great fortresses of Chamban and Binh-lam, and under Jaya Harivarman the country enjoyed a brief respite. Forced to retire again, they erected citadels at Thanh Ho and Song Luy. In the thirteenth century they were able to repulse the forces of Kublai Khan, but very soon they were no longer able to build or to utilize fortresses; their few survivors, of whom some have been converted to Islam, live in isolated groups under Annamite domination, and have lost almost all of their ancient culture.

The ancient art of Campā is closely related to that of Cambodia, but almost all the temples are isolated *śikhara* shrines of brick, with stone doorways, or groups of such towers with their related structures. Wood remained in use as a building material throughout the classical period, so that many buildings are known only by their foundations. The existing remains fall into two main divisions, those of a Classic period (Mi-son and Dong-duong, seventh to tenth centuries) and those of the Decadence (from Binh-dinh, about 1100, to the seventeenth century).[100] The earliest sculptures, of the seventh century are magnificent, but already formulated in a local sense, and there is no trace of a pre-Cām or Indianesque style comparable with that of Cambodia.[For a crowned bronze image of the Buddha sheltered by the Nāga Mucalinda from the Tours d' Argent, Binh-dinh, see Plate 48.]

The sacred city of Mi-son was founded by Bhadravarman I about 400 A. D. when the Bhadreśvara *liṅgam* was set up. The great shrine now existing (Plate 46) was built by Bhadravarman's second successor on the site of the original wooden temple, soon after 600. As Leuba remarks, this great tower 'par ses nobles lignes et son exquise ornamentation, peut etre considéré comme le chef d'ocuvre d'architecture chame'. The main body of the temple is almost cubic, but higher than it is wide, and this effect of height is greatly enhanced by the narrow decorated pilasters that emphasize the perpendicular aspect of the construction, reminding us of the great shrine at Malot in the Punjab. Between the pilasters are false porches or niches, with figures carved in relief in the brick surface. The pyramidal roof consists of three diminishing storeys, repeating the main design on a smaller scale, and the summit was crowned by a flame-like or lotus-bud finial. The decorative motifs included *makara toraṇa* niches, *haṁsas* with extended wings, and *pièces d'accent* such as *apsaruses* whose outlines are silhouetted against the sky. These ornaments, like the door frame, are of grey sandstone, and stand out clearly against the ochre red of the brick surface, which, however, would originally have been covered with white plaster. The interior is plain, and was separated from the hollow pyramidal vault of the roof,

if at all, only by an awning. Later kings added successive temples of brick or wood, pilgrim shelters, and royal pavilions. Of these later structures, those of group D, essentially horizontal, recall the Northern temple (Plate 12) and similar buildings at Polonnāruva in Ceylon. The latest Mi-son buildings, of the tenth century, have terracotta plaques in place of stone ornaments.

The sculpture of Mi-son, largely of the seventh century, is now collected in the Museum at Tourane;[101] it is almost all of Śaiva character, and includes representations of Śiva (Plate 49), Skanda and Gaṇeśa. The style cannot be called primitive, but is still creative; unequal in quality, the finest pieces are marvels of powerful modelling or grace of conception.

At Dong-duong, even nearer to Tra-kieu, has been found the important inscription of Indravarman, dated 875, praising the virtues of the Śambhu-Bhadreśvara *liṅgam* 'filled with the essence of fire and hereditary royalty', proving the existence of the Devarāja cult. The inscription identifies this *liṅgam* with the original (Haṭakeśvara) *liṅgam* which 'fell from Śiva', as related in the Indian *Devadāru Mahātmaya*, which may be the ultimate source of the cult of the King-god.[102] We hear too of a Bhadrapatiśvara *liṅgam* in the south, desecrated by (Sumatran) Malays in the eighth century. Incidentally we may remark that the *Sūrya Siddhānta* speaks of Yavakoṭi (in Sumatra) as a famous city in the land of the Bhadreśvara, again suggestive of a Sumatro-Javanese source.

The same king, who was an usurper and apparently a Buddhist, founded the great Buddhist shrine at Dong-duong, in honour of Lokeśvara, about 900; this is the only Buddhist site in Campā, but it is scarcely inferior to Mi-son in richness and aesthetic importance. Moreover the buildings are related in accordance with a dominating plan, and all of one period, not as at Mi-son, independently erected at various dates. A noteworthy discovery here was that of a bronze standing Buddha (Plate 47) in style very near that of Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura; this figure, indeed, is very probably of Indian or Siṁhalese origin, and may date from the third or fourth century. This solitary trace of purely Indian art may perhaps be referable to an early Hīnayāna period in Campā, more likely it was brought thither long after the date of its manufacture.[103]

The Dong-duong shrines were soon ravaged by the Annamites in search of treasure and new sanctuaries were erected at Binh-dinh at the close of the tenth and in the eleventh centuries. Conditions no longer permitted the erection of great temple cities, and we find only separate *kolans*, hastily built and with inferior decoration, though still in large numbers. The main groups are those of

Hung-thanh and Binh-lam, the colossal towers of Duong-long, and those known as the Tower of Gold, the Tower of Silver, and the Tower of Copper.

Meanwhile, still further south, in the cradle of Cām power, the legendary king Vicitrasāgara had erected the wooden temple of Po Nagar, the 'Lady of the Land', and in the eighth or ninth century followed the first brick building, near which still later temples were added. The main sanctuary contains an image of Bhagavatī = Pārvatī, which has replaced an original *liṅgam*. The *liṅga* temple of Po Klaun Garai on the other hand, founded by Siṁhavarman III contains the original Siṁhavarmaliṅgeśvara, still worshipped by a residue of Cāms. It is not clear whether this *mukha-liṅgam* is an icon of Śiva, a Devarāja, or a posthumous 'portrait' of the king. The last remains of Cām architecture are found at Po Rome.

Important treasures have been found on ancient Cām sites. That of Po Nagar, dating probably from the eighth century, consists of silver ritual vessels, gold jewellery and pearls, while at Mi-son a sealed earthen vessel contained all the wrought gold ornaments (crown, collar, bracelets and girdle) belonging to an image of half human size. Other treasures, like that of Lovang, consisting of golden vessels and jewellery, ancient inlaid arms and ceremonial robes, are still in use.

SUMATRA[104]

Scarcely anything survives of the ancient art of Sumatra, unless we define the art of middle Java in the Śailendra period as such; and yet the great Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya, with its capital at Palembang, can by no means be left out of consideration in any discussion of the art of Indonesia.

Sumatra appears to have received Indian colonists at a very early date, probably well before the beginning of the Christian era. The Land of Gold (and this name is really applicable to Sumatra, and not to Java) is referred to already in the *Jātakas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi, and when the same text speaks of *Yavadvīpa suvarṇākaramaṇḍita*, it is Sumatra that is to be understood.[105] Sumatra is the Zabadion of Ptolemy, the Zabag and Zabej of later Arabic writers. Madagascar seems to have been colonized by Hinduized Sumatran Malays early in the Christian era.[106] Fā Hsien visited Sumatra about 414 A. D. and found there few or no Buddhists. A few years later Guṇavarman of the royal house of Kashmir landed in Yavadvīpa; he converted first the queen, and she in turn her son, to (Mahāyāna) Buddhism, which thus became the official cult. At this time the land was already known to the Chinese as Cho-po = Vijaya = Śrīvijaya (later Arab Sribuza), which was the name of the Palembang kingdom ruled by the kings of the Śailendra dynasty, who originated

in Malayu = Malaka = Minaṅkabaw, and asserted their independence perhaps before the seventh century. The name Mo lo yeu, the aforesaid Malayu, also appears in Chinese texts. I-ching, who visited Sumatra about 690, states that Malayu had then become subject to Śrīvijaya; he studied Sanskrit grammar as well as the old Malay language, and Buddhist texts and commentaries. All this evidence of a high state of culture existing in Sumatra in the seventh century prepares us to appreciate its secular power and wealth; Palembang, the most important port between India and China, must have been truly a cosmopolitan city. The foundations of a great maritime empire had already been established.

We reach now the sure ground of inscriptions. That of Kota Kapur in Baṅka records the despatch of a military force to Java, which did not at this time acknowledge Sumatran suzerainty. The inscription of Vieṅ Sraḥ in the Malay Peninsula, 778, speaks again of Śrīvijaya and records the erection by its king of two fair brick buildings in which were honoured Vajrapāṇi, Padmapāṇi and the Buddha and of the erection of *stūpas* by the king's chaplain Jayanta and his disciple. About this time must be placed the expedition to Cambodia, which resulted in the acknowledgement of Sumatran overlordship. The Śailendra power seems to have been established in Central Java by the middle of the eighth century. About the same time Sumatran Malays invaded Campā. The Kalasan inscription of 778 suggests that at this time Prambanam may have been the virtual capital of Śrīvijaya, and as we have seen, this state of affairs lasted until about 860. The great Buddhist monuments of this period are described in the chapter dealing with Java.

At the beginning of the ninth century Jayavarman II of Cambodia, 'who came from Java', asserted his independence. From this time onwards the power of Śrīvijaya very slowly declined. Relations with India, however, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, were long maintained. The Nālandā copper plate of about 860 shows King Devapāla building a monastery and granting villages on behalf of King Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa, grandson of a king of Javabhūmi.[107] The names of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha (? = Kedah in the Malay Peninsula, more likely an unknown city in Sumatra) are found in the Nepalese Ms. Camb. Add. 1643.[108] The Tanjore Cola inscriptions of Rājendracola and Rājarāja Rājakeśarī Varmā, 1030 and 1044-46, refer to a king of Kaṭāha and Śrī Viṣaya (*sic*); this Śailendra king Cuḍāmaṇivarman endowed and supported a Buddhist temple at Negapatam (Nāgīpaṭṭanam). Rājendracola on the other hand claims to have conquered Kaṭāha and Śrī Viṣaya 'beyond the moving seas'. At this time Kaṭāha was evidently a part of Śrīvijaya. In 1084, Kullotuṅgacola dedicated a village to the above mentioned Buddhist temple,

which is spoken of in the inscription as the Śailendra-cuḍāmaṇi-varma-vihāra.[109] These evidences, confirmed by others in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, prove a comparatively late survival of Buddhism in Southern India; this is of interest in connection with the occurrence at Kāñcīpuram of Buddha images of a late type, showing the flame-like projection above the *uṣṇīṣa*, an iconographical peculiarity probably of Farther Indian origin.

In the eleventh century the famous Indian monk Atīśa (Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna of the Vikramaśīla monastery) spent ten years in Sumatra, completing his religious education in the study of the pure Sarvāstivādin Buddhist doctrine.[110]

In the thirteenth century the Sumatrans raided Ceylon on two occasions, being allied with the Tamils of Southern India in the second attack. On the other hand, about 1275 the East Javanese king Kertanagara sent an expedition against Malaya (= Sumatra, and to be distinguished from Malayu = Minaṅkabaw = Malacca, the original home of the Malays on the Malay Peninsula) and brought back two princesses. A little later the kings of Majapahit established their suzerainty over Palembang and Pahang in Sumatra, and over Malayu from Singapore to Kedah and Triṅgānnu. After 1400 the Śailendra dynasty cannot be traced.

Islam was introduced into Sumatra by Indian missionaries and traders. The first converted ruler, Maliku-ṣ-Ṣāliḥ of Pasai in Sumatra, died in 1397. Muslim traders spread the faith throughout the eastern ports. Musalmān Sultāns in the Malay Peninsula threw off the Siamese or Javanese yoke and set up independent kingdoms. By the end of the fifteenth century Islam had spread all over Java, and the Hindus and Buddhists were forced to retire to Bali. Of the ancient civilization of Sumatra hardly any trace remains.

JAVA[111]

With the exception of certain dolmens and other so-called Polynesian antiquities, the Malay-Polynesian (Indonesian) races of Java, who form the bulk of the population, have left few monuments; nevertheless they are of great importance as representing the Javanese element in Indo-Javanese art, a factor of increasing importance after the classical period, and, in Bali, the dominating factor.

Early Indian settlements in Western Java probably date back to the beginning of the Christian era. Of the old Hindu kingdom of Tārumā, and a king named Pūrṇavarman we learn something from the Sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava script, of the fourth or fifth century A. D. Hindu rule in Western Java, however, did not persist much later than the sixth century, and has left few traces. Subsequently Western Java seems to have remained independent, under native rule, even in the time of the kings of Majapahit.

More extensive evidences of Indian culture are found in Middle Java in the seventh century. This development may have been the result of long-continued or of renewed immigration from Southern India. The oldest dated inscription, that of Caṅgala in Keḍu, 732 A. D., refers to the original home of the Hindu immigrants as Kuñjarakuñja-deśa, evidently the Kuñjara of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* in the far south of India, and probably the source of the cult of the sage Agastya, which is well developed in Java.[112] The inscription further refers to a miraculous radiant *liṅgam* brought over from Kuñjarakuñja. The Dinaya inscription of 760 (Eastern Java) similarly speaks of a fiery 'Pūtikeśvara' closely connected with the ruling house. From these data has been inferred a Javanese origin of the Devarāja cult of Cambodia and Campā.[113]

Indo-Javanese civilization was by this time a harmonized unity; but while the official cults were of Indian origin, the real basis of popular belief remained, as it still remains, animistic. The Brāhmaṇism of the Javanese courts was throughout predominantly though not exclusively Śaiva. No traces remain of any early Hīnayāna Buddhism in Java. The Mahāyāna as a separate and integral cult belongs mainly to the period of Sumatran rule in Central Java; even at this time it is of a Tāntric character, later it becomes increasingly so, and as in Nepal, in Cambodia, and in Bali at the present day, Buddhism and Śaiva Hinduism are inseparably combined: Kertanagara received the posthumous name of Śivabuddha!

The architectural remains and sculpture of the Dieng (Dihyang) plateau, where stone construction is for the first time employed in Java, date from the seventh or early eighth century. Whether developed from the older school of Western Java, of which nothing survives, or in connection with renewed immigration, the architectural forms show clear analogies with those of the Gupta, Pallava and early Cālukya of the Indian mainland. Architecture and ornament are reserved, and in perfect correlation; and though we could not imagine these monuments in India proper, nevertheless they are more Indian than Javanese, and the local factor is only apparent, if at all, in a certain free development of the ornament itself, not in its motifs or application.

The Dieng plateau represented, not a civil capital, but a place of pilgrimage comparable with the Jaina temple cities of Palitana and Girnār in Western India; permanently inhabited only by priests and temple servants, and for the rest providing only temporary accommodation for pilgrims, amongst others for the king, who visited the plateau once a year. The temples are small and mutually independent. Out of a much larger number, only eight are now standing. The leading characteristic of the style is a generally box-like or cubic construction

with vertical and horizontal lines strongly emphasized. Each temple consists of a single cell, approached by a porch or vestibule projecting from one face of the outer wall, the three other wall surfaces being divided by pilasters into three parts occupied by projecting niches or sculptured panels. The roof repeats the form of the main cell; the interior is a plain hollow cube below the hollow pyramid of the roof, whose inner walls approach until the remaining space can be covered by a single stone. A grotesque *kīrtimukha* (*kāla makara and banaspati* of Dutch authors) crowns the doorways and niches; the *makara* itself is already developed into floriated ornament and scarcely recognizable.

This description applies to the four temples of the Arjuna group, Caṇḍis Arjuna, Śrīkaṇḍi, Puntadeva and Sembhadra, and to Caṇḍi Ghaṭotkaca,[114] but not of course, to Caṇḍi Semar, a small and elegant rectangular building, perhaps originally a treasury, which forms a part of the Arjuna group. The isolated and unique Caṇḍi Bīma presents a very different appearance. The lower part of the building is similar to the buildings already described, but the roof is definitely pyramidal in effect; it consists of diminishing horizontal stages, of which the first repeats the form of the basement with pilasters, the others being decorated with *caitya*-window motifs enclosing heads or symbols in high relief, while the angles of the fourth and sixth stages are occupied by three-quarter ribbed *āmalakas*. In all probability a complete *āmalaka* crowned the summit. Thus the roof structure corresponds exactly with that of a typical Indo-Aryan *śikhara*,[115] such as that of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneswar, the more developed form of the latter differing only in that the stages are more numerous and more closely compressed.

The Dieng affords many examples of sculpture. Of that applied to architectural surfaces the best instance is afforded by the Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu panels of Caṇḍi Śrīkaṇḍi. The forms are in general slender, with the leading lines clearly developed. The separate heads from the *caitya*-window niches of Caṇḍi Bīma present a variety of interesting forms, which suggest a more or less personal effort on the part of the sculptor (Plate 57); exhibiting an individuality not yet completely attuned to purely symbolic and decorative ends, these heads are the nearest to primitives that Javanese art affords.

East and south of the Dieng plateau are to be found a number of small temples fundamentally in the same style, but rather more freely, and often exquisitely, decorated. Examples may be cited in the Śaiva Caṇḍi Pringapus datable about 850, and Caṇḍi Selagriya near Mt. Sumbing. The most important series, however, is that of the temple complex of Mt. Ungaran, known as Geḍong Saṅga, which includes nine small groups of temples situated on hill-tops probably along a pilgrim route.

We must now consider the many important monuments of the Śailendra period, i.e. under Sumatran rule in Middle Java (*c.* 732 to 860). Caṇḍi Kalasan, dated 778, is an invaluable landmark, in which, for the first time we meet with a Buddhist monument on Javanese soil, and erected, as the inscription informs us, by a Śailendra king, and dedicated to Tārā, whose image must once have occupied the central chamber. The temple is situated on the west side of the Prambanam[116] plain, a richly populated area and the site of an important capital or capitals throughout the Middle Javanese period, both before and after the restoration. Caṇḍi Kalasan is of the Dieng type, but having the lateral projecting niches developed into side-chapels with separate entrances. Enormous *Kīrttimukhas* crown the main entrance and the niches, while the *makara toraṇa* arches below are completely transformed into arabesque; the walls are decorated with delicate strips of floriated tracery between plain vertical pilasters.

A little to the north is another and contemporary Śailendra building known as Caṇḍi Sāri, a large building of the storeyed *vihāra* type containing shrines and monastic apartments, and probably the monastery attached to Caṇḍi Kalasan.

Further east, beyond the later Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang lies the great Buddhist temple complex of Caṇḍi Sewu of early ninth century date. Here there is a large central temple, a further development of the Kalasan design, with side chapels open to the exterior and lavishly decorated with arches and niches originally containing images; most likely the main cell held a sedent bronze Buddha. Around this central temple and at some distance from it within the large area delimited by the enclosing wall are two double series of small independent chapels, some two hundred and fifty in number. The order and beauty of the whole design are no less apparent than the variety and beauty of the decoration.

Caṇḍi Borobudur (Plates 50, 55), with the related and contemporary Caṇḍis Mendut and Pawon in Keḍu, is the greatest and by far the most famous of Javanese monuments. Caṇḍi Mendut (Plate 52) follows the general plan of the temples already described, but there are no side chapels, and the inner walls of the large open vestibule are decorated with reliefs representing Hārītī (Plate 56) and Pāñcika. The triple panels of the three other sides of the cella are richly decorated with reliefs representing Bodhisattvas and Tārās. The original stone images, a sedent Buddha (Plate 58) and two Bodhisattvas are still in place within; serenely beautiful, they represent the highest level of classic Indo-Javanese art.

Borobudur[117] is wonderfully situated in the Keḍu plain, on an eminence commanding an extensive view of green rice fields and more distant towering

conical volcanoes, comparable in grandeur with Fujisān. Architecturally it is unlike any other monument of the period. A rounded hill has been terraced and clothed with stone; the result is a truncated terraced pyramid supporting a relatively small central *stūpa* surrounded by seventy-two much smaller perforated *stūpas* arranged in three concentric circles; a stairway in the middle of each side of the pyramid leads directly to the upper platforms with the *stūpas*. The ground plan of the six lower terraces is square with reentrant corners, that of the three upper terraces is circular; in vertical section the whole structure fills, not a semicircle, but the segment of a circle. Each of the lower terraces is a perambulation gallery whose walls are occupied by long series of reliefs (Plate 55) illustrating the life of Buddha according to the *Lalitavistara*, and stories from the *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā* of Śūra, and the *Gaṇḍāvyūha* and other sources. The rich and gracious forms of these reliefs,[118] which if placed end to end would extend for over five kilometres, bespeak an infinitely luxurious rather than a profoundly spiritual or energized experience. There is here no nervous tension, no concentration of force to be compared with that which so impresses the observer at Aṅkor Wāt. Borobudur is like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air; the fullness of its forms is an expression of static wealth, rather than the volume that denotes the outward radiation of power. The Sumatran empire was now in the very height of its glory, and in intimate contact with the whole of the then civilized world; in the last analysis Borobudur is a monument of Śailendra culture, rather than of Buddhist devotion. It is only curious, in the light of our limited knowledge of historical details, that we should find such a monument in Java, and not in Sumatra; probably at this time (7th to 8th centuries) Middle Java was the real centre of the Sumatran empire, and here the Śailendra kings resided.

We must, however, return to the specific architectural problem which Borobudur presents. The lowest terrace is concealed beneath a heavy outer plinth, not part of the original plan, but added while the work was in progress to overcome a dangerous weakness which was only revealed as the weight of heavy masonry accumulated above; it is not unlikely that the same causes provoked a radical change in the design of the whole superstructure. For many years, in accordance with the suggestion of Foucher (4) the whole building as it stands has been regarded as a *stūpa*. Various considerations invalidate this theory: in the first place no example of a segment *stūpa* is anywhere known in India or Indo-China, and secondly, a structure supporting seventy complete *stūpas* can hardly with logic be called a *stūpa*. No other *stūpa* of any kind, except as an architectural ornament, or as represented in the Borobudur reliefs,

has been found in Java, and practically none are known in Cambodia before the Siamese period. On the other hand, the terraced pyramid supporting a temple is highly characteristic in Java and in Cambodia during many centuries (Caṇḍis Loro Jongrang, Jāgo, Jābung, Panataran, and Phnoṁ Bakeṅ and Phiméanakas), and terraced pyramids are typically found in Burma, though at a later period (Mingalazedi, Shwesandaw, and others at Pagān). Moreover, contemporary Indian parallels can be cited from Kashmir, which was presumably the source, through Guṇavarman, of Sumatran Mahāyāna Buddhism. The large *stūpa* founded by Lalitāditya's minister Caṅkuṇa at Parihāsapura in the first half of the eighth century rises above a double platform with recessed corners, having stairways in the centre of each side, while in the same way the basements of the central shrines of the Hindu temples exhibit a double platform, providing two *pradakṣiṇā* paths, one above the other.[119] Many earlier Indian *stūpas* such as those of Bhallar (Taxila), Shpola (Khyber) and Mirpurkhas (Sind), and others in Afghanistan stand on a single square or rectangular platform with axial approaches on one or four sides. The many-terraced pyramids of Java, Cambodia and Burma are thus merely the elaboration of a simpler prototype.

The very plausible theory of Hoenig, based on such considerations, is that Caṇḍi Borobudur was at first intended to be a pyramid of nine storeys, with a relatively small upper platform supporting, not a *stūpa*, but a temple, the existing design having been substituted for the original when in the course of building it became necessary to reduce the weight of the superincumbent masonry. And in the galleries as originally planned would have been continued the reliefs illustrating the life of Buddha, which now for some otherwise inexplicable reason end with the First Sermon.

The date of the monument can only be inferred from the stylistic and paleographic evidence. The latter indicates a date certainly between 760 and 878 A. D. probably between 760 and 847, and most likely in the latter part of the eighth century.[120] The style of the reliefs suggests rather the eighth century.

A Śaiva temple of the Śailendra period may be instanced in Caṇḍi Banon; the fine images of Agastya, formerly known as Śiva-Guru (Plate 60), and of Viṣṇu, from this temple, are now in Batavia.

Central Java has proved a prolific source of small Buddhist and Tāntric Buddhist metal images, some of gold (Plates 61, 62), others of copper (Plate 63); the best examples are of admirable workmanship, many other quite crude. Later Brāhmaṇical example from Eastern Java are also known. The various types exhibit a relationship with those of Magadha and Ceylon.[121]

The Sumatran governance seems to have ended about 860, the Javanese kings returning at this time from East Java to take up their residence at Prambanam. While Buddhism and Hinduism continued to exist side by side in friendly relation, the official religion of the court was now again Śaiva. Of numerous small temples of the restoration period (860-915) may be mentioned the Hindu Caṇḍi Asu and the Buddhist Caṇḍi Plaosan. The great Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, the greatest Hindu monument in Java, and comparable in scale with Borobudur and Caṇḍi Sewu, must be described more fully. The complex consists of eight temples situated on a walled terrace surrounded by smaller chapels and two outer walls. The three largest of the inner temples are dedicated respectively to Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The largest is the central temple of Śiva (Plate 51, before restoration); in principle it resembles the *prāngs* of Cambodia and the supposed original design of Borobudur, i.e. it consists of a temple occupying the summit of a steep truncated terraced pyramid, square in plan, with stairways in the middle of each of its three sides, leading respectively to the main entrance and to those of the side chapels. The temple itself, raised above the upper terrace by a richly decorated plinth, contains a standing image of Śiva. The terrace below is surrounded by an even more richly sculptured balustrade, the continuous series of reliefs on the inner side illustrating the earlier part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of which the continuation was probably to be found on the corresponding terrace of the now ruined Brahmā shrine on the right; the reliefs of the Viṣṇu temple illustrate the Kṛṣṇa cycle.[122] The Prambanam reliefs are if anything superior to those of Borobudur, and certainly more dramatically conceived, and the aspect of the shrines, despite their rich ornament, is more masculine. It is possible that the complex served as a royal mausoleum as well as a temple.

These temples were no sooner completed than abandoned. About the year 915 the whole of Middle Java was suddenly deserted, evidently as the result of some great natural catastrophe, whether pestilence or earthquake, and we have to trace the later development of Indo-Javanese art in the east. It is of great importance to recognize, however, that the breach in continuity is purely geographical, and not at all stylistic. The art of Prambanam, though it adheres to the principles established on the Dieng plateau, and still shows unity of plan and harmony of construction and ornament, is already advanced in its conception of the inner relations of the fundamental elements, and any further development could only lead to what we actually find in East Java. On the other hand the early eastern monuments Gunung Gaṅsir (977 A. D.), the Belahan gateways, Caṇḍi Sumber Nanas and Caṇḍi Sangariti are distinctly of Middle Javanese character.[123]

Caṇḍi Lalatunda, tomb and bathing place, are due to Udayana, father of the great Erlaṅga. Near to Belahan is another bathing place ascribed to Erlaṅga himself (1010-1042), and this site is the source of a portrait statue in which he is represented as Viṣṇu riding upon Garuḍa, 'een prachtstuk als kunstwerk, tevens bepaaldelijk een portretbeeld;'[124] recalling, and yet very different from an Indian treatment of the same subject found near Nālandā.[125]

Java was now becoming a great maritime power, destined soon to occupy the old position of Sumatra. The eastern Javanese kings had already made their power felt in Palembang; the Arab and Chinese trade were flourishing, and the island of Bali was dependent on Java. And what is more important, a national Javanese culture had developed, based indeed on the old Indian tradition, but Indonesian in essence, idiomatic in expression, and in the truest sense of the word, original. The Javanese language (Kawi) had become a fitting vehicle of classic epic literature. Javanese versions of the Indian epics, and the classic *Arjunavivāha* in which the shadow-play is mentioned for the first time, date from Erlaṅga's reign.

Unfortunately we know practically nothing of the monuments of Erlaṅga's reign, and very little of those of the next century. Nevertheless, the twelfth century in Java, like the thirteenth in Europe, was the 'greatest of centuries' and more than any other moment stands for the living past in Javanese consciousness. This was an age of chivalry and romantic love. A twelfth century king, Kāmeśvara, may be, in part, the prototype of Rāden Pāñji, the hero of the Pāñji cycle and the most romantic figure in Javanese tradition. Much of the Pāñji literature may have been composed before the end of the century. And this development, which is reflected in the art of the succeeding centuries, naturally accompanied an immense extension of secular power; the Javanese kings now held Baṅka, over against Palembang, and their traders sailed to the eastern coast of Africa on the one hand and to China on the other. Only with the accession of a new dynasty, ruling in Siṅgasāri (1280-1292) and Majapahit (1294-1478) are we able to take up again the history of Javanese art. The whole period, however, forms from this point of view a unity, a kind of post-classical romantic style in which the purely Indian tradition is almost submerged, and the Indonesian factor comes increasingly to the fore. There is a loss of balance as between construction and ornament, and the ornament itself grows more exuberant. In all this embroidery, nevertheless, there is infinite charm.

The chief monuments of Siṅgasāri[126] include Caṇḍi Kidal (Śaiva), distinctively East Javanese in respect of its heavy pyramidal roof with conspicuous horizontal courses, overweighting the whole building. Even more

definitely East Javanese is Caṇḍi Jāgo, with its *wayang*-like reliefs, illustrating the Javanese *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*, which seems strange in a Buddhist temple; the separate images are still, however, of Middle Javanese character. Śaiva-Buddhist syncretism is well seen in Caṇḍi Jawi, where the main cell enshrines a Śiva image with a Buddha above it. Caṇḍi Siṅgasāri itself has yielded many large Śaiva images, especially the well-known Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī and Gaṅeśa of Leiden. From another Siṅgasāri shrine comes the even more famous Leiden Prajñāpāramitā, superficially lovely and exquisitely ornamented, but without vitality, and also the more vigorous Arapacana Mañjuśrī, dated 1343 (Plate 59).

The remarkable Śaiva temple of Caṇḍi Jābung (Plate 64)[127] is 'relatively old'.[128] The shrine is circular (unique in Java) and must have been very high, and stands on the usual terraced base. This basement too is unusually high. The transition from the rectangular base to the circular tower is admirably managed, and the rich decoration is well subordinated to the main outlines. This temple may well be regarded as the finest example of East Javanese art.

The power and prosperity of East Java attained their zenith under the kings of Majapahit. Four great rulers, including Kertanagara and Hayam Wuruk, occupied the throne in succession from 1294 to 1389. Western Java remained independent, and little is known of Central Java, but Majapahit controlled all the eastern islands, the coastlands of Borneo, the coastlands of Sumatra including Palembang, and the Malay Peninsula. Trade with China in Indian and Javanese products, chiefly silk and cotton goods, continued to flourish. In the *Nāgarakertāgama*, Prapañca[129] presents a vivid picture of the walled city of Majapahit with its streets and palaces, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. Entertainments are mentioned, amongst others the *Wayang Beber* (exhibition of scroll paintings with spoken text, and equivalent of the old Indian *Yamapaṭa* exhibition as described in the *Mudrārākṣasa*) and *Wayang Topeng*, or masked dance, in which the king himself took part on the occasion of a *śrāddha* for the queen mother.[130]

Amongst the numerous monuments of this golden age of East Java the finest and most important is the Śaiva temple complex of Panataran near Blitar. Here we are far removed from the unity of conception and organic relation of parts characteristic of Middle Java; the temple complexes of East Java, like those of Bali, consist of groups of unrelated buildings of various dates, ranging in the case of Panataran (Plate 54) over the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. Of the main temple only the basement remains; it is square with recessed corners; the lower of the terraces is decorated with alternate

medallions and reliefs illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the upper with a continuous frieze illustrating the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*. All these reliefs are designed in a heroic and grotesque *wayang*-like style and form a sort of popular theatre. The reliefs of the shrine walls represented Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The richness of all the ornament is overwhelming; even the backs of the *dvārapālas*, in a style we should now call Balinese, are decorated with reliefs.

Other Hindu monuments of the fifteenth century are mostly of laterite and built on terraced hill slopes. Here the worship of Śiva as a mountain god facilitated a combination of Hinduism with old Indonesian terrace cults; in the resulting mixture of Indo-Javanese and Indonesian elements and a new combination of both there appeared for a brief period a definite style not lacking in vitality. Selakelir (1434-1442), Penampikan, Sukul and Lewu are amongst the main sites. In completing the above account of Javanese architecture it may be remarked that no pier or column is found in any Javanese temple, and mortar is never employed.

Nothing is known of Javanese paintings, except in manuscript illustrations, but there exists a Central Javanese engraved copper plate, essentially a drawing on copper, representing the figure of a woman with a child, in a style reminiscent of Ajantā.[131] This beautiful figure gives at least a suggestion of the style of the mural paintings that must have once existed. In Bali, on the other hand, very interesting mural paintings and tablets, as well as book illustrations and scrolls of seventeenth or eighteenth century date are still extant. Even the scrolls that are still made are in a style absolutely unaffected by foreign influences, and possess considerable distinction; the subjects are generally epic, sometimes erotic.[132]

The architecture of Islam in Java is of comparatively little importance. Amongst the oldest monuments are the minaret of the mosque at Kadua, really a modified Caṇḍī without images, and the neighbouring gateway. The situation, in fact, is similar to that of Gujarat at the same period: the local architectural tradition constituted a national style, of which Islam naturally made use with only such necessary modifications as the change of faith demanded. The same is true of the theatre, despite its fundamentally Hindu themes. The followers of Islam were conscious of no hostility to the national culture; the Javanese remained Javanese. The decline of Javanese art is to be ascribed only to natural and inherent causes. The will and the power to create great works, imaginatively or dimensionally great, had departed, and just as in Ceylon, there remained only the rich inheritance of tradition embodied in the folk arts. Only in the theatre and music and in the field of textiles, where aristocratic influences have been continuously at work, the spirit of classical art has survived.

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN ART



Plate 1 Bodhisattva. Anuradhapura, 4th century A.D.[?]. Colombo Museum



Plate 2 Maitreya. Anuradhapura, 4th century A. D.[?]. Colombo Museum



Plate 6 Buddha, Badullā, 5th or 6th century, Colombo Museum



Plate 7 Avalokitesvara, 8th century, Boston



Plate 8 Jambhala (Kubera), 8th century. Boston



Plate 9 Vajrapani, 9th century, Boston



Plate 3 Buddha, Anuradhapura, c. 200 A. D.



Plate 4 Bodhisattva or king Duṭṭha Gamani, Anurādhapura, c. 200 A. D.[?]



Plate 5 Buddha, Anuradhapura, 2nd/3rd century A.D.



Plate 10 Pattinī Devī, 10th century [?] (British Museum)



Plate 11 Parākrama Bāhu I, Polonnāruva, 12th century

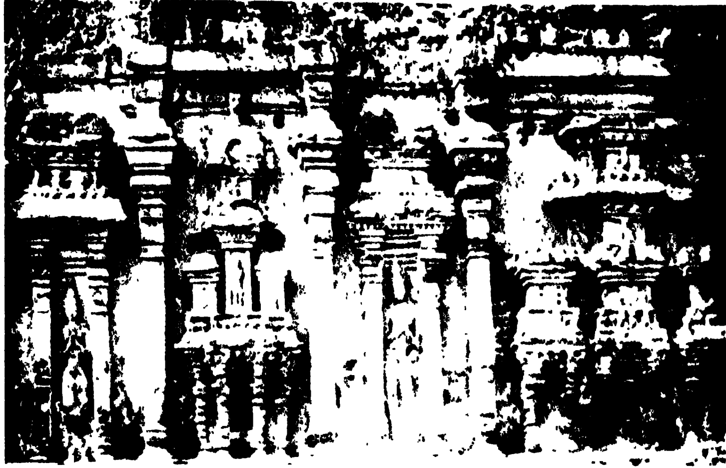


Plate 12 Northern temple, Polonnaruva, 12th century

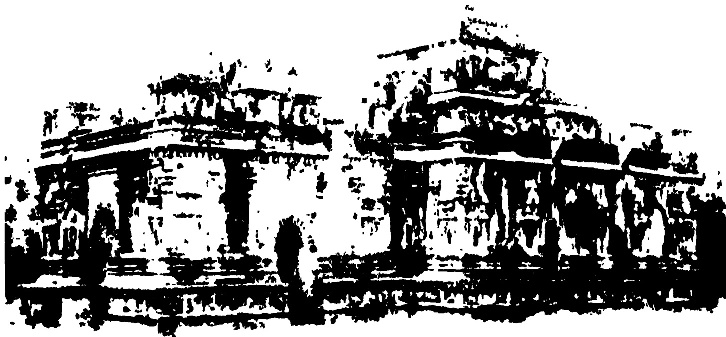


Plate 13 Thūparama Vihara, Polonnaruva, 12th century



Plate 14 Wata-da-ge, Polonnaruva, 12th century

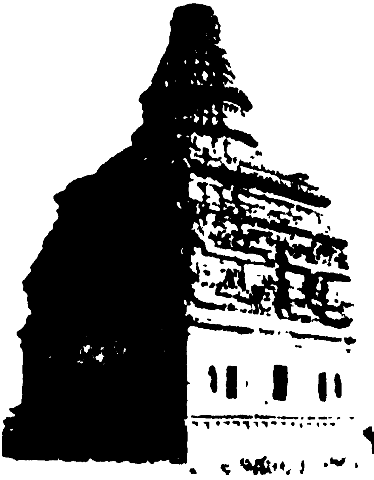


Plate 15 Nat Hlaung Gyaung, Pagan, 931 A.D.

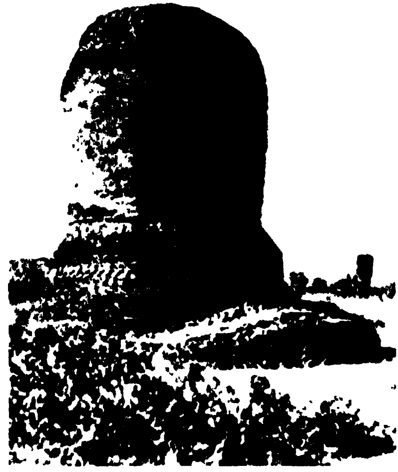


Plate 16 Ngakywe Nadaung, Pagan, 10th century



Plate 17 Thatbinnyu, Pagān, 12th century



Plate 18 Bidagat Taik, Pagān, 11th century



Plate 19 Devata, fresco, Pagan, 13th century



Plate 20 Buddha, Pagan Museum, 12th century



Plate 21 Siddhārtha, Ānanda pagoda, Pagān, late 11th century



Plate 22 Buddha, Ananda, Pagan, late 11th century

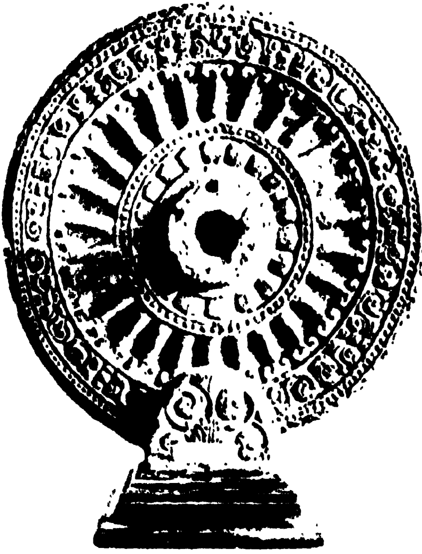


Plate 23 *Dhamma cakka*, Prapathom, 5th or 6th century



Plate 24 Bodhisattva, Prapathom, 7th century, Samson Collection



Plate 25 *Devadharma Jātaka*, Wāt Si Jum, c. 1361 A.D.



Plate 26 Buddha, Lopburi, 12th century, Samson Collection



Plate 27 Buddha, lacquered stone, Lopburi, 11th century

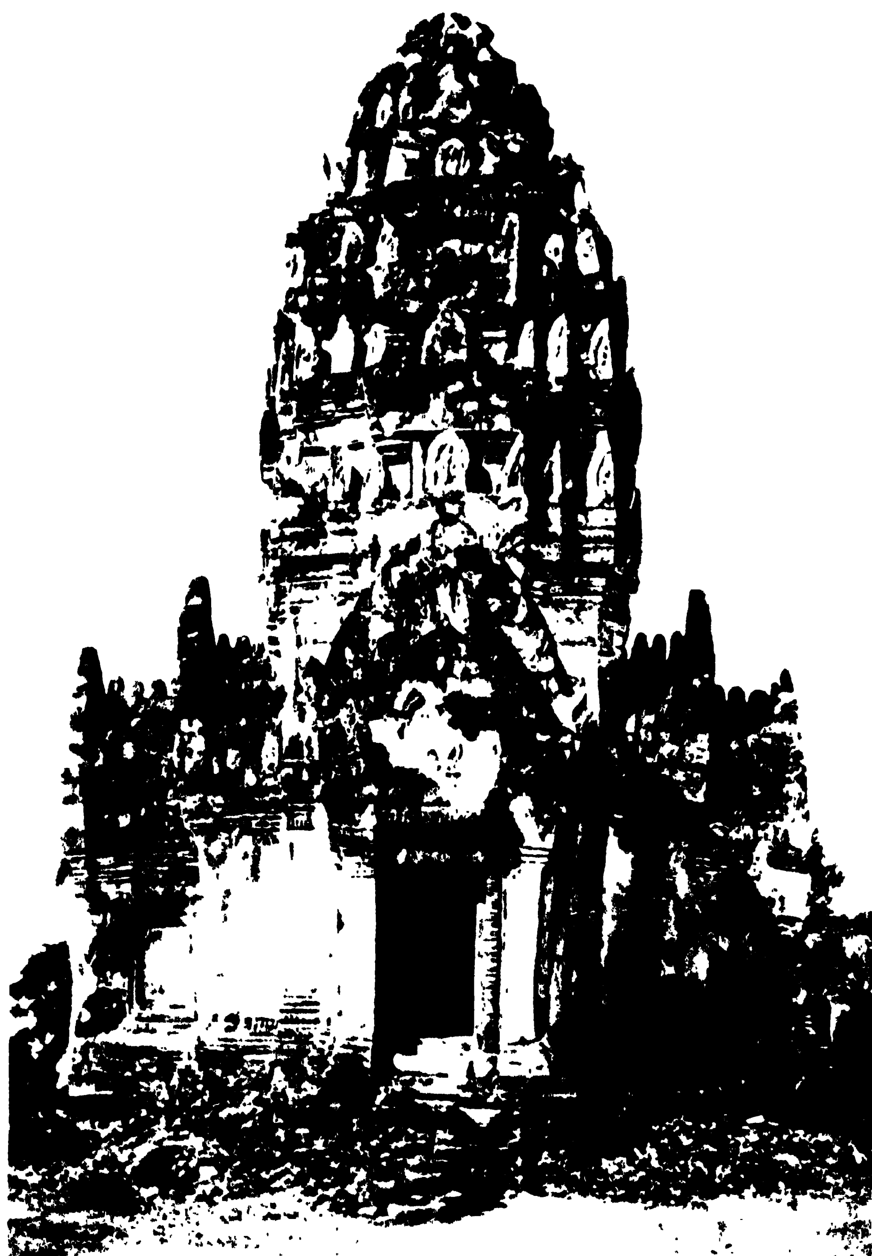


Plate 28 Temple at Lopburi, 11th century

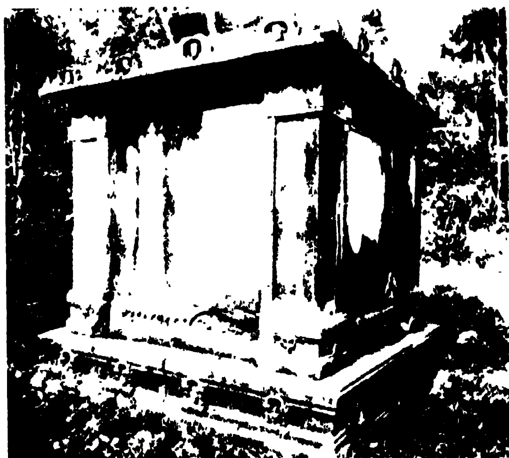


Plate 29 Cella, Prei Kuk, Kompon Thom, 7th century



Plate 30 Brick temple Phnom Bayang, Ta Keo, [illegible]th century



Plate 31 Brick tower, Bakong, 9th century



Plate 32 A Tower of Bayon Temple, Ankor Thom, late 9th century



Plate 33 Tower Ankor Wat, early 12th century



Plate 34 Aṅkor Wāt, early 12th century

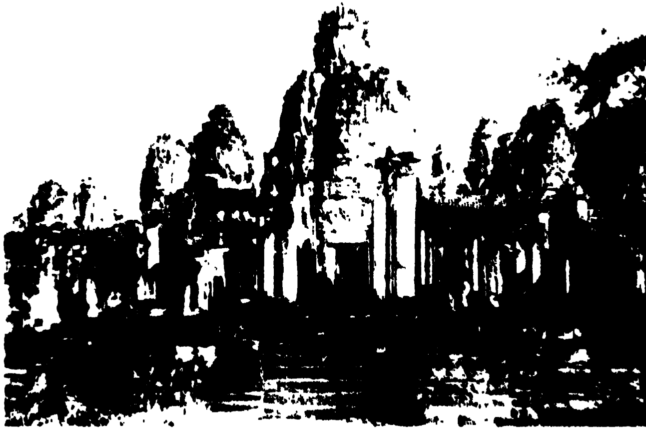


Plate 35 The Bayon, general view from the South, Aṅkor Thom, late 9th century



Plate 36 Phiméanakas, Aṅkor Thom, late 9th century



Plate 37 Lokeśvara, Rach Gia, 6th or early 7th century (now in private collection, Saigon)



Plate 38 Harihara, Prasat Andet Kompon Thom, early 7th century, Phnom Pen Museum



Plate 39 *Mukhalingam* from tower, Bayon, Aṅkor Thom, late 9th century



Plate 40 Buddha. 9th century, now in the Sachs Collection, Cambridge, U.S.A.



Plate 41 Bodhisattva[?] 11th century. Boston Museum



Plate 42 Śiva or king. 9th or 10th century. Boston Museum



Plate 43 King. 11th century. Cleveland Museum

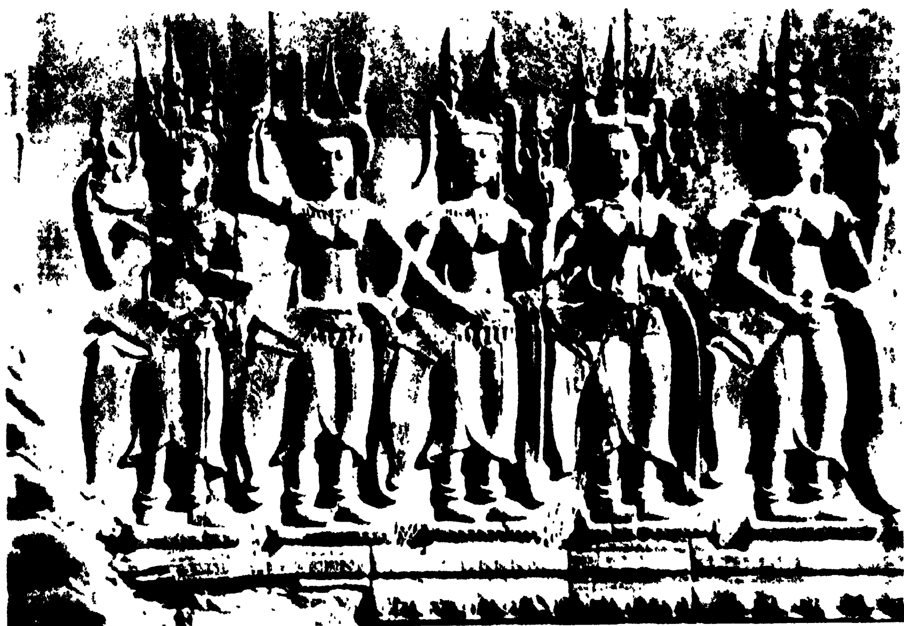


Plate 44 *Apsarases*, inner court, Ankor Wāt, early 12th century



Plate 45 Procession of an Army, gallery relief, Ankor Wāt, middle-12th century

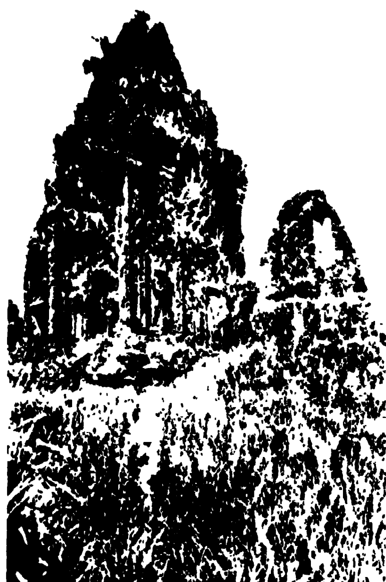


Plate 46 Brick temple, Mi-son, early 7th century, now in Museum of E.F.E.O., Hanoi



Plate 47 Buddha, Dong-duong, 3rd century, now in Museum of E.F.E.O., Hanoi



Plate 48 Buddha, Binh-dinh, 12th century



Plate 49 Siva, Quang-Nam, 7th century, now in Tourane Museum

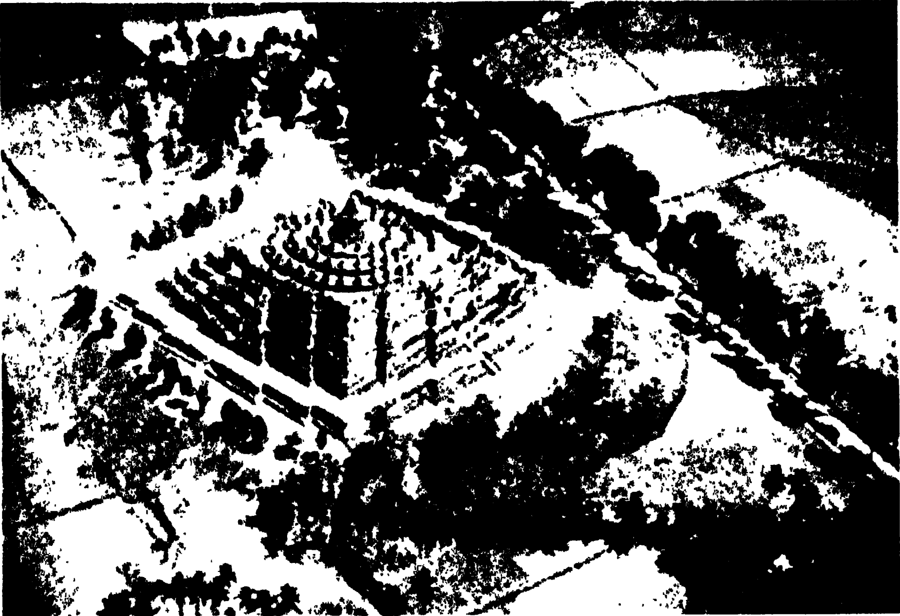


Plate 50 Candi Borobudur, from the air, late 8th century

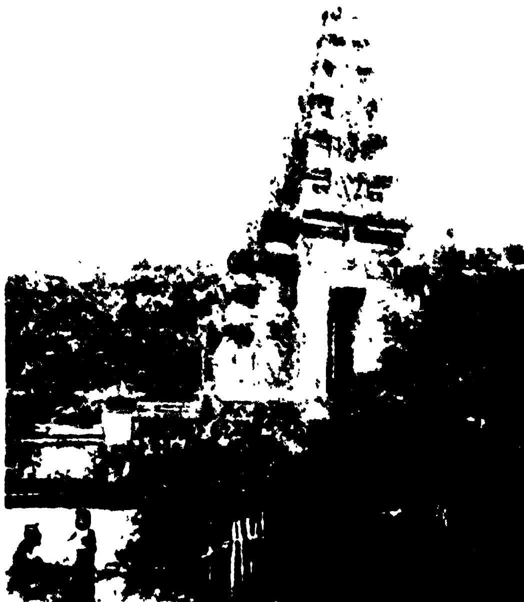


Plate 53 Modern Temple, Batur, Bali, 18th or 19th century modern



Plate 51 The Śiva temple, Candi Loro Jonggrang, Prambanam, late 9th century (before restoration)

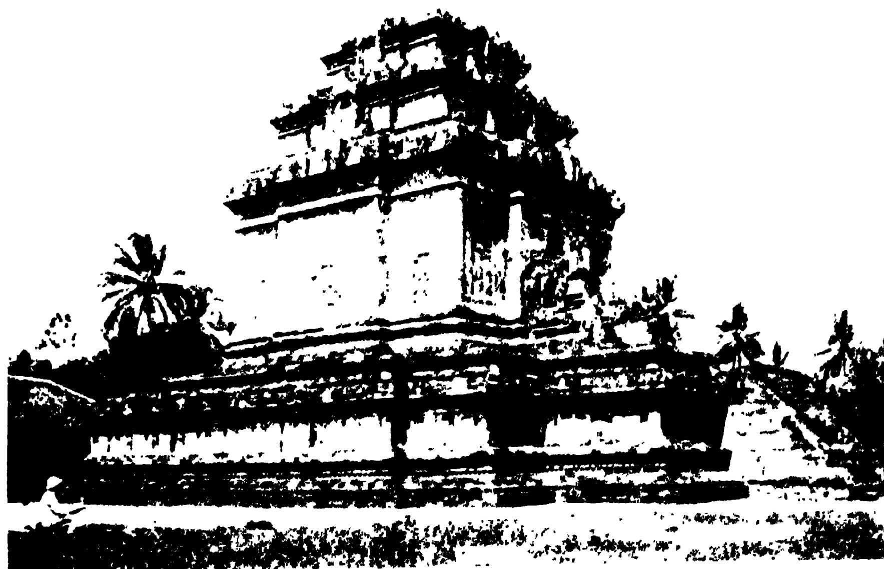


Plate 52 Candi Mendut, late 8th century



Plate 54 Temple ruins, Panataran, 14th to 15th centuries



Plate 55 Temptation of Buddha, Candi Borobudur, late 8th century



Plate 56 Hārītī, Caṇḍi Mendut, late 8th century



Plate 57 Head from Candi Bima, Dieng, 7th or early 8th century



Plate 58 Buddha, Candi Mendut, late 8th century



Plate 59 Arapacana Mañjuśrī, 1343 A. D., Berlin



Plate 60 Agastya, Candi Banon, early 9th century, Batavia



Plates 61, 62 Two Bodhisattvas, gold, Pesindon, 8th or 9th century, Museum Batavia

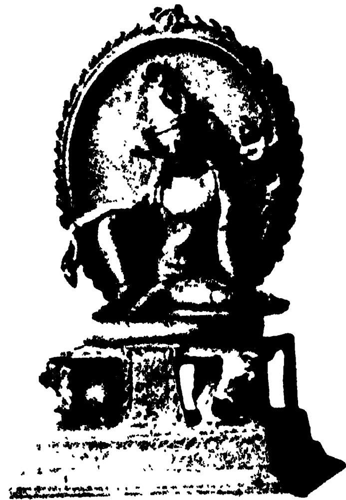


Plate 63 Padmapāṇi, copper, 10th century, British Museum, London

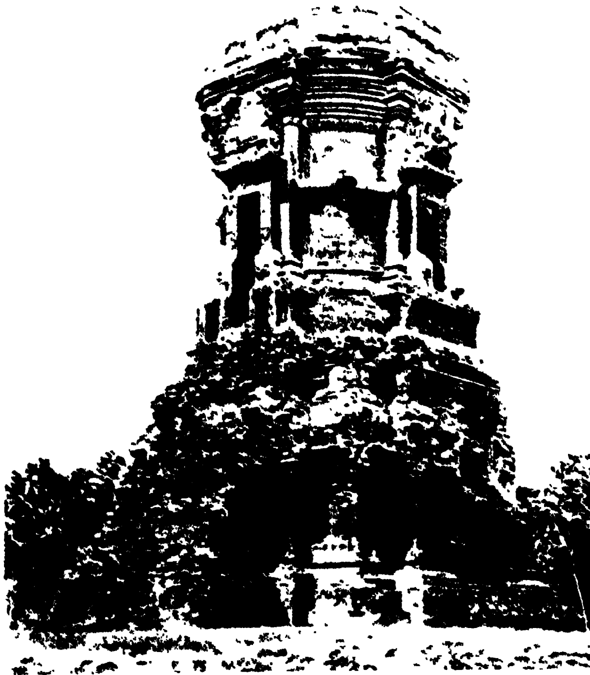


Plate 64 The Śiva temple, Caṇḍi Jābung, Kraksan, Pasuruwan, *c.* 10th century



Plate 65 Hevajra, Bronze, Bantéai Kedei, 10th century, Museum of Phnom Pen



Plate 66 *Apsaras*, bronze, Bayon, Ankor Thom, late 9th century, Boston Museum

A few words on Bali. In all probability Bali was originally directly Hinduized, and only came under Javanese influence and rule after the twelfth century, and this Javanese influence was never so overpowering as to prevent the development of a distinctive national civilization. This unique culture, as it survives to the present day nevertheless presents us with a marvellous miniature picture of the conditions that prevailed in Eastern Java during the last centuries of Hindu rule—'ritual offerings, festivals, feudal relations, all appear in Bali still to correspond with the old descriptions' (of the *Nāgarakertāgama*).[133] It is only in Bali that there survives that mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism which we have so constantly observed in classic and post-classic Further Indian and Indonesian art; and in costume, that nudity of the upper part of the body, which was characteristic both of India and Further India until the end of the classic ages.

The only really ancient remains are those of Tampaksiring, a royal burial place of eleventh or twelfth century date; here niches with temple facades have been cut in the wall of a deep ravine. These help to bridge the gaps in our knowledge of East Javanese art: the form of the roof is intermediate between the Middle Javanese type with turrets and the later East Javanese and Balinese type in which the roof is formed of closely compressed horizontal courses, of which the turrets are suppressed. The Pura ye Ganga temple of fourteenth or fifteenth century date resembles Panataran. Sculptures at Pejeng date from the same period. The more modern temples of Sangsit, Bangli, Batur (Plate 53), Kesiman, etc., consist of groups of small unrelated shrines enclosed in a ring-wall with high roofed gateways; the decoration is wild and free, quite without relation to the structural forms. The material generally employed is limestone.

The ancient culture of Java and Bali has survived to the present day mainly in the theatre (*wayang*) and in textiles (*kain*). With the theatre are inseparably associated music and dancing, both developed to a high degree of perfection.

The theatre embraces a number of forms, of which the oldest may be the *Wayang Beber*[134] already mentioned. The *Wayang Purva*, *Wayang Gedog* and *Wayang Klitik*, together embracing Javanese history beginning with the Indian epics and ending with the last kings of Majapahit, constitute the shadow play; this cannot with certainty be traced further back than the *Arjunavivāha* and may be either of local or of Chinese origin; we have no positive proof of the early existence of shadow plays in India.[135] The Javanese shadow figures are cut in leather and have movable arms, but they are not translucent like those of China. Those of Burma and Siam on the other hand are combined with landscape in whole scenes and are not movable. The Javanese shadow figures

are handled with reverence, and, indeed, the shadow play is much more than an amusement, it is a ritual performed in honour of the ancestors of the race, whose spirits are represented by the leather puppets. A true puppet play (*Wayang Golek*) is also known, in which the figures are in the same way manipulated from below, unlike those of Burma, which have movable legs as well as arms.[136]

Finally we have plays in which living actors take part: the masked play (*Wayang Topeng*) of high antiquity, and the regular theatrical performances (*Wayang Wong*) in imitation of shadow plays. This human theatre is mainly an eighteenth century creation of aristocratic origin, but the themes are invariably drawn from the ancient sources, and the noble costumes, absence of scenery, and traditional dances and gestures lend to the whole performance an air of antiquity. And this antiquity, if not historically true, is certainly psychologically true; the Javanese theatre presents a living and emotionally convincing picture of a heroic and romantic past. Permanent troupes of actors are supported at the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts, and it is by no means unknown for some member of the royal family to play. On great occasions hundreds of actors are trained for months in advance and no expense is spared. The Javanese theatre embodies spiritual and cultural values of deep significance; only the *No-gaku* of Japan can be compared with it, and even so the Javanese has a wider range of theme and is far more than an exquisite survival.[137]

Closely connected with the theatre are the dances, especially the character dances of the actors, given when they first appear upon the stage. Beside these there are the ritualistic dances of the Bedoyo and Serimpis, who are court ladies; and also many court dances of a purely decorative type. The gesture shows in a general way reminiscences of Indian tradition, but less specifically so than in the case of the dances represented in the ancient sculptures.[138]

The typical Javanese textile is cotton *batik*, the material of all ordinary garments.[139] The technique of *batik*, of South Indian origin, consists in painting and repainting the cotton ground with wax in such a manner as to reserve all those parts of the cloth which are not to take up colour at the next dipping in the dye vat. Many of the designs in use date from the earlier part of the Muhammadan period in Java, others, especially the medallion types, recall such decorated wall surfaces as those of the Caṇḍi Sewu. In Middle Java only two colours, brown and blue, are employed, elsewhere combined with red and green. The material as sold is ready to wear without tailoring: the ordinary pieces are *kain panjang* corresponding to the Indian dhoti, *kain slendang*, the long breast cloth worn by women, and *kain kapāla*, the square head piece,

folded like a turban. This turban is small and closely fitting in Java, but in Bali the ends are left loose in a more coquettish fashion. The *sārong*, a piece of material sewn up to form a skirt, is more usual in Western Java and the Malay Peninsula. In Bali very gorgeous materials (*kain prāda*) worn by princesses and dancers are prepared by stamping Javanese *batiks* with designs in gold; the technique is probably Indian, but some of the designs show Chinese influence. Silk is only very rarely employed as a material for *batik*.

Of extraordinary interest and beauty are the *ikat* silks and cottons, the former in some cases combined with gold and silver, and woven in Sumatra, Java, Bali, Sumbawa and other islands. In this technique the warp or woof threads are individually coloured by the tie dye process, each thread exhibiting different colours along its length in such a way that only when the cloth is woven on the loom does the pattern appear. Double *ikat*, in which both warp and woof threads are thus treated occurs only in Bali where the very handsome *kain tengānan* are used as covering for temple offerings. In Bali we also find a double silk *ikat* known as *paṭola*, but whether this is of local manufacture or an importation from Surat it would be hard to say. In any case the *ikat* technique, which is widely distributed both in Further India and Indonesia, is certainly of Indian origin and probably of high antiquity. Needless to remark that *ikat* weaving requires the most elaborate precalculation and measurement.

The beautiful cottons woven by the more primitive races in the Toba-batak lands of Sumatra, by the Dyaks of Borneo, and in other islands in brilliant geometrical designs, belong rather to the Malay-Polynesian than to the Indian tradition.

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* Printed from *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927

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[1] For Simhalese history see Sir P. Arunachalam, *Sketches of Ceylon History* (Colombo, 1906. Hereafter Arunachalam, 1) (early dates uncritical); W. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṁsa*, text (London, 1908. Hereafter Geiger); G. Turnour, and L. C. Wijesinha, *The Mahavansa* (Colombo, 1889. Hereafter Turnour and Wijesinha); H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon* (London, 1909. Hereafter Parker, 2); K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India, from the earliest times to the Guptas* (London, 1926. Hereafter Codrington); *A. S. C. Reports, Passim; Epigraphia Zeylanica; Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, 1922, Ch. XXV, and Bibliography, pp. 663, 690.

[2] A pious Simhalese Buddhist visited Bodhagaya in the second century B. C. and recorded a donation in the following terms '*Bodhi rakhita Ta* (ṁ) *bapa* (ṁ) *nakasa dānam*'.

[3] For Simhalese art generally see *A. S. C. Reports* and H. C. P. Bell, *Report on the Kegalla District* (Colombo, 1904. Hereafter Bell, 2); A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (London and Broad Campden, 1908. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 1); Coomaraswamy, *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (Edinburgh, 1913. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 4); Coomaraswamy, *Bronzes from Ceylon* (Colombo, 1914. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 6); Coomaraswamy, *Mahayana Buddhist bronzes from Ceylon and Java* (*J .R. A. S.*, 1909. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 15) and in *J. I. A.*, Vol. XVI; Arunachalam, 1; E. W. Perera, *Singhalese banners and standards* (Colombo, 1915. Hereafter Perera); V. A. Smith, *History of the Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911. Hereafter Smith, 2); V. A. Smith, *Sculpture of Ceylon* (*J. I. A.*, 1914. Hereafter Smith, 7); J. G. Smither, *Architectural remains, Anuradhapura, Ceylon* (London, 1894. Hereafter Smither); Parker, 2; H. W. Cave, *Ruined cities of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1897 (good illustrations); Burrows, *Buried cities of Ceylon*, various editions; an essay on *Kandyan Architecture* by J. P. Lewis, in H. W. Cave, *The book of Ceylon; the Ceylon National Review; the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register; Spolia Zeylanica; Ceylon Journal of Science;* S. Kramrisch, *Wandmalereien zu Kelaniya, Jahrb. as. Kunst*, I, 1924.

[4] For the Yaṭṭhala Dāgaba see H. Parker, *Report on archaeological discoveries at Tissamahārāma* (*J. R. A. S.*, Ceylon Branch, Vol. VIII, no. 27, 1884. Hereafter Parker, 1); Parker, 2; and *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XXII, v. 7.

[5] See A. M. Hocart, in *J. R. A. S.*, Ceylon Branch, 1920.

[6] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chs. XXVIII—XXXI.

[7] Parker, 2, p. 296.

[8] For the Abhayagiriya, see *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1894, p. 2: Jetavanārāma, 1910-11, p. 11, Park·r, 2, pp. 304ff.

[9] The Lohapāsāda is described at length in *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XXVII (Geiger).

[10] Coomaraswamy, *Viśvakarmā* (London, 1914. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 7), Plate 52; Smith, 2, Plate XXIII. The figure is certainly not, as suggested by Parker, 2, p. 548, a Soldier in helmet and plume.

[11] Smith, 7; the *pokuma* groups recall the spandril paintings at Ellorā.

[12] General account in *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1905. Further details, 1896, p. 10, and 1897, p. 14. There are good copies of the frescoes in the Colombo Museum.

[13] Smith, 2, fig. 213.

[14] Smither, pp. 21, 27, 31 and Plate XXXII.

[15] G. A. Joseph, *Buddhist fresco at Hindagala near Kandy*, Ceylon Administration Reports, 1918, Colombo, 1919. A poor copy is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[16] For the Gal Vihāra, and similar rock-cut images at Tantrimalai, see *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1907, p. 34; for the painting, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 34. The image of Ānanda carried in procession in the reign of Sena II (886-901), *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. LI, v. 80, was probably of metal

[17] The *Mahāvaṁsa* states casually that Parākrama Bāhu brought 'Damilo' artificers from India to decorate Polonnāruva. Even at the present day the Sinhalese masons (*galwaḍuwo*) and some of the higher craftsmen are of acknowledged Tamil descent. Cf. page 126.

[18] For the Thūpārāma, see also *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1903, pp. 30ff.

[19] For the Northern Temple frescoes see *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1909, pls. XXV XXVII and A—P; and *ibid.*, 1922-23, figs. 12, 13. There are poor copies in the Colombo Museum.

[20] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 30ff.

[21] *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. LXXIII.

[22] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1906, pp. 14ff.

[23] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1904, p. 4; 1907, p. 21, note. Smith, 2, p. 241

[24] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1906, p. 17; 1910-11, p. 39.

[25] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 38.

[26] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1903, pp. 22-6; 1904, p. 5; *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. LXXVII, translation, pp. 40, 41.

[27] Smith, 7.

[28] General description, *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1908, pp. 4-20; also 1906, p. 17 & 1907, p. 17.

[29] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1910-11.

[30] Bell, 2, p. 63.

[31] Coomaraswamy, 1, pl. VII, 1.

[32] Coomaraswamy, 6, 7; *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Sculpture* (Boston, 1923. Hereafter Coomaraswamy, 9 [2]); Coomaraswamy, 15.

[33] A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du gandhāra* (Paris, 1900, 1918, 1923. Hereafter Foucher, I), pl. IX, 2 (Cambridge Ms. Add. 643). The manuscript illustrations, as pointed out by Foucher, evidently repeat older types.

[34] *A. S. C., A. R.*, 1891, pp. 4, 5.

[35] Coomaraswamy, 6, fig. 9.

[36] M. F. A. Bull., no. 120, fig. 13.

[37] For the legend of Pattinī Devī see Coomaraswamy, 15, p. 293; Parker, 2, p. 631 ff. The full story is related in the Tamil *Silappatikāram*.

[38] Coomaraswamy, 6, fig. 90.

[39] *Ibid.*, 6; Arunachalam, *Polonnaruva Bronzes and Siva worship and Symbolism*, *J. R. A. S.*, Ceylon Br., XXIV, no. 68 (1917) (Hereafter Arunachalam, 2).

[40] Bell, 2; Coomaraswamy, 1; J. P. Lewis, in H. W. Cave, *The book of Ceylon*.

[41] Coomaraswamy, 1.

[42] Coomaraswamy, in *J. I. A.*, Vol. 16, No. 128, 1914; Kramrisch, in *Jahrb. as. Kunst*, I, 1924.

[43] Cf. L. de Beylié, *L'architecture hindoue en Extreme Orient*, Paris, 1907, pp. 373-78.

[44] Ch. Duroiselle, *Pictorial representations of Jātakas in Burma*, *A.S.I., A. R.*, 1912-13 (Hereafter Duroiselle, 1); Ch. Duroiselle, *The stone sculptures of the Ānanda temple, Pagān, A. S. I., A. R.*, 1913-14 (Hereafter Duroiselle, 2); Ch. Duroiselle, *The Art of Burma and Tāntric Buddhism, A. S. I., A. R.*, 1915-16 (Hereafter Duroiselle, 3); Ko, Taw Sein, *Plaques found at the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, A. S. I., A. R.*, 1906-07 (Hereafter Ko, 1); Taw Sein Ko, *Archaeological notes on Pagan* (Rangoon, 1917. Hereafter Ko, 2); Taw Sein Ko, *The Mandalay palace, A. S. I., A. R.*, 1907-08 (Hereafter Ko, 3); Taw Sein Ko, *The Sangyaung monasteries of Amarapura, A. S. I., A. R.*, 1914-15 (Hereafter Ko, 4); Taw Sein Ko, *Archaeological notes on Mandalay* (Rangoon, 1924. Hereafter Ko, 5); G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1925.

[45] For an early medieval Sūrya from the Akyab District, see *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1922-23, p. 123; bronze Tārā, *ibid.*, 1917-18, pl. 1, p. 27 and pl. XVII, 1, 2.

[46] Assigned to 11th-13th century by Duroiselle, *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 137.

[47] H. Cousens, *Buddhist stūpa at Mīrpur Khās*, Sind (*A. S. I., A. R.*, 1909-10. Hereafter Cousens, 5)

[48] Duroiselle, 2; and K. Seidenstücker, *Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Ananda-Tempels Zu Pagan*, Mitt. Mus. Volkerkunde, IV (Hamburg, 1916. Hereafter Seidenstücker).

[49] R. D. Banerji, *Four Sculptures from Chandimau* (*A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12. Hereafter Banerji, 2).

[50] Duroiselle, 1; Ko, 1.

[51] Th. H. Thomann, *Pagan, ein Jahrtausend buddhistischer Tempelkunst*, (Heilbronn, 1923. Hereafter Thomann); Duroiselle, 1.

[52] Duroiselle, 3.

[53] Duroiselle, in *Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma*, for 1922, pl. 1.

[54] A. Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900, 1905. Hereafter Foucher, 2).

[55] Ko, 3, 4, and Duroiselle, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1912-13.

[56] Lacquer dating from the 12th or 13th century has been found at Pagán (*A. S. I.. A. R.*, 1922-23, p. 193).

[57] M. and B. Ferrars, *Burma*, London, Ch. VIII. Cut leather examples in the Ethnographische Museum, München.

[58] E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris, 1900-1904. Hereafter Aymonier, 1); G. Coedès, *The Vajirañāṇa National Library* (Bangkok, 1924. Hereafter Coedès, 5); G. Coedès, *Tablettes votives bouddhiques du Siam*, Études asiatiques (Paris, 1925. Hereafter Coedès, 6); K. Döhring, *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Siam* (Berlin, 1925. Hereafter Döhring, 1); K. Döhring, *Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam* (Berlin, 1920. Hereafter Döhring, 2); L. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, Paris, 1908. Hereafter Fournereau, 2; G. E. Gerini, *Siamese archaeology, a synoptic sketch* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904. Hereafter Gerini, 1); G. E. Gerini, *Siam and its productions, arts and manufactures* (1912. Hereafter Gerini, 2); W. A. Graham, *Pottery in Siam (Journal Siam Society*, XVI, Siam. Hereafter Graham, 1); W. A. Graham, *Siam* (London, 1924. Hereafter Graham, 2); L. de Lajonquière, *Essai d'inventaire archaéologique du Siam* (*B. C. A. I.*, 1912. Hereafter Lajonquière); A. Salmony, *Sculpture in Siam* (London, 1925. Hereafter Salmony, 1); A. Salmony, *Die Plastik des hinterindischen Kunstkreises* (Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924. Hereafter Salmony, 2); E. Seidenfaden, *Complément a l'inventaire des monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam oriental* (*B.É.F. E O.*, 1923. Hereafter Seidenfaden); E. A. Voretsch, *Über altbuddhistische Kunst in Siam* (O.Z., V and VI, 1916-17. Hereafter Voretsch, 1); E. A. Voretsch, *Indian art in Siam* (*Rūpam*, Calcuta, 1920. Hereafter Voretsch, 2).

[59] Some of these types are illustrated in Salmony, 1, 2; others in *J. S. S.*, Vol. XIX, pt. I, pls. IV, XIII, XV.

[60] Salmony, 1, pls. 1 to 6.

[61] Salmony, 1, pl. 10 cf. Coomaraswamy, 6, pl. XXVII, fig. 180 etc.

[62] G. Coedès, *Bronzes khmèrs, Ars Asiatica*, V (Paris, 1923. Hereafter Coedès, 4); Gerini; Lajonquière; and especially Seidenfaden.

[63] Fournereau, 2.

[64] *Ibid.*, pls. XLIX, L.

[65] G. Coedès, *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya* (*B.É.F.E.O.*, 1918. Hereafter Coedès, 3), pp. 33-6; G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya* (Paris, 1922. Hereafter Ferrand), p. 125.

[66] Döhring, 2; Yamanaka, Exhibition catalogue, Feb. 1926.

[67] Döhring, 1; Coedès, 5 (describes also the making of books).

[68] For the porcelain of Siam see Graham, 1, 2; R. S. le May, *A visit to Swankalok* (*J.S.S.*, XIX, 2, 1925. Hereafter le May); and A. Silice, and G. Groslier, *La céramique dans L'ancien Cambodge* (*A.A.K.*, 2, I, 1924. Hereafter Silice and Groslier).

[69] For the minor arts of Siam see Gerini, 2; Graham, 2.

[70] Gerini, 2; Graham, 2; Prince R. Damrong, *Tamrā Fon Rām* (Bangkok, 1923); R. Nicolas, *Le Lakhon Nora ou Kakhon Chatri et les origines du théatre classique siamois* (*J. S. S.*, XVIII, 2, 1924).

[71] Aymonier, 1; E. Aymonier, *Histoire de l'ancien Cambodge* (Strasbourg, n.d., 1924 [?]. Hereafter Aymonier, 2); G. Coedès, *Catalogue . . . Sculpture Khmère . . . Trocadéro et au Musée guimet* (*B.C.A.I.*, 1900. Hereafter Coedès, 1) G. Coedès, *Les bas-reliefs d'Aṅgkor Wāt* (*B.C.A.I.*, 1911. Hereafter Coedès, 2); Coedès, 4; L. Finot, *Les bas-reliefs de Bapuon* (*B.C.A.I.*, Paris, 1910. Hereafter Finot, 1); L. Finot, *Lokeśvara en Indochine* (Etudés asiatiques, Paris, 1925. Hereafter Finot, 2); A. Foucher, *Matériaux pour servir a L'étude de l'art khmère* (*B.C.A.I.*, 1912, 1913. Hereafter Foucher, 6); L. Fournereau, *Les ruines khmères* (Paris, 1890. Hereafter Fournereau, 1); V. Goloubew, *Le Phnom Kulen* (Cahiers de la Soc. Geog., VIII, Hanoi, 1924. Hereafter Goloubew, 3); V. Goloubew, *Le Harihara de Maha-Rosei* (Études asiatiques, Paris, 1925. Hereafter Goloubew, 4); G. Groslier, *Danseuses Cambodgiennes* (Paris, 1913. Hereafter Groslier, 1); G. Groslier, *Note sur la sculpture khmère ancienne* (Études asiatiques, 1925. Hereafter Groslier, 2); G. Groslier, *Recherches sur les Cambodgiennes* (Paris, 1921. Hereafter Groslier, 3); G. Groslier, *Praḥ Khan: Objets rituels en bronze* (*A.A.K.*, I, 1921, 1923. Hereafter Groslier, 4); G. Groslier, *Étude sur la psychologie de l'artisan Cambodgien* (*A.A.K.*, I, 1922-23. Hereafter Groslier, 5); G. Groslier, *L'Art hindou au Cambodge: Le Buddha Khmèr: Asram Maha Rosei* (*A.A.K.*, II, 1925. Hereafter Groslier, 6); G. Groslier, *Introduction a l'étude des arts Khmèrs* (*A. A.K.*, II, 1925. Hereafter Groslier, 7); G. Groslier, *La sculpture Khmère* (Paris, 1925. Hereafter Groslier, 8); Parmentier, H., *L'Art d'Indravarmaṇ* (*B.É. F.E.O.*, 1919. Hereafter Parmentier, 4); Pelliot, P., *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge* (*B.É.F.E.O.*, II, 1902. Hereafter Pelliot, 1); P. Pelliot, *Indian influences in the early Chinese art in Tun-Huang* (Journ. Ind. Art and Letters, II, 1926. Hereafter Pelliot, 2); Seidenfaden.

[72] The Nāgas, nevertheless, have all the appearance of being native on Cambodian soil. The kings of Aṅkor, we are told, slept with a Nāginī, the guardian of the land, in the first watch of every night. An ancient and impressive musical composition, to be heard even to-day, refers to Kaundinya and Somā—'played as a part of the ritual office, and reverently heard, it provokes a profound emotion, which often finds expression in tears' (Aymonier, 1, Vol. I, p. 45).

[73] It should not, however, be overlooked that the use of the patronymic *-varman* in India is by no means exclusive to the Pallavas. The word means 'protector'.

[74] For the whole period see Groslier, 3 (Ch. 24), 6, 7; Finot, 2; Goloubew, 3, 4; Aymonier, 2.

[75] Aymonier, 2, p. 35.

[76] For the remains at Hanchei see Groslier, 3, Ch. 24.

[77] Groslier, 6, 7.

[78] *Ibid.*, 6.

[79] Goloubew, 3.

[80] Groslier, 7.

[81] *Ibid.*, 6

[82] For another example of Indian art anticipating the plastic qualities of Far-Eastern art, see the Sarnath head, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), fig. 171.

[83] Finot, 2; Parmentier in *B. É. F. E. O.*, 1923, p. 292 and pl. XVI.

[84] Groslier, 7.

[85] Goloubew, 4.

[86] See Groslier, 7, Map, fig. 37.

[87] Groslier cites the characteristic Khmer half-vaulted galleries as un-Indian. In principle, however, they recall the half-vaulted aisles of Indian *caitya*-halls, and wooden examples of these may well have existed in Cambodia in the pre-khmer period, providing a model for stone building. In India a stone half-vaulted verandah appears in what is perhaps the unique case of the Harihara temple, No. 3, at Osiā (D. R. Bhandarkar, *The temples of Osiā* [*A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1908-09] and K. de B. Codrington, XLIII, B). Cf. the Bhājā verandah (pp. 24, 25).

[88] An analogous situation existed in India at the close of the Kuṣāṇa period: here too a fully developed stone architecture appears unannounced.

[89] H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams de l'Annam* (Paris, 1909 and 1918. Hereafter Parmentier, 3); and *B. É. F. E. O.*, 23, 1923, pp. 413ff.

[90] But cf. Groslier, 3, fig. 166.

[91] Sanskrit, Ākāśa-vimāna.

[92] H. Dufour, and C. Carpeaux, *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom* (Paris, 1914. Hereafter Dufour and Carpeaux).

[93] Cf. the dedication of an early Kuṣāṇa image of Buddha set up at Śrāvastī by two brothers 'with special regard to the welfare of their parents'; D. R. Sahni, *Buddhist image inscription from Śrāvastī* (*A.S.I.*, *A. R.*, 1908-09. Hereafter Sahni, 4); and *Milinda Pañha*, IV, 8, 29 *(S. B. E.*, XXXVI, p. 151). See also Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*, *op. cit.*, p. 58, note 8.

[94] Pelliot, 1.

[95] Formerly in the Moura collection (Foucher, 6, 1913, pl. IV, 2), now in the Chicago Art Institute. Aymonier, 2, pp. 134, 135.

[96] Pelliot, 1.

[97] Groslier, 1; A. Leclère, *Le thèatre cambodgian*, Rev. d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie, 1910, pp. 257-82; L. Laloy, *Les principes de la danse cambodgienne*, Rev. musicale, III, 9, 1922; S. Marchal, *Danses Cambodgiennes*, Saigon, 1926.

[98] The usual sizes are 1 x 3 m for men, 0.95 x 2.5 m for women. *Sarongs* are also worn.

[99] For the art of Campā see H. Parmentier, *Les monuments du cirque de Mison*, *B. É. F. E. O.*, 1904 (Hereafter Parmentier, 1); Parmentier, 3 and H. Parmentier, *Les sculptures chames au Musée de Tourane*, *Ars Asiatica*, IV, 1922 (Hereafter Parmentier, 5); Leuba, J. (Madame H. Parmentier), *Les Chams et leur art* (Paris and Brussels, 1923. Hereafter Leuba); P. N. Bose, *The Indian colony of Champa* (Madras, 1925. Hereafter Bose, 2).

[100] Art Primaire and Art Secondaire of Parmentier, 3, who restricts the term 'Classic' to the art of the eleventh century.

[101] Parmentier, 5; Leuba; F. D. K. Bosch, *Het Linga-heiligdom van Dinaja* (Ind. T. L. en Volkenkunde, LIV, 1924. Hereafter Bosch, 3). The 'doctrine of the passing on from ruler to ruler and from saint to saint of the divine, sacerdotal, and kingly glory' is also Avestan as remarked by D. B. Spooner, *The Zoroastrian period of Indian History* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1915. Hereafter Spooner, 11), p. 445. See also Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art, op. cit.*, pp. 61, 200.

[102] Amongst the sculptures of the Kailāsa temple at Kāñcī is one representing Śiva as mendicant in the Tāraka-daṇḍa (Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, 2 Vols. [Paris, 1914. Hereafter Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1], Vol. I, pl. XXVI).

[103] V. Rougier, *Nouvelles découvertes cames au Quang Nam* (*B.C.A.I.*, 1912. Hereafter Rougier); Leuba.

[104] Coedès, 3; Ferrand (bibliography, pp. 1, 2); N. J. Krom, *Het oude Java en zijn Kunst* (Haarlem, 1923. Hereafter Krom, 3), Ch. III; F. D. K. Bosch, *Een Oorkonde van het Groote Klooster te Nālandā* (Ind. T. L. en Volkenkunde, LXV, 1925. Hereafter Bosch, 4).

[105] Ferrand, p. 146; *Cambridge. History of India*, Vol. I, p. 213; E. B. Cowell, *Jātaka: or stories of the Buddha's former births* (Cambridge, 1895-1907. Hereafter Cowell), III, 188, and VI, 34ff. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XI, v. 44, Aśokan missionaries reached Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

[106] Ferrand, pp. 150, 151.

[107] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1920-21, p. 27, and A. S. I., Central circle Rep. 1920-21; Hirananda Sastri, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, pl. VII; Bosch, 4.

[108] Foucher, 2.

[109] Ferrand, pp. 44-8. Ruins of this *vihāra* seem to have survived until 1867

[110] S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in Tibet*, *Journ. Buddhist Text Soc. India*, 1, 1893, p. 8.

[111] W. Fruin-Mees, *Geschiedenis van Java, I. Hindoetijd perk* (2nd Ed., Weltevreden, 1922. Hereafter Fruin-Mess); F. D. K. Bosch, *Epigraphische en iconographische Aantekeningen* (Oudh. Dienst, Weltevreden, 1920. Hereafter Bosch, 1); Bosch, 3; A. Foucher, *The beginnings of Buddhist Art* (London, 1918. Hereafter Foucher, 4); A. Foucher, *The influence of Indian Art on Cambodia and Java* (Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee Memorial volumes, III, I, Calcutta, 1922. Hereafter Foucher, 9); W. P. Groenevelt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and malaca compiled from Chinese sources* (Verh. Bat. Kunst en Wet, Batavia, 1876. Hereafter Groenevelt); H. H. Juynboll, *Farbenzeichnungen aus altjavanischen Schriften* (Int. Archiv f. Ethnographie, XXX, I, Leiden, 1925. Hereafter Juynboll, 1); H. H. Juynboll, *Katalog des ethn. Reichsmuseums* (Leiden, 17 Vols., 1910-24. Hereafter Juynboll, 2); J. W. Yzerman, *De Chalukyasche bouwstijl op den Dieng* (Album Kern, Leiden, 1903. Hereafter Yzerman); N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (The Hague, 1920. Hereafter Krom, 2); Krom, 3; N. J. Krom, and T. von Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabuḍur* (The Hague, 1920. Hereafter Krom and Erp); H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Gr. i-a. Ph. A., Strassburg, 1896. Hereafter Kern); W. Stutterheim, *Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien* (Munchen, 1924-25. Hereafter Stutterheim, 1); W. Stutterheim, *Een belangrijke Hindoe-Javaansche Teekening op Koper* (Djawa, October, 1925. Hereafter Stutterheim, 2); J. Kats, *Het Javaansche Tooneel, I. Wajang Poerwa* (Weltevreden, 1923. Hereafter Kats,1); J. Kats, *Djaja Semadi and Sri Soewela* (Weltevreden, 1924. Hereafter Kats, 2); J. Kats, *Het Rāmāyana op Javaansche tempel-reliefs* (Weltevreden, 1925. Hereafter Kats, 3); J. Ph. Vogel, *The relation between the art of India and Java* ('The influence of Indian art', Indiafoc, London, 1925. Hereafter Vogel, 20); O. D. Rapp.

[112] O. C. Gangoly, *The cult of Agastya: and the origin of Indian Colonial art* (*Rūpam*, Calcutta, 25, 1926. Hereafter Gangoly, 4); Bosch, 3.

[113] Bosch, 3, and cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art, op. cit.*, p. 196.

[114] It need hardly be remarked that the nomenclature of the Dieng temples, taken from the *Bharatayuddha*, is of later origin, and gives no indication of their original dedication, which was in all cases Śaiva. Stutterheim, in Djawa, V, 1925, p. 346, shows that the 'wayang' names were probably applied to the Dieng temples by the Javanese from Kediri in the thirteenth century. Just in the same way the Śaiva rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram have been popularly named after the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (see Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1, pp. 75-7), and so also those of Masrūr, all in India proper.

[115] Cf. Yzerman.

[116] It should be observed that the term 'Prambanam group' is of wide application covering more than thirty temples of differing periods and types, and both Buddhist and Śaiva.

[117] Foucher, 4; H. Hoenig, *Das Formproblem des Borobudur* (Batavia, 1924. Hereafter Hoenig); Krom, 2, 3; Krom and Erp (with illustrations of all the sculptures).

[118] The nearest Indian parallels to the Borobudur and Prambanam reliefs are to be found in the Gupta reliefs of the basement (*Rāmāyaṇa* and dancing scenes) at Deogarh.

[119] D. R. Sahni, *Pre-Mahammadan monuments of Kashmir* (*A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1915-16. Hereafter Sahni, 3); Sahni, 4; Cf. Seals from Ladakh, R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the archaeological and numismatic sections of the Sri Partap Singh Museum*, Srinagar (London, 1923. Hereafter Kak, 1), p. 103; and one of unknown origin, Coomaraswamy, 9 (2) (pl. XXXIX)

[120] Krom, 2, p. 257.

[121] Coomaraswamy, 15; Juynboll, 2; N. J. Krom, *De Buddhistische bronzen in het Museum te Batavia* (*O.D. Rapp*, 1912. Hereafter Krom, 1); N. J. Krom, *L'Art javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java* (Ars Asiatica, VIII, 1926. Hereafter Krom, 4); C. M. Pleyte, *Indonesian Art* (The Hague, 1901. Hereafter Pleyte); K. With, *Java: brahmanische, buddhistische und eigenlebige Architektur und Plastik auf Java* (Hagen, 1920. Hereafter With, 1); K. With, *Javanische Kleinbronzen*, in 'Studien zur Kunst des Ostens', Josef Strzygowski gewidmet (Wien, 1923. Hereafter With, 3); R. Heine-Geldern, *Altjavanische Bronzen*. . . (Wien, 1925. Hereafter Heine-Geldern)

[122] Stutterheim, 1; Krom, 4.

[123] Remains of a temple, Caṇḍi Badut, near Malang in East Java, are apparently in the Dieng style, but have not yet been studied (Bosch, 3, p. 284).

[124] Krom, 3, p. 150. Cf. Krom, 1, p. 410 and pl. 42.

[125] J. Burgess, *The Ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India*, 2 Vols. (1897. Hereafter Burgess, 8), pl. 235.

[126] H. H. L. Melville, J. Knebel, and J. L. A. Brandes: 1) *Beschrijving van . . . Tjandi Djago*, Arch. Onderzoek op Java en Madoera,I (The Hague, 1904. Hereafter Melville, Knebel and Brandes, 1); 2) *Beschrijving van Tjandi. Singasari en . . . Panataran*, Arch. Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, II (The Hague, 1909. Hereafter Melville, Knebel and Brandes, 2).

[127] J. Fergusson, *A history of Indian and eastern architecture* (2nd ed., London, 1910. Hereafter Fergusson, 2), pl. LII; but the temple is situated in the far east of Java, beyond Pasuruhan, not as Fergusson states, near Borobudur.

[128] Krom, 3, p. 154.

[129] H. Kern, and N. J. Krom, *Het oud-Javaansche Lofdicht Nāgarakertāgama* (*The Hague, 1919*).

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[131] Stutterheim, 2; Juynboll, 1, 2.

[132] A. Bastian, *Indonesien*, Vol. V, *Java* (Berlin, 1894); W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp, *Kunstwerke von Java . . . Bali* (Berlin, 1924), figs. 139, 140; Juynboll, 1, 2.

133 Krom, 3, p. 206.

134 An example illustrated in Krom, 4, pl. LIX.

135 G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schatten-Theaters* (2. ed., Hannover, 1925); B. Laufer, ... *Chinesische Schattenspiele* ..., Abh. K. B. Akad. Wiss., Vol. 28, München, 1915.

136 Kats, 1; S. Serrurier, *De Wajang-Poerwa* (Leiden, 1896); J. Groneman, *Tjandi parambanan na ... de ontgraving* (Leiden, 1893); R. van B. van Helsdingen, *The Javanese theatre: Wayang Purwa and Wayang Gedog*, in Straits Branch R. A. S., 65, 1913.

137 For a good account of a court performance see Kats, 2. Also Coomaraswamy, *Notes on the Javanese theatre*, in *Rūpam*, Calcutta, 7, 1921

138 Th. B. van Lelyveld, *De javaansche Danskunst* (Weltevreden, 1922); P. A. Hadiwidjojo, *De Bedojo Katawang*, Eerste Congress Taal, Land en Volkenkunde (Weltevreden, 1921); Helsdingen-Scoevers and de Kleen, *De Srimpi- en Bedajadansen* (Weltevreden, 1925).

139 For *batik* see G. P. Rouffaer, and H. H. Juynboll, *Die indische Batikkunst und ihre Geschichte* (Haarlem, 1901-05); J. A. Loebèr, *Das Batiken. Eine Blüte indonesischen Kunstlebens* (Oldenburg, 1926); for *batik* and all other Indonesian textiles, especially *ikat*, see J. E. Jasper, and M. Pirngadie, *De inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in nederlandsche Indie* (The Hague, 1912).

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS *

After *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927)

35

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

THE forbidding aspect of the sandy waste of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan would hardly lead one to believe that in the early centuries of the Christian era it was studded with a large number of flourishing cities, both along the northern and southern fringes of the Taklamakan Desert. Yet the archaeological excavations carried out in this region by Sir Aurel Stein in 1900-01 on behalf of the British Government of India yielded such a rich harvest of antiquities, that not only he led to more expeditions into this region (1906-08, 1913-16), but similar expeditions were sent by Germany (1902-03, 1904-05, 1913-14), Russia (1904, 1906, 1908, 1914), Japan (1902-04, 1908-09) and France (1906-09, 1927-28). Three successive expeditions were sent into Russian Turkestan during 1926-28.[1]

These expeditions have literally unearthed the relics of a lost civilization. The sites of more than two dozen of cities (and adjacent regions) have been found which lay buried for more than a thousand or fifteen hundred years nearly under 30 ft. of sand, as a result of slow encroachment of the desert. These cities lay along the high road of commerce between China and the countries to the West and South of the Pamir Plateau, and the entire region was a meeting place of many and diverse types of culture. The excavations of these cities have yielded ruined Buddhist monuments—*stūpas* and monasteries, images of Hindu and Buddhist gods and goddesses, and a number of manuscripts and short documents written in Indian script and languages, in such a large number that there can be hardly any doubt that Indian culture formed the most dominant element in the whole region—a fact testified to by the Chinese pilgrims like Fā Hsien and Hsüān Tsāng who passed through it on their way to India from China, respectively, in the fifth and the seventh centuries A. D.

It is not possible to give a detailed account of the various objects of art found in this region and a general account must suffice.

Many structures, in ruins, may be easily recognized to be the Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries of the types with which we are familiar in India. About the striking resemblance between these and their Indian prototypes it will suffice to recall a casual remark of Sir Aurel Stein that while moving round the ruins deep down in

the excavated sites, he often forgot that he was not within the familiar surroundings of the Punjab, but hundreds of miles far from it. There are also some peculiarities. For example, at Rawak there was a huge *stūpa* in the centre of the rectangular courtyard. (Fig. 1) The sculptures and stucco images (Plates 1a, 1b) represent mostly Buddhist, but also a few Brāhmaṇical, deities. They show close resemblance to Gandhāra sculptures of India, particularly in respect of drapery. Referring to the colossal standing Buddha at Rawak—intact up to the shoulders, except for the missing right hand, Stein observes:

> The most remarkable features in R. i [Relief sculptures on inner south-west wall, Rawak *stūpa* court] and its replicas, which we note with minor modifications also in the rest of the Rawak statuary, is the treatment of the drapery. This is almost as Grecian as in the standing Buddha figures of Gandhāra sculpture, and betrays its derivation from the latter in every detail. In order to realize this remarkable agreement, it is sufficient to compare our statues, e.g., with the relief representations of Gautama Buddha from Takht-i-Bahi quoted below, or indeed with any of the finer Gandhāra figures showing Buddha standing in the *Abhaya* posture. The robe, which covered both shoulders, is laid round the body so as clearly to show its contours. The folds, which are marked with boldly projecting edges, are gracefully disposed and hang in a natural way from the limbs that catch their lines. The shape of the body beneath the robe is in these statues of the inner south-west wall, as well as in the colossal images of the inner south-east face, displayed in a more pronounced fashion than in the Gandhāra sculptures referred to. But the identical arrangement of the drapery is in no way affected thereby. A comparison of the folds gathered over the outstretched left arm (see R. v. ix), or falling from the bent right forearm, both in our statues and in the Gandhāra examples will illustrate this. The 'wonderful tenacity' with which 'the ancient Chinese and Japanese Buddha-figures have preserved the "draping" of the Gandhāra figures in a peculiar way', as duly emphasized by Dr. Grunwedel, can no longer surprise us when we see how faithfully old Khotan art in this as in many other respects reproduced its Gandhāra models.[2]

Indian influence may also be traced in paintings. The most interesting examples are furnished by numerous wall-paintings, particularly in the famous 'caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tun-huang[3] (Plates 2a, 2b). Prof. Pelliot has published a

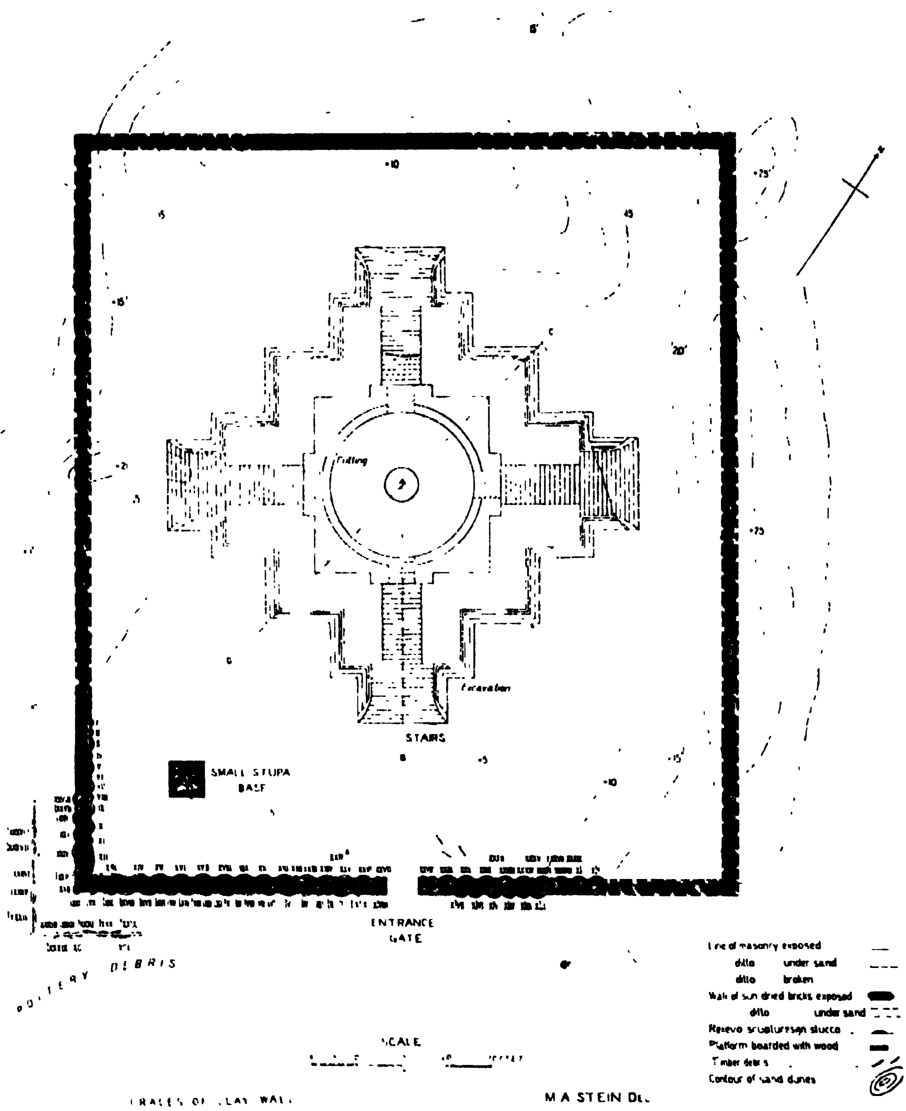


Fig. 1
Plan of ruined *vihāra*, Rawak (After *Ancient Khotan*—M.A.Stein)



Plate 1a Head of life-size relief in stucco from Rawak *stūpa* court, *c*. 5th-7th centuries A. D.



Plate 1b Head in stucco from Rawak *stūpa* court, *c*. 5th-7th centuries A. D.





Plate 2a Painting, representing scene from the Buddha legend from Thousand Buddhas, Tun-Huang, late 6th or early 7th century A. D.

Plate 2b Portion of large painting representing Bodhisattva from Thousand Buddhas, Tun-Huang, late 6th or early 7th century A. D.





Plate 3 Painted panels from shrine D. II, Dandān-Uiliq, c. 8th century A. D.



Plate 4 Detached stucco relief from wall decoration of shrine D. I., D. II., Dandān-Uiliq, *c*. 8th century A. D.



Plate 5a Fresco, Flying Divinities, painting in the niche of the 175 ft. Buddha, Bamiyan, early 7th century A. D.

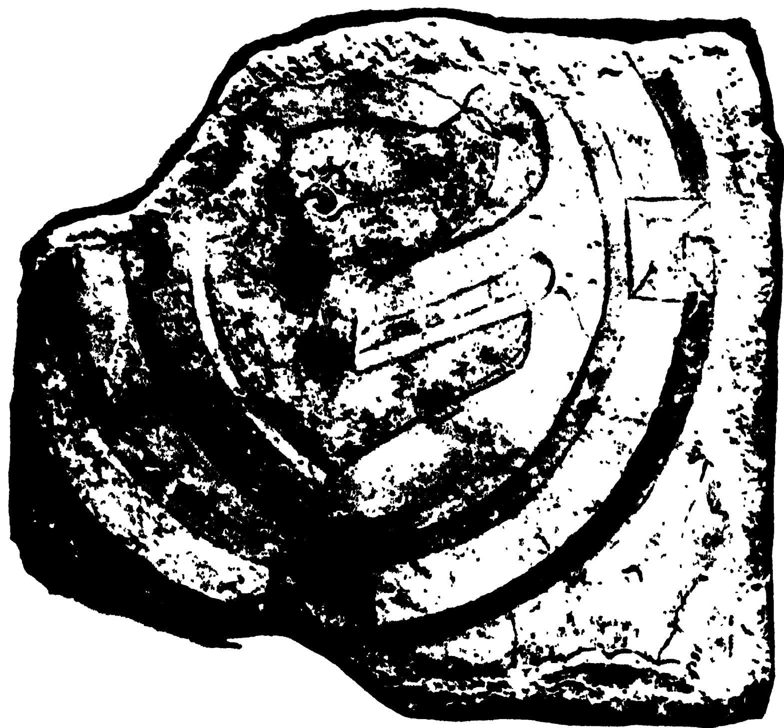


Plate 5b Ceiling decoration, the heraldic boar's head, Bamiyān, early 7th century A. D.



Plate 6a The toilet (Ivory), Begram, 2nd century A. D.



Plate 6b The Female Attendant (Ivory), Begram, 2nd century A. D.

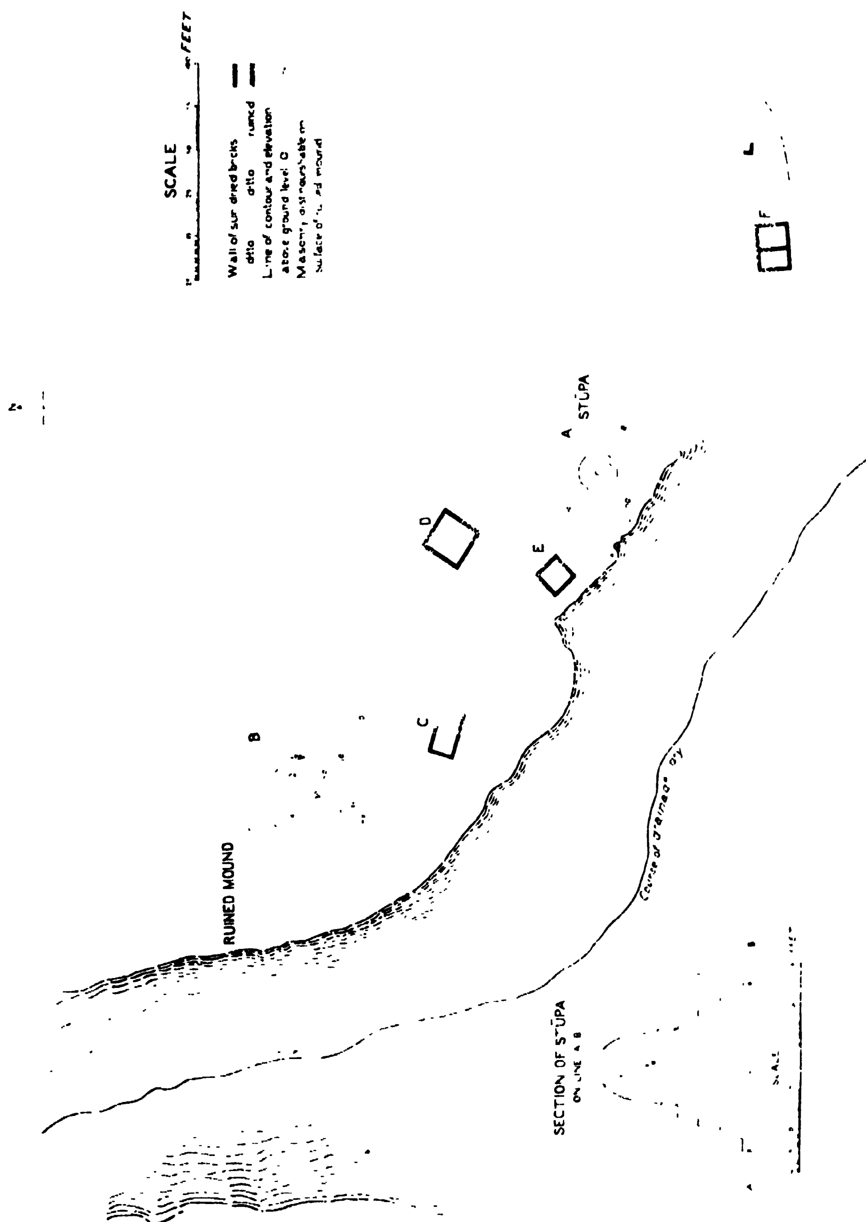


Fig. 2
Plan of Maurī-Tim *stūpa* ruins (After *Ancient Khotan*—M.A.Stein)

portfolio of 376 plates illustrating the sculptures and paintings found in 182 of these caves. The subjects of painting are Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, minor Buddhist gods and scenes from Buddha's life. The wall-paintings at Kizyl illustrate Buddhist stories of which eighty have been identified as *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*. These paintings show a bewildering variety of styles—products of the mingling of Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic, and sometimes also of such other elements as Indo-Scythian, Turki, Uighur and Tibetan. The Indian element is very prominent in the Fresco in Shrine D. II of Dandān-Uiliq. (Plate 3)

The gradual stages in the evolution of Indian art into its central Asian variety may be traced through the fine Buddhist images of Gandhāra school discovered by the French archaeologists in various sites of Afghanistan.[5] More than five hundred *stūpas* were excavated in Hadda, yielding more than 400 stucco heads of Buddha, demons and warriors. They show the evolution of the old forms of *stūpas*, found in Bhārhut and Sāñcī, into a slender type due to the double cylindrical drums topped by a third low drum and dome—the whole thing resting on a double square basement. The beginning of this type is already met with in the north-western part of India. Its full development may be seen in the ruined *stūpa* at Maurī-Tim (Fig. 2) about 21 miles to the north-east of the 'Old City of Kashgar'. This is one of the few *stūpas* besides those at Endere, Rawak, Topa-Tim and Niya Site, which are sufficiently well-preserved to give a general idea of the structure of *stūpas* in Central Asia. The Maurī-Tim *stūpa* in its present state still rises to a height of 38 ft. Sir Aurel Stein has described it as follows:

> The *stūpa* rises on a square base formed by three successively receding storeys, the lowest measuring 40 feet on each side, and having an elevation of three feet above the ground. The next two storeys are each 5½ feet high, and recede from the one next beneath by three feet. The highest storey is followed by a circular base, five feet high, having a diameter of 24 feet; and this again bears a drum, five feet in height, and decorated with bold projecting mouldings at top and bottom. From the drum springs finally the *Stūpa* dome, which at its foot shows a diameter of 17 feet, identical with that of the drum. The top of the dome is broken, but as its extant masonry rises to a height of about 14 feet, as shown by the section in the plan, it is clear that the dome or cupola cannot have been hemispherical, but must have shown a bulb shape.[6]

Stein emphasizes the close agreement which exists in regard to general architectural arrangement between all Turkestan *stūpas* examined by him and the

corresponding structures extant in the Kabul valley and on the Indian North-West frontier.[7] The sculptures on these *stūpas* as well as the detached stucco heads of Buddha (Plate 4) show the high degree of development that the Gandhāra style of India had undergone in Afghanistan. The Fresco paintings at Bamiyan (Plates 5a, 5b) already show the Iranian and Chinese influence on the basic Indian style which we find at Ajantā. The designs of the ivory work, of which numerous specimens have been found at Begram (Plates 6a, 6b), show close affinity with the art products of Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period (First and Second centuries A. D.). It has been justly remarked that the vigorous offshoots of Gandhāra art in Afghanistan formed 'an antechamber to the art of Central Asia'.

Year of writing: 1963

Notes And References

[1] For a detailed account of the excavations in Afghanistan and Central Asia, cf. *Progress of Greater Indian Research* (1917-42) by Dr. U. N. Ghosal, pp. 1-17.

[2] M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, p. 490. For an account of the excavations and antiquities at Rawak, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 482-507. For the General plan of the *stūpa*, cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, Plate XL. For the sculptures, cf. *ibid.*, Plates XIV- XVIII, LXXXI-LXXXIV.

[3] Tun-huang was situated in the province of Kan-su, on the highway leading from China to the west. So it was a meeting place of foreigners from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. Indian families were settled there as early as the 3rd century A.D. when it had already become a great centre of Buddhism. Rulers of the Wei Dynasty (386-557 A.D.), who were great patrons of Buddhism and Buddhist art, built Buddhist temples and scooped out caves in the surrounding rocks. The number of the caves was multiplied in course of ages till it reached a thousand which contained, among other works of art, the figures of Buddha.

[4] Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. III, Plates II, LIII, LIV, LV.

[5] For a full description, with illustrations, of the discoveries cf. *Memoirs de la Délegation Archaeologique Francaise on Afghanistan*, particularly the volumes dealing with the excavations at Hadda, Bamiyan and Begram.

[6] M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 81. For the plan, cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, Plate XXII. For the Photo of the *stūpa*, cf. *ibid.*, Plate I.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

Courtesy: Plates 1a, 1b, 3, 4·*Ancient Khotan*—M.A. Stein,
Plates 2a, 2b *Serindia*—M.A. Stein,
Plate 5a Ministry of Information, Govt. of India,
Plate 5b A.I.I.S., Gurgaon; Plates 6a, 6b Museé Guimet, Paris

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INDIA AND CHINA: THE BEYOND AND THE WITHIN

THE last twenty-three centuries have seen a continuing cultural interflow between the Western Paradise that is India and the Celestial Kingdom that is China. The rustling breeze of Buddhist fragrance has awakened the mindscape of both countries, endowing them with the web of thought, the harmony of art, the magnificent colour of murals and sculptures, incarnating a new life and sinking into the sensitivities of our people's deep-reaching muscles of mystery, draped in the intimacy of the mind. The first contacts were made by Buddhist scholars from India who appeared in the Chinese capital in 217 B. C. under the Tsin dynasty. Contacts during the Tsin dynasty are a fair possibility as the Sanskrit word for Cathay is *Cīna*, as such was the dynastic name Tsin heard by the Indians.

Voltaire (1694-1778), the unrivalled French writer and philosopher, was impressed by the 'sublime ideas' of the Indians about the Supreme Being. His enthusiasm for Asian civilization and Eastern wisdom was shared by Sir William Jones. Jones followed the standards set up by the French philosopher, and he read him assiduously. Voltaire admired the political organization of China and her ethics based on Reason. He found in China a great civilization which owed nothing to the Greco-Roman or Christian tradition. The Chinese managed their affairs of state more rationally and without Christianity. The German philosopher Leibnitz too had established the Berlin Academy to open up interchange of civilization between Europe and China. The more the Europeans investigated China the more they found India to be its roots, in fact the Greece of Asia, the birthplace of philosophical ideas and the overwhelming influence in art and poetry.

The *chinoiserie* of the 18th century led to revealing the fabulous bonds of China with India. In their study of China, French scholars started to unravel Central Asia and India. Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat published a history of Khotan in 1820 and his French translation of the travels of Fā Hsien through Central Asia, Afghanistan and India appeared posthumously in 1836. By his labours, it became evident that Chinese sources were fundamental to the understanding of

Indian history. In fact the Indian pronunciation of this first great Chinese pilgrim derives from Abel-Rémusat's transcription, like that of his illustrious successor Hsüān-Tsāng. The travels and biography of the latter were again translated by a French scholar, Stanislas Julien in 1853-58. The biography of Hsüān-Tsāng after his return to China as summarized by Julien 147 years ago is still our main guide. Indian scholars rarely have access to this French work and are thus deprived of detailed knowledge of the academic achievements of Hsüān-Tsāng after his return home. Julien was again the first to point out that Sanskrit literature had been translated into Chinese on a gigantic scale for a thousand years. In his Sinico-Sanskrit concordance of Buddhist works, published in 1849, he gave the Sanskrit titles of Chinese *sūtras* from a Chinese catalogue of 1306. Thus he injected a new dimension into Indic studies.

Names of Indian savants and sages, deities and divine beings, titles of works and toponyms abound in Chinese chronicles, hagiographies, canonical texts and other historical treatises. Complete Sanskrit texts of hymns are also extant in Chinese transcriptions. These hymns have sunk their roots deep into the lipping adoration of the Chinese. To decipher Sanskrit from them, Julien wrote *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* in 1861. Even after the passing of 144 years it remains our only guide, though in dire need of updating and enlarging.

Silk across the sands: Roman ladies of rank, draped in see-through muslin cottons of India and in shining silks and brocades of China, were the eyeful rage of Imperial Rome. Silk was imported from China, where its production began as early as the New Stone Age. The oracle bone inscriptions of the Yin dynasty contain Chinese characters for mulberry, silkworm, thread and woven fabric. The consort of Emperor Huang Ti (2640 B. C.) made sericulture fashionable by herself cultivating mulberry trees, raising worms and reeling silk. The Nihongi states that this fabulous fabric was introduced in Japan around A.D. 300. The Roman empire at Rome and later at Constantinople realized the potentialities of silk. Emperor Justinian had two Iranian monks, who were living in China, smuggle silkworms to Constantinople in the hollows of their bamboo canes in about A. D. 550. In the 19th century steeped in classical antiquity, it was but natural that a German geographer called the ancient way from Hsian to Rome: Seidenstrassen or the Silk Route. This Eurocentric nomenclature emphasized the commercial aspects of the route. After all, the Greek word *serikos* for 'silk' is derived from *seres* 'Chinese', that is the Chinese fabric. As children, we saw the Chinese cycling around the streets of Lahore and peddling silk. China and silk were interlinked in our minds. To my father, Prof. Raghu Vira, however, the

Chinese were a symbol of the Confucian Classics, great artists and architects, painters and sculptors of exquisite Buddhist icons in the flat and in the round, bearers of the profound thought of Buddhism, a vast segment of the world's cultural heritage, and a people who had preserved thousands of Buddhist *sūtras* whose Sanskrit originals had been lost in India, the land of their origin. The Chinese paintings in our home and the Shanghai and Taisho editions of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* covering a whole wall of the residence left a deep impression on my growing mind. In later years when I took up the study of Central Asia, silk and *sūtras* came to mind again as two characteristics of the Chinese and of the *Sūtra* Route.

To the Chinese, it was the way to the Western World of India. Across the vast stretches of desert, in the void of the self, they heard the echoing of 'I am the Truth.' Travelling and traveller became one, one with the eternal. The waterless deserts were the void of the self. The traveller trod not with his feet, but with his heart on wings. Courage tore the terror of the terrain, and despair turned to hope in the supreme quest of a beyond without shores. The drop departed from its native home found a shell and became a pearl. The desert and oasis became an embodiment of Buddhist teaching, according to Takayasu Higuchi. The desert symbolizes hell and the oasis paradise, or in the broader perimeters of Buddhist philosophy 'everything flows and nothing is permanent'. I-ching speaks of the hardships and perils that had to be braved to reach India: 'No doubt, it is great merit and fortune to visit the Western Country (India) in search of the Dharma but at the same time it is an extremely difficult and perilous undertaking. . . . Many days have I passed without food, even without a drop of water. I was always worried and no spirit was left in me. . . . If, however, a monk happened to reach India after such perilous journey, he would find no Chinese monastery there. There was no fixed place to settle down. We had to move from place to place like a blade of grass swept by the wind.' The monk Hsüan-k'uei, who could not come to India as he suffered from illness, wrote: 'My heart goes to the sacred land of Buddhist temples. I dream to move in the land of the Buddha. Will that auspicious day ever come, when with the help of a cup or bowl only, I shall be able to cross and reach India? Shall I be able to witness the magnificent flow of Dharma in India?' (Guhokosoden, T 2066, Lahiri 1986:74).

Heavenly horses: Though the route has been named by the Europeans, it was not opened by them as a communication system for silk. At the end of the second century B. C. the Han emperor Wu-ti sent Chang Ch'ien to Hsi-yu, the Western World. His return to Ch'ang-an in 126 B. C. was the opening of a

regular road, as the Chinese realized the importance of other cultures. Xenophobia and the concept of Barbarians underwent change. Nomadic tribes traded silk with Central and Western Asia. The main purpose of the journey of Chang Ch'ien was defence: to find the whereabouts of the Hu barbarians who had been a major menace to Han-period China. The thorough-bred 'heavenly horse' (*tien ma* 天馬) was imported from Dawuan to improve breed of horses during the Han dynasty. Chang Ch'ien was amazed to see in Bactria staves or walking sticks made of bamboo of Kiung and cloth of Shu, both from Sechuan. The Bactrians had purchased them in India. This subsequently led the Chinese to the discovery of Yün-nan. An ancient trade route ran from Sechuan through Yün-nan into north-east India, thence to north-west India and then to Iranian lands. Silk-horse barter was a feature of Western Han times. The Han Emperor Wu-ti twice despatched troops under the command of General Li Guangli to obtain fine horses across the Tienshan mountains from the West. The new breed reinforced the military capability of China to such an extent as to eliminate the Huns and to expand their power as far as Korea. The Imperial Mausoleum of Western Han in Yangjinwan has thousands of clay figures of war horses. Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, the first Indian teacher in China in the first century A. D., stayed at the Po-ma ssu or White Horse Monastery. The word 'white' can refer here to the colour of the horse or the horse of the 'white' people. The ethnicon of Kucha was 白 'white' and *śvetadvīpa* 'white land' refers to an area beyond north-west India. The white horse is at the base of the modern economic miracle of Japan. At the end of the Second World War, General MacArthur rode the sacred white horse of the Emperor of Japan to seal the newly won victory, and offered the equivalent of Marshall Aid to Japan. The Japanese responded: 'No aid, only trade. We will work hard and grow rich.' The white horse became the heavenly horse that led Japan to unprecedented economic heights.

Music, milk, paper, rice, fruits: In 138 B. C. Chang Ch'ien, the envoy of the Chinese Emperor, took back musical instruments and Mahātukhāra melodies from India to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. The son-in-law of the Emperor Wu-ti wrote twenty-eight new tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Along with Buddhism, the Tokharians of the route introduced milk to China. The Chinese ideograph *lo* 酪, pronounced *lak* in ancient times, which meant various kinds of fermented milk products, was a loan from Indo-European (Latin *lactic*). The peach and pear reached India in the reign of Kaniṣka and hence they were known as *cīnāni* 'Chinese Princess'

and *cīnā-rājaputra* 'Chinese Prince'. Paper had been manufactured out of silk in Han times, but with the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled *Ku-chin tzu-ku* where the silk radical 糹 of the character *chih* 紙 for silk is replaced by 帋 with the cotton radical 巾, after the invention by Ts'ai Lun. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from India to China in the second century B. C. The Japanese word *uruchi* is derived from the Sanskrit *vrīhi*. It seems to have arrived via north-west India where Greek and Roman influences were dominant. Rice is *oruza* in Greek and Latin (*oryza*), both derivatives of *vrīhi*. The knowledge of rice came to Greece from the expedition of Alexander and the mention of *oruza* by Theophrastus (*c*. 320-300 B. C.) dates almost from the lifetime of Alexander who died in 323 B. C. The Japanese is so close to the Greek form that its origin can be connected with a variant of *vrīhi* that was prevalent in north-west India, from which the Greek and Japanese forms are derived. The golden peach was introduced into China in the reign of Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang (A. D. 629-49) from Sogdiana. The peach and the apricot were introduced to Rome in the first century A. D. through Iran, via Armenia, Greece and Rome. In A. D. 647 the king of Gandhāra in north-west India sent the 'Buddha-land vegetable' to the Chinese court (T'ang shu 221b7).

Greco-Roman elements: The three Tathāgatas of the past, present and future, in China and Japan are: Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni, and Maitreya. Hsüan-Tsāng localizes the cult of Dīpaṅkara the Tathāgata of the past at Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad in Afghanistan). His names, translated into Chinese by various pairs of characters meaning 'Constant Light', 'Universal Light', 'Blazing Torch', show proximity to the Iranian light cult. The sitting posture of Maitreya, with his feet hanging down the seat in European fashion, are a feature of north-west India, where Iranians, Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Kuṣāṇas, and Tokharians jostled with the Indians.

The continued political presence of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, and Kuṣāṇas had a far-reaching impact on the cultural hegemony of north-west India. It saw the osmosis of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas into Buddhism. The king-cult or emperor-worship was prevalent in Iran, Greece and Rome. The deification of kings was a solemn act of legislation in Greece even before Alexander crossed over into Asia. It was transplanted into Rome. Images of deified kings were installed in temples in live physical dimensions or in heights of multiples thereof to express greater loyalty. The loyalty of the provinces to Rome was gauged by the veneration which they felt for the person of the Emperor, whom they were prepared to treat as a god. The practice of

offering divine honours to Augustus began in the East soon after Actium and in the course of his reign penetrated to all parts of the Empire.

The 人中像 have been a puzzle to Japanese, Chinese and European scholars (for instance, Yoshimura Rei, Roshana Hokai Ninchūzo no kenkyū, *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 203. 125-39). They were personalities (人) in (中) statues (像). These were life-size sculptures, made to the breadth of the donor's finger (*aṅgula*). There are several instances in the Buddhist world. The proportions of a Tibetan Buddha are those of the Prince of Shalu (Zhva.lu) or the image of an Avalokiteśvara has the same size as Sontsengampo, the first emperor of Tibet. These portrait-statues of the royalty were an expression of sanctified power. The Sanskrit word *pratimā* means a portrait-statue done to (*prati*) the measures (*mā*) of the donor. The Daibutsu, larger than life-size, were an extension of this principle: the colossal Maitreya statue at Darel seen by Fā Hsien, the two images at Bamiyan, the 27 metre high standing Maitreya at the Binglingsi caves are royal enterprises. They remind of the colossi in the Greco-Roman world. The colossus of Apollo astride the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes was the most celebrated in Greek antiquity, 120 feet high, made by Chares in 250 B. C. Colossal statues of deities and emperors were erected all over the Roman empire to impress the might of Rome on the people. Zenodorus was summoned by Nero to Rome and there he made a statue 106 feet high to represent the emperor but dedicated to the Sun. In the eighth century, Rocana of Nara symbolized imperium. Emperor Shomu ordered, in A. D. 743, the construction of the gigantic statue (Daibutsu) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery, in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a 'Grand National Temple'. Portrait-statues or colossi in China and Japan go back to north-west Indian prototypes which were cognate to Roman concepts of imperial power expressed as cult images.

The portents of sweating, weeping, shaking, light-emitting images from the Chin (A. D. 265-420) to the northern Ch'i and northern Chou (A. D. 550-81) dynasties are sensitive not to individual worshippers but to the body politic. Their forerunners were the state cults of Greece and Rome. The Roman historian Livy records sympathetic sweating while Hannibal was in Italy at a critical stage of the Second Punic War. Livy and St. Augustine cite that Apollo of Cumae lamented publicly when the Greeks were worsted by the Romans in three successive wars of the second century B. C. Just as the safety of ancient Troy depended on the statue of Pallas, the Buddhist images in China

were also Palladian. It is an indication that the Greco-Romanized people of north-west India were active intermediaries not only in the trading of silk, but also in the transmission of the *sūtras*. The role of the Greco-Roman world in the conditioning and in the transferring of Buddhism across the *Sūtra* Route, deserves a close study.

Jade beauties to flying devīs: The Chinese were fascinated by jade beauties and by the music and dances of the Central Asian peoples. The Chou (1027-256 B. C.) got music of the western Barbarians and played it on special occasions to vaunt their political might. The first three masters of Buddhist psalmody (*bombai*) in China were Kuchean, Scythian and Sogdian. In A. D. 384 Lü Kuang brought music from Kucha as triumphal booty.

The Mogao Caves at Tun-huang and the Yulin Caves have extensive representation of flying goddesses, some of whom hold musical instruments. Beginning with Northern Wei (386-534 A. D.) they come down to the Yüan dynasty (1271-1368 A. D.). They emerge from the Pool of Seven Jewels in the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī. They dwell in heaven and refrain from taking meat and wine, but collect the sweet nectar of different flowers and scatter blossoms from the sky to make the world fragrant. With no robes above the waist, they fly in the air in their flowing scarves. The flying celestials at Tun-huang with long silk scarves trailing out gave rise to the 'Scarf Dance'. Their hand and body postures are strongly reminiscent of the Indian style of dancing.

In 568 Emperor Wu-ti of the Northern Wei married a Turk princess of the A-shena family. The princess brought in her train the musicians of Kucha. Since then we find the music of Kucha, Kashgar, Bukhara and Samarkand in Northern Chou.

The concupiscent statues of goddesses at Nav Bahar in Bactria established the equation 'ideal beauty= Buddhist image' in the east Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideas of the grace of Buddhist statues. Ayyūqi writes of his beautiful heroine that 'she was . . . a Buddhist statue in a temple full of offerings.' Further on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-42 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddhist statue), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery which was well-known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature up to the time of Yaqub in the 13th century. No wonder that the metaphor of the *Bot* 'Buddhist statue' is constant in early Persian poetry.

The Annals of the Sui and T'ang dynasties record Iranian dances and musical instruments. Prosperity flowed into the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an, an

international centre of politics, trade and culture, as it was the easternmost terminus of the trans-national Silk Route. Chinese poets speak of citizens of Ch'ang-an enjoying wine served by Barbarian women in the taverns. Some of the finest murals at Tun-huang are of dancing goddesses in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. These dancing angels are Indian for they wear no raiments above the waist. Tun-huang Caves show three types of female dresses: the flowing drapery of Chinese ladies, the tight wear of Central Asian beauties and the sensuous elegance of the bare bodies of Indian belles who bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

In the reign of Kaṇiṣka, bilateral relations entered a new phase in economic, political and cultural domains. Kaṇiṣka as the greatest of Kuṣāṇa emperors symbolized his international status by the adoption of four titles: Devaputra or Son of Heaven from China, Shaonana Shao or King of Kings from Persia, Kaisara or Caesar from Rome, and Mahārāja of India, signifying the imperial dignity of the four superpowers of the time: China, Persia, Rome, and India. He played a major role in the dissemination of Buddhism to China. The policy of cultural internationalism enunciated by Aśoka found its prime efflorescence in the reign of Kaṇiṣka. Hsüān-Tsāng relates that Kaṇiṣka defeated the Chinese in Central Asia and Chinese princes were sent as hostages. Territories were allotted to them in Punjab which were known as *Cīna-bhukti*, an area that Hsüān-Tsāng visited in the seventh century. Now it is a village Chiniyari near Amritsar, and Chiniot from *Cīnakoṭa*. The Chinese princes introduced two new fruits to India: the peach and the pear. They came to be known respectively as *cīnāni* and *cīnarājaputra* which means 'Peach the Chinese Princess' and 'Pear the Chinese Prince'.

Paper had been manufactured out of cotton in India, and out of silk in Han China. With the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled Ku-chin tzu-ku where the silk radical of the character for paper is replaced by the radical for cotton. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from Kashmir and Bengal to China as early as the second century B. C.

The Yüeh-chih rulers presented Sanskrit texts to the Chinese court in 2 B. C. The first historically owned Buddhist masters arrived in China in A. D. 67. The Han Emperor Ming-ti dreamt of a golden person. On enquiry from his courtiers he learnt that He was the Buddha. He sent ambassadors to the West (i.e. India) to invite Buddhist teachers. They returned with Dharmarakṣa and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga. They arrived on white horses laden with scriptures and sacred relics. The first Buddhist monastery was built for them on

Imperial orders and it came to be known as 'The White Horse Monastery' (Poma-ssu). They wrote 'The *Sūtra* of 42 Sections' to provide a guide to the ideas of Buddhism and to the conduct of monks. This monastery exists to this day and the cenotaphs of the two Indian teachers can be seen in its precincts.

The early translations of Sanskrit *sūtras* into Chinese is by An Shih-kao in the middle of the second century. He was a Parthian prince turned Buddhist monk. He had abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle to take up the robes. A number of his translations survive. He founded a school of translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which was hailed by the Chinese literati as 'unrivalled'. Among his successors were *bhikṣus* from Sogdiana (corresponding to modern Samarkand and Bokhara) known as Uttarāpatha or 'Northern India' in Chinese historical works. The name of K'ang Seng-hui from Sogdiana stands out as a master of Sino-Indian literature and as one who preached in South China in a systematic manner. He translated even a short *Rāmāyaṇa* into Chinese.

Kumārajīva, born of an Indian father and a Kuchean princess, educated in Kashmir and Kashgar, was a scholar of great reputation. He reached Ch'ang-an in 401 and worked till A. D. 412. He translated 106 works into Chinese. Most outstanding is his Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text entitled *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, known for short as the '*Lotus Sūtra*'. He is one of the most outstanding stylists of Chinese prose. He is the only Indian whose Chinese diction has been hailed over the centuries by Chinese men of letters.

The *Lotus Sūtra* is at once a great work of literature and a profound religious classic, containing the core and culmination of Buddha's ageless teaching of compassion and the way to achieve liberation from suffering. For more than fourteen hundred years, it has been a rich source of themes for art. Generations of monks, nuns, and lay believers confident in the *sūtra*'s promise of spiritual reward for those who revere it and pay it homage have made opulent transcriptions of it, fashioned lavishly ornamented caskets for its preservation, and commissioned votive art depicting its narratives and religious teachings. The range of artistic expression inspired by the *Lotus Sūtra* is astonishing.

The path of sūtras: This route is first and foremost the pathway of texts and translators, of *sūtras* and schools of thought, of the triumphs of Buddhism as the mental and material culture of East Asia. The development of Buddhist temple architecture, new stylistic features in Chinese that arose from translations of Buddhist texts, the Buddhist plurality of inhabited worlds as opposed to the Chinese earth-centred world-view, and various elements of cultural transmission, opened up Sinocentrism to wider horizons. The several people

inhabiting the route participated in the cultural exchange for a millennium. The earliest and most celebrated of the masters was the Parthian An Shih-kao 安世高 who organized the first translation team, after his arrival at Loyang in A. D. 148. An Hsuan 安玄 (A. D. 181), Than-ti 曇諦 (A. D. 254), An Fa-hsien 安法賢, An Fa-chin 安法欽 (A. D. 281-306) are other Parthians who translated Sanskrit works. From Gandhāra came Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 who translated the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (A. D. 561-78).

Kubha or Kabul, the capital of modern Afghanistan, sent the largest number of scholars whose Chinese translations are found in the *Tripiṭaka*. In A. D. 383 Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 arrived at Loyang. Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 was another teacher of Kabul who was a great master of *Vinaya*. He was a teacher of Kumārajīva at Kucha and he came to China in A. D. 406. Saṅghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 (or 橙) from Kabul translated three works in A. D. 381-85. In A.D. 404 Puṇyatara 弗若多羅 of Kabul translated the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, together with Kumārajīva. Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 (A. D. 403-13), Dharmayaśas 曇摩耶舍 (A. D. 407-15), Buddhajīva 佛陀什 (A. D. 423), Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多 (A. D. 424), Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (A.D. 431), Buddhatrāta 佛陀多羅, Buddhapāla 佛陀波利 (A. D. 676), Prājña 般若 (A. D. 785-810) were from Kabul who took part in the translation of *Vinaya*, *Vaipulya* and other texts. The Chinese monk Chih-yen went to Kabul to obtain Sanskrit texts. He was a companion of Fā Hsien on his journey to India. The brāhmaṇa Wu-t'ao of Lampāka (Lamghan in Afghanistan) translated a *dhāraṇī* of Amoghapāśa in A. D. 700.

From Udyāna or Swat, Vimokṣasena 毗目智仙 came to China in A. D. 541. He was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. Narendrayaśas 那連提黎耶舍 (A. D. 557-68), Vinītaruci 毗尼多流支 (A. D. 582), Meghaśikha 彌伽釋迦 (A. D. 705), Dānapāḷa 施護 (A. D. 980) were from Udyāna. Dānapāla translated 111 works, which are found in the *Tripiṭaka*.

Dharmanandin 曇摩難提 (A.D. 384) and Mitraśānta 彌陀山 (A. D. 705) were monks from Tukhara. I-tsing saw a Tukhara monastery in Eastern India, which had 'been built long before by the people of that country for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks from Tukhara. The monastery was very rich and had an abundant supply of all necessities and comforts of life. No other monastery could surpass it in this respect.'

The Yüeh-chih 月支 were the earliest non-Indian translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 came to Loyang in

A. D. 164 and worked till A. D. 186, and has left 12 translations including the longer *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (Nj 25) and *Akṣobhya-vyūha* (Nj 28). He is the third translator of *sūtras* after Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa. He was followed by a Yüeh-chih householder Ch'ien 支 謙 in A. D. 220 who taught the heir apparent of the Wu dynasty. The *Tripiṭaka* has 49 works by him, which include the Prajñāpāramitā of 10,000 verses, the longer *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*. The greatest of Yüeh-chih masters is Dharmarakṣa 竺曇摩羅察 (or 刹) whose family had lived at Tun-huang. He was born around A. D. 230 at Tun-huang. He came to Loyang in A. D. 266. He translated several *sūtras* of the *Vaipulya* 方 等 class for the first time. Ninety of his works survive in the *Tripiṭaka*. He was called the 'Bodhisattva from Tun-huang', and he contributed the most in the conversion of China to Buddhism, and made Ch'ang-an the foremost Buddhist centre in China. A tireless itinerant preacher and ingenious translator, he integrated Buddhism in the intellectual and spiritual life and gave China its classics of Mahāyāna. He translated the *Lotus Sūtra* for the first time, which later became the most venerated and fundamental scripture. He got Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir, Kucha, Khotan. His collaborators included two Kucheans, a Yüeh-chih, a Khotanese, a Sogdian, and Indians. Various nationalities on the *Sūtra* Route climaxed in his person. In A. D. 373 a Yüeh-chih householder Shih-lun 支 施 崙 translated four works.

The first Kuchean 白 monk who translated *sūtras* at the White Horse Monastery in A. D. 257 was Yen 白 延 . In A. D. 307-12 came Śrīmitra 帛 尸 梨 蜜 多 羅 who translated the *Mahāmāyūrī*. Towering over all is Kumārajīva whose translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* is a marvel of transcreation. He translated a number of *Prajñāpāramitās*. Sanskrit manuscripts used to come to China from Kucha, for instance, the *Avaivartika-cakra-sūtra* was brought to Dharmarakṣa by a Kuchean envoy. Sujīva, a member of the royal house of Kucha, came to China in A. D. 568 and introduced the seven keys of Indian music: sādhārita, kaiśika, ṣaḍja-grāma, ṣaḍja, ṣāḍava, pañcama, and vṛṣabha.

The Sogdian K'ang Chü 康 巨 translated a *sūtra* at Loyang in A. D. 187. In the next decade, came another compatriot K'ang Meng-hsiang 康 孟 詳 who translated at Loyang six works, including a life of the Buddha, in A. D. 194-99. Half-a-century later K'ang Sang-k'ai 康 僧 鎧 /Saṅghavarman translated some works at the White Horse Monastery in Loyang in A. D. 252. K'ang Seng-hui 康 僧 會, the eldest son of the prime minister of Sogdiana, came to the capital of the Wu kingdom in A. D. 241. In 251 he began his work of translation. In A. D. 396 K'ang Tao-ho 康 道 和 translated a *sūtra*, which is

lost. I-tsing gives a bio-sketch of Saṅghavarman of Sogdiana who came to China around A. D. 656. He was ordered by Emperor Kao-tsung to go on a pilgrimage to India. In Chinese texts Sogdiana is a part of Northern India, Uttarāpatha in Sanskrit, or its Chinese translation 'Northern Route' which extended from north-west India up to Sogdiana. This usage was common in India and China. Northern India in Chinese texts refers to north-west India and regions beyond, in fact to the dominions of the erstwhile Kuṣāṇa empire or Kuśanśahr.

While the Sogdians and their language have disappeared, European expeditions have discovered fragments of Sogdian texts near Tun-huang and in the Turfan depression. They reflect Chinese Buddhist literature from which they are predominantly translated. Majority of the translations date from the T'ang dynasty's domination in Central Asia (about A. D. 650-750).

I-tsing speaks of the nobility and purity of the monk Ch'ang-min in the following words: 'He sacrificed his life for the good of others. He was pure like a mirror, he was priceless like the jade of Khotan.' Khotan was famed in China for its jade and *sūtras*. In the eloquent panegyric of Visa Saṁgrāma (P 2787) Khotan is called *Ratna-janapada*, 'the Land of Jade'. Chu Shih-hsing, the first Chinese to leave his country in quest of *sūtras*, chose to journey to Khotan, famous for Sanskrit originals. He undertook this arduous journey in A. D. 260 and succeeded to locate the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 25,000 verses. He had a copy made at Khotan. In A. D. 282 he sent his Khotanese disciple Puṇyadhana together with the Sanskrit manuscript to China. Written on birch bark leaves 皮葉 it was preserved in a Chinese monastery till the sixth century. In 291 the Khotanese Mokṣala 無叉羅 and the Indian layman Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭, started its translation. It was given the title Fang Kuang Ching 放光經 'the *sūtra* of the emission of light'. True to its name, it was to play a dominant role in the formation of Buddhist thought in East Asia. In A. D. 296 the Khotanese Gītamitra arrived at Ch'ang-an with a copy of the same scripture. In A. D. 401 the Chinese pilgrim Fā Hsien spent three months at Khotan and speaks of the flourishing community of Mahāyāna. In the beginning of the fifth century Chih Fa-ling found the text of a shorter recension of the *Avataṁsaka-sūtras* at Khotan. It was translated by Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 in A. D. 422. In A. D. 689-91, the Khotanese monk Devaprajñā 提雲般若 translated six works. Śikṣānanda of Khotan rendered several works, of which 16 are found in the *Tripiṭaka*. Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien (A. D. 684-705) sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of the *Avataṁsaka* and took part in its translation along with Śikṣānanda for five

years (A. D. 695-99). In A. D. 721 Chih-yen, a son of the king of Khotan, translated four works. Khotan was in the forefront of the transmission of Sanskrit *sūtras* to China. A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation roll, the only one of its kind, was discovered at Tun-huang. The conversation has the following sentences:

Have you equipment for the road or not?

I do not like equipment for the road. A horse or two and I shall go.

Have you books or not?

I have some.

What is the book?

Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayāna.

Among these what book (i.e. title) is there?

This conversational piece is a clear indication of the frequent transmission of Sanskrit *sūtras* from Khotan to China.

The standard Chinese expression for travelling monks means that they went primarily 'to obtain the doctrine' 求法. The oldest Sanskrit manuscript of the *Lotus Sūtra* in existence today, the so-called Kashgar manuscript, is a manuscript from Khotan and it has a colophon in the Khotanese language giving the names of donors and benefactor relations. We also know that Hyecho, a famous Korean monk of Silla returned from India via Ansi near Tun-huang in A. D. 723.

Khotan established its hegemony over the Southern Central Asian states in the first century A. D. by breaking the power of Yarkand (So-chü 莎車) and extended its authority up to Kashgar. Yarkand is mentioned in the Kāśikā commentary on the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini. It had brilliant academic traditions. Kumārajīva was initiated into Mahāyāna by Sūryasoma, the royal prince of Yarkand. Kumārajīva confessed that when he studied the Hīnayāna texts he considered stone to be wonderful and had not recognized gold.

Tao-an, the great master of 'Fundamental Non-being' (pen-wu 本無), was fully conversant with the concepts of emptiness versus phenomenal existence, or the relation between 'Absolute Truth' and 'Worldly Truth' as expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā*. It reminds us of the convergence of the spiritual and the secular, or better their symbiosis, in the ideas of President Ikeda-san. They are the live hues of sensibility of the dawning century of an open society. Tao-an used to explain the entire text of Mokṣala's *Fang-kuang ching* twice a year at Ch'ang-an. To enable him to complete and correct his understanding on many points, he obtained a Sanskrit original of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā from Turfan in A. D. 382. Turfan introduced systematization of

Abhidharma, till then unknown in China. The king of Turfan sent his royal priest and *Abhidharma*-expert Kumārabodhi to Ch'ang-an in A. D. 382, as a member of a tribute mission to the Chinese court. The pilgrim I-tsing mentions two monks of Turfan, Pi-an 彼岸 and Chih-an 智岸, who boarded a ship to India. They fell sick on board and died.

China has many grottos that rival Ajantā in their synthesis of Indian suppleness, Hellenic elegance and Chinese grace. The Yun-kang caves were excavated between 414 and 520 A. D. under Wei rulers. Fifty-three caves remain till this day and contain over fifty-one thousand statues. It is one of the largest groups of stone cave temples in China. After the first Wei capital Tatung was transferred to Loyang in 494 work commenced on Lung-men. Sculpting went on for 400 years till the T'ang dynasty. It has around 1,000,000 statues; the highest is 55 feet high. It is a treasure-house of China's heritage of sculpture.

On the ancient Han frontiers, in the vast deserts of Inner Asia lies the sandy city of Tung-huang, the 'Blazing Beacon'. In this tiny oasis are the sacred grottos of Ch'ien Fo Tung or 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', carved into a rocky cliff rising aside a meandering rivulet. The walls of these Caves are covered by murals of surpassing beauty, with the largest array of authentic paintings extending over several dynasties: a task of sixteen centuries. It has ever been the sacred oasis, one of the glories of Buddhism. A stone tablet of the T'ang dynasty states that the first 'Cave of Unequalled Height' was constructed by an Indian monk in 366 A. D., increasing up to 460 caves as faith continued to inspire radiant visions.

Mogao Caves: The *Sūtra* Route is an age-old witness to the mingling of many ancient cultures of the Chinese, Iranians, Tokharians, Greco-Romans, and Indians. The outstanding achievements of mankind are strewn along this path which culminates at Tun-huang, with its golden sands and blue skies. The first town was established here as a midway stop of the travel route in the first century B. C. at the time of the Han dynasty. It has seen Chang Ch'ien the Han ambassador to befriend the tribes of the West, Hsüān-Tsāng the prince of pilgrims to procure *sūtras*, Marco Polo on his return to Europe, and others too many to specify. Ancient ballads tell the sad and lonesome life of Chinese soldiers on these remote borders of the west. The prosperity and stability of the country under Emperor Wu (A. D. 265-90) favoured the development of international trade and cultural exchange with improved agricultural techniques and irrigation. In the middle of the third century it became a main commercial centre with a mixed Chinese and Barbarian population.

At the grottos of Tun-huang Pelliot went through 16,000 manuscripts crouched in a tiny space, working by the light of a candle or in his own words: 'A philologist travelling at the speed of a racing car.' He selected all the rolls that were of any importance for their contents or for their antiquity authenticated by dated colophons. The Pelliot Collection at Paris is a repository of historical data that will be under investigation for another century. Local legends in Central Asia claim that three hundred towns lie buried beneath the desert with great treasures protected by demons. The number 300 reminds of the Triratna of Buddhism. The Buddhist past of Serindia obliterated by the onslaught of Islam and abandoned to the all-devouring sand is being brought to light by a devoted band of scholars over the globe. The hand-written notes of Pelliot have been translated into Chinese at the Tun-huang Institute: such is their importance. The photographs of the chapel interiors taken by the Pelliot Mission have formed the principal basis for the international study of Tun-huang art. Tun-huang was the occidental bastion of China, the gateway to the Indo-Iranian and Roman worlds. It was the sentinel of a trail whence China gave the pear and peach to India, orange, rose, peony and chrysanthemum to the West. The first ever movable printing types were found by Pelliot at Tun-huang and are dated by him to about 1300. This discovery is so momentous that even *Webster's New International Dictionary* records it under the entry 'Type'. Paul Pelliot's *Notes on Marco Polo* are a mine of information on historical geography and on the etymologies of place-names which reveal lost dimensions. For instance Bokhara, with its modern Turkmen form Buhara, is derived from Sanskrit *vihāra* through its Sogdian, Uighur and Mongolian form *buqar*, a city whose skyline was dominated by the spires of Buddhist monasteries and hence this name. The city retained its sanctity and importance even after Islamization. It was here that the first of the seven Sunni Imams, known as Imam Bukhari (A. D. 810-70), was born in the 9th century. His collection of 7,000 hadith constitute the *Sahih* or true compilation which is regarded as the most authentic book of traditions by the Sunnis, held sacred only next to the *Qur'ān*. What a coincidence that the Imam of Delhi is Imam Bukhari.

Divine musical instruments are played to which heavenly angels or *apsarās* dance in Sukhāvatī the resplendent Western Paradise of Amitābha. The flying goddesses from cave 321, which belongs to the golden age of Early T'ang (618-741 A. D.) are unique. The sensuous tenderness of the body, the delicate flowing lines of drapery, the joyous colours, garments vibrating with the rhythm of space mirror the vigorous culture of Serindia. Bearing in their hands trays of fruits and flowers, arrested as it were in their stately flight for a moment, they seem to bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

Ch'an was carried to China by Bodhidharma, the youngest son of a king of Kāñcī and a follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line. Palmleaves inscribed by Prajñātāra have survived in Japan. Bodhidharma reached China early in the sixth century after long peregrinations. He had an audience with the noted patron of Buddhism, Emperor Liang Wu-ti (502-550 A. D.) of South China. He pointed out to the Emperor the futility of establishing monasteries, copying *sūtras* and supporting monks. The historicity of Bodhidharma has been controversial. The first mention of Kāñcī is in 'The Record of the Transmission of the Lamp' compiled in 1002 A. D. The Ch'an tradition says that their doctrine was transmitted by an uninterrupted succession of twenty-eight Indian patriarchs: from Mahākāśyapa, the disciple of the Buddha, to Bodhidharma who brought it to China. Bodhidharma handed down the doctrine to Hui-k'o (traditional dates: A. D. 487-593), and from him through four other Chinese patriarchs to Hui-neng (A. D. 639-716). Bodhidharma finally transmitted the 'Seal of Mind' to Hui-k'o, who had cut off his arm to express the deep sincerity of his resolve. In the Kozanji ink scroll of the Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma lineage, Hui-k'o kneels down in front of him. Blood gushes forth from the stump of his left arm, and the knife and the cut-off arm lie next to him on the ground. According to late accounts Bodhidharma crossed the Yangtze on a reed, and spent nine years in meditation in front of a rock wall at the Shao-lin monastery.

Bodhidharma had said that Tao-fu had acquired the skin, the nun Tsung-ch'ih the flesh, and Tao-yu the bone, and that Hui-k'o had penetrated into the marrow (the essence) of the doctrine. Like this statement, mist surrounds the evolution of the legend of Bodhidharma, which is as controversial as he himself must have been in life. The tradition is consistent in pointing out that he was a prince of Kāñcī. His association with Tamil-speaking Kāñcī is confirmed by the Japanese form of his name: Bodai-daruma, shortened to Daruma. The Tamil form is Bodi-daruma: a modern painting at the Kāñcī Seminar on Dhyāna and Tāntric Buddhism held on 10-15 March 1986, had the caption *Bodi-daruma*. The Japanese name *Daruma* goes back to an ancient popular name of the master. Moreover, the tradition that the doctrine was transmitted from Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma appears to have a basis. It seems that the modern Kacchapeśvara Temple at Kāñcī was a Buddhist sanctum in ancient times dedicated to Mahākāśyapa the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. To this day there are some Buddhist sculptures in this temple. The tradition of twenty-eight patriarchs of Dhyāna Buddhism can be of Indian origin.

There are three basic scriptures of Ch'an: (i) *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, (ii) *Vajracchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā* and (iii) the *Hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha*

Lokeśvara. Bodhidharma took Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* as its scripture, as it was the only available Chinese version at the time.

The '*Record of the Succession of the Dharma-treasure*', a history of Ch'an Buddhism discovered from the Tun-huang Caves, says that the first patriarch of the *Laṅkāvatāra* as representing the Dharma-treasure was Bodhidharma who revealed the inner meaning of the *Sūtra*. The connection of Bodhidharma and *Laṅkāvatāra* is thus intimate. *Laṅkāvatāra* can refer to Kāñcī. It is stated in the life of Hsüān-Tsāng by Huili: 'Kanchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.' Further, subtle nuances point to Kāñcī as the native place of Bodhidharma and as the home of Ch'an. The tea ceremony ends with the banging of the lid on to the teapot. When I enquired of my Japanese host, Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto, he said: 'Master Bodhidharma used to slam the lid in times of yore.' How Indian! I was sure once again: It must go back to Bodhidharma.

The Ch'an adepts reject the written word and claim an unwritten doctrine, transmitted from mind to mind, where the heart of man directly sees into its own nature. Yet, when Hui-neng was invested as the Sixth Patriarch, the corridor was painted with scenes from the *Laṅkāvatāra*, besides the paintings of the Five Patriarchs Transmitting the Robe of Bodhidharma and the Dharma as a testimony for future generations. Bodhidharma had sanctioned the lineage of five Chinese Patriarchs of Ch'an in a *gāthā* that ran: 'One flower with five petals is unfolded.' In its earlier phases Ch'an Buddhists were mainly a kind of *Laṅkāvatāra* sect. The teachings of *pratyātma-gati-gocara* 自到境界 of the *Laṅkāvatāra* provide a philosophical basis for the transcendental intuition of Ch'an. In the *Laṅkāvatāra* Buddha tells Mahāmati to attain a state of inner realization (*pratyātma-gocara* 自證境界) and when one has *pratyātma-jñāna* 自證(覺)聖智 one is enlightened. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is unique in emphasizing that life is experiencing truth: seeing must be living and living, seeing. The *Laṅkāvatāra* certifies the existence of the Buddha-mind in each of us and provides Ch'an its doctrinal base. The *Laṅkāvatāra* forbids meat-eating and recounts eight reasons for abstaining from meat. To take the lives of animals and eat their flesh is like eating our own. Eating meat is spiritual pollution. To this day, food in Ch'an monasteries is vegetarian. While Ch'an stands on its own, the *Laṅkāvatāra* confirms it and is also its philosophical essence.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* was highly philosophical and abstruse to the Chinese. During the time of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng the emphasis shifted to the *Vajracchedikā* which was more understandable than the recondite *Laṅkāvatāra*. Besides meditation, painting was the other forte of Ch'an. Prajñāpāramitā lent itself admirably to the tenor of Ch'an painting. The Ch'an

masters of Mid T'ang were distinguished by their non-conformist techniques of painting. Wang Mo 'Ink Wang' painted landscapes starting from configurations of ink splashes, the manner of Ch'an painters who delighted in expressing their sincerity in trans-logical forms like a 'one stroke' Bodhidharma (Jap. Ippitsu Daruma by Shokai Reiken 1315-1396). The dictum *rūpaṁ śūnyatā śūnyatā eva rūpam* of the *Vajracchedikā* inspired Ch'an art which vanished into nowhere, with its diaphanous water colours and empty spaces interfering with the coherence of thought and form. A painting shimmered in meditation. Ch'an was deeply steeped in the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy of *śūnyatā*.

Protection of the state is 鎮護國家. The *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is called 'the king of *sūtras* which protect the state'. *Sūtras* have been copied, chanted and expounded with the belief that the merit of these acts would stop calamities in the state and secure peace and security.

The fifth chapter of the Jen wang ching is entitled Gokoku 'protecting the country'. Tathāgata says: 'You, sixteen Great Kings, must practise the Rite of Protecting the Country, and you must keep, read and explain this *sūtra*. If in future ages the kings of countries wish to protect their kingdoms and to protect their own bodies, they too must act in the same way' (Visser 1935: 134-135).

The T'ang dynasty established an extensive empire and under it Buddhism reached its apogee by the induction of Vajrayāna texts. The grandeur of their ritual ensured unprecedented popularity in the Imperial household, in the great families of the realm as well as among common people. *Sūtras* were used for 'the benefit and advantage of the state' (Ch'en 1964:218). The logistic problems involved in distant military campaigns in Central Asia were resolved with success through Vajrayāna rituals. It would suffice to cite the strategic military role of Vaiśravaṇa rituals of Vaiśravaṇa who was venerated in China and Japan as a god of war. T 1248 by Amoghavajra gives a *dhāraṇī* entitled '*Dhāraṇī* of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who watches over armies for protecting the Dharma': if one pronounces this *dhāraṇī* before an image of Vaiśravaṇa— which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect—he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the *dhāraṇī* a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites non-stop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the

army which will render the enemy ineffectual. The *Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa* (T 1247) by Amoghavajra, specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilizing the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia at the end of the reign of Hsüān-Tsāng during the T'ang dynasty and by the 'Five Kingdoms' are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the '*Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa*' by Amoghavajra (T 1249). In A. D. 742, the Five Kingdoms of Seiban=Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Koko=Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: 'Master! the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12,000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops to arrive there, and I do not know what to do'. I-hsing replied: 'Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the North, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops.' 'How can I invoke him?' 'By the intervention of the Serindian monk Amoghavajra.' The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a *dhāraṇī* from the Jen wang ching (tr. by Amoghavajra) 27 times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in armour plates of gold. They heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth. The troops of the Five Kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor.

The first T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu (A. D. 618-627) received from Fu Yi his seventh memorial in A. D. 626 requesting a ban on Buddhism. His Councillor P'ei Chi reminded him: 'O Your Majesty! formerly when you raised the righteous armies, you promised before the Three Jewels that you would open the doors of the profound school (Buddhism) if you were enthroned. Now, the

world has come under your benevolent administration and you possess the wealth of the four seas (i.e. world). If you want to accept the words of [Fu] Yi, it will affect your past virtues and foster what is evil in you (Jan 1966:22).' Thus, profundity of Buddhism lay embedded into the very foundations of the T'ang state. A natural consequence was the quest for Tāntric texts in India and elsewhere, their translation into Chinese and the efficacious utilization of their ritual. It led to the progressive development and continuous spread of Tantras in China, spurred on by periodic Chinese reverses in Central Asia.

In A. D. 629, or the first month of the third regnal year of Emperor T'ai Tsung (A. D. 627-649), an Imperial edict ordered Buddhist monks to recite the Jen wang ching in the national capital on the 27th of every month to pray for the welfare of the nation. The government undertook to supply all the materials for the ceremonies (Jan 1966:25).

Armies, manuscripts and scholars are allies in China. In the beginning of the seventh century after a military expedition to Campā, the Chinese army returned with a rich booty of 1350 Buddhist manuscripts among other things. They were all of Indian origin.

During the T'ang dynasty Indian astronomers served on the Imperial Bureau for the purpose. Three Indian astronomical schools of Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra were known at Ch'ang-an in the seventh century. More accurate calendars were prepared anew by Indian astronomers. Sanskrit mathematical works were translated into Chinese which are lost.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, scientific works were known as '*brāhmaṇa* books' in China. Books with the prefix '*brāhmaṇa*' dealt with astronomy, calendrical science and mathematics. Unfortunately, since all were subsequently lost, one cannot now estimate what they contributed. It is certain, however, that during these two centuries *brāhmaṇa* scholars were employed in the Astronomical Bureau at the Chinese capital. Kāśyapa Hsiao-Wei, who was there shortly after A. D. 650, was occupied with the improvement of the calendar, as were most of his later Indian successors. The greatest of them was Gautama Siddha who became President of the Bureau. It seems that these *brāhmaṇas* brought an early form of trigonometry, a technique which was then developing in their country.

Though most of their writings failed to survive, something more should be said here of these Indian astronomers and calendar-experts of the Sui and T'ang. The story begins with the books of *brāhmaṇa* astronomy such as the P'o-lo-men Tien Wen Ching, mentioned in the Sui Shu bibliography, but long lost. These must have been circulating about A. D. 600. During the following two

centuries we meet with the names of a number of *brāhmaṇa* astronomers resident at the Chinese capital.

The first was Gautama Lo, who produced two calendar systems in A. D. 697 and A. D. 698, but the greatest was Gautama Siddha who compiled the Khai-Yuan Chan Ching about A. D. 729, in which a zero symbol and other innovations appeared. It is a work of great importance often mentioned. In any case the paradox remains that we owe to the *brāhmaṇa* Gautama Siddha the greatest collection of ancient and medieval Chinese astronomical fragments.

Vajrayāna masters, Śubhākara, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, arrived in China and translated the major texts of their school into Chinese during the reign of Emperor Hsüān-Tsāng. Hence it is important to evaluate the varied dimensions of his glorious rule.

Himself a poet, the Emperor welcomed poets like Li Po (701-762), and Tu Fu (712-770). Existing forms of poetry were brought to the highest perfection in the period. The T'ang dynasty was to be most famous for its poetry. 'Poets and painters contributed to the elegance of his magnificent court ceremonial' (Eberhard 1955: 198). The T'ang lyric poetry was inspired by the cosmic reverie of Taoism and the universal impermanence of earthly things, evoked by Buddhism. It is very apparent in the poems of Li Po. A clear prose style of the essayists developed. 'New forms of sentences make their appearance in prose writing, with new pictures and similes brought from India through the medium of Buddhist translations (*ibid.*, 196).'

In the domain of painting lay the principal achievement of T'ang. The six fundamental laws of painting laid down by painter Hsieh Ho were drawn from the Indian *ṣaḍaṅga* canons. Central Asian monks were continually pouring into China as decorators of Buddhist temples. The famous T'ang painter Wu Tao-tzu was strongly influenced by Central Asian techniques. As a pious Buddhist he painted pictures for temples (Eberhard 1955:197). In such an environment the *maṇḍalas* must have been welcome as new visual types of a complex and hence advanced idiom in Buddhist painting. Sculptures in stone and bronze, excellent fabrics, finest lacquer, high quality porcelain had the active encouragement of the Emperor.

The administration was strong, and schools were established in every village (Giles 1898:451). Fond of music the Emperor founded a Music School in 714 A. D. to train musicians in the fashionable foreign-influenced music. The Emperor selected an elite of 300 best musicians and trained them personally in the Agreeable Spring Court of the Imperial Pear Garden. The Emperor is honoured as the patron saint of the theatre (MacNair 1951:378). The members of the Left

Chiao Fang school were dancers, those of the Right were singers. The Buddhist scenes of song and dance at Tun-huang evoke memories of foreign dancers who are bare on the upper portion of the body: 'Women ceased to veil themselves as of old' (Giles 1898:451).

A few hundred Indian teachers went to China from the first to the twelfth century. They have bequeathed a legacy of about 3,000 works translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. We may mention a couple of them: Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir, who reached Nanking in A. D. 431; Buddhabhadra, born at Nagarahāra, claimed direct descent from Amṛtodana, the uncle of Lord Buddha. Nagarahāra is modern Jalalabad. He died in China in 429. Bodhiruci was from south India. A Chinese envoy came to the Cālukya court in A. D. 692 to invite Bodhiruci. He reached China in 693 by sea and translated Sanskrit works. One of the last outstanding Indian teachers in China was Dharmadeva of Nālandā. He was received by the Chinese Emperor in 973.

The Chinese pilgrims to India like Fā Hsien, Hsüān-Tsāng, Wang Hsüān-tso, I-tsing, and others have bequeathed historic records which are invaluable for the understanding of the cultural and political history of India. I-tsing has left short bio-sketches of 60 eminent Chinese monks who visited India. In 964, three hundred Chinese monks started for India, to pay Imperial homage to the holy places. They set up five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhagaya. One of the inscriptions ends: 'I now make use of the eulogy of the marvellous excellence of the three bodies and the sculptures that I have executed of the extraordinary acts of the Thousand Buddhas, in order to secure the prosperity of the glorious sovereign of my country and to offer to him for many years a holy longevity.' Edouard Chavannes brought to light these five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhagaya, the only ones in India. They were erected in the 10th and 11th centuries to pay Imperial homage of China to the holy places of India in moving language. Unswallowed by devastating centuries, they are with us still: alas! cenotaphs to the splendid creativity of a millennium smothered by fundamentalism. Chavannes translated into French the lives and voyages of over sixty Chinese pilgrims to India written by I-tsing. His translation of the voyage of Song-yun to Udyāna and Gandhāra (518-22) and of the itinerary of Wu-k'ong (751-90) are primary sources for Indian history. For wider dissemination they deserve to be translated into English. The four volumes of his *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, running to over 1600 pages, are a treasury of Indian story literature, extracted from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. It is a *sine qua non* for the history of our literature and for our folklore. Like several other French classics on Indology and allied disciplines, it needs to be done into English.

Indian scholars were honoured guests as late as the Ming. Paṇḍita Sahajaśrī led a twelve-member Indian Buddhist delegation to China. He was received by the Yüān and Ming emperors in 1364 and 1371. He was from a *kṣatriya* family of Kapilavastu. His status and privilege placed him in a position to soften the autocratic temper of the emperor. Recently a blue and white jar of the Xuande period (1426-1435) has been discovered with Sanskrit *mantras* all around: *divā svasti svasti madhyandine*. . . . It seeks good fortune by day, by midday, by night: at all times.

The long and time-honoured contacts have been matured, reverberating in a subtle interweave of thought, ritual, legend and art. They are symbolic of the deeps of hearts that have never been too subtle for habitation. India and China were linked by a route of thought, the way of cultural exchange, the *Sūtra* Route and not only the Silk Route. Ideas, impirium and emporia; intellectuals, generals and traders; monks, marshals and merchants; cassocks, armour and silk were all pilgrims on this route bringing together many races in companionship. Fabrics, fruits, vegetables, and technologies enriched life. This spirit of an 'open society' was the bridge of dreams floating under an open sky.

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INTERFLOW OF ART BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN

ASUKA PERIOD (538-644)

PROF. Hajime Nakamura wrote in 1961: 'As Buddhism originated in India, most of the Japanese regard India as their spiritual motherland.' It began in 538 when the first Buddhist images and *sūtras* were sent to Japan by the Korean kingdom of Paekche. These votive images had experienced influences of the great traditions of India, Central Asia, China and were given Korean modes of expression. In 552 the King of Paekche gifted a gilt bronze image of the Buddha to Emperor Kimmei of Japan, along with the words: 'This doctrine is the most excellent among all doctrines. . . it leads on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom.' The same kingdom deputed to the Japanese Emperor monks, a nun, a Buddhist image-maker and an architect in 577. In 584 a stone image of Maitreya the Buddha-to-be arrived from Paekche. Buddhist images were made as an offering to cure the illness of Emperor Yomei in 587. More monks and a painter arrived from Paekche in 588. Painters, sculptors, monks and scholars brought with them ideograms, new ideas, and noble ideals of human relationship. Civil war followed the death of Emperor Yomei. During one of the battles Shotoku vowed to build a temple to the Caturmahārājika, if he won. Empress Suiko succeeded in 593 and Shotoku was appointed Regent. He gave lectures at the palace on the three classics of Buddhism: *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, *Mālādevī-siṁhanāda-sūtra*, and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*. In 597, Prince Asa of Paekche came to Japan as a master-painter. In 604, Shotoku promulgated the Seventeen-Article Constitution wherein the Triratna (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) were a fundamental factor, for the well-being of all beings. Buddhism became the grassroots of good government and high morality. Tori Busshi was the first sculptor of Japan. In 606 he set up a great Buddha and an embroidery at the Gangoji temple. Empress Suiko was highly pleased and decorated the sculptor.

Prince Shotoku spread the splendour of Buddhism in the Land of the Rising Sun by constructing several Buddhist monasteries, among which the Horyuji, 'The Temple for the Flourishing of Dharma' (Dharma-vardhana-vihāra) near the

city of Nara, is the most ancient wooden building in the world. Its mural paintings were modelled after those found in the monastic universities of India. Its great Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to which the centuries have given a rich dark patina evince a particular purity of line, surface and decoration, and a desire to see humanity, flesh and blood, fused in most abstract of deities. The Horyuji Monastery has yielded one of the most ancient Sanskrit manuscripts of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī in the Gupta script. Avenues, trees, play of the curves of the roofs, roofs like a great heron's wings resting among trees, lend it an impression of calm and serenity, embodying and reflecting a unity of the history of Asia. Horyuji is a unique repository of the earliest Buddhist art of Japan, including monumental bronzes, shrines painted in lacquer, sculptures and paintings that evince older continental traditions. A bronze statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru was consecrated at Horyuji in 607, which had been vowed several years earlier to cure the illness of Emperor Yomei. In the same year, a scholar was sent to China to study Chinese culture.

To pursue the *sūtras* in seclusion, Prince Shotoku was attracted by the Ikaruga hamlets far away from the Imperial capital. Here he started the construction of his palace and the Horyuji temple, whose sheer splendour captured the hearts of all men. The multiple buildings of the austere dormitories for the monks, the *kondo* or golden hall, *kodo* or *sūtra* auditorium, with their woodwork painted bright cinnabar red, the roof tiles scintillating in the sunlight, gilded surfaces glittering against the sky, wind-bells hanging from the eaves singing melodiously as swung by gentle breeze, the nine golden rings atop the towering pagoda, the buildings vast in scale: all evoked wonder and awe. Away from the din and turbulence of everyday life, confronted by profound beauty a devotee could visualize the unstained purity of the human spirit. The octagonal Yumedono or 'Dream Hall' today commemorates the site where Prince Shotoku once lived. The roof ornament in gilded bronze is the *cintāmaṇi* jewel with beams of light radiating in all directions, resting on a lotus flower and a vase (*kalaśa*) covered with a canopy. It symbolizes this sacred hall as a centrum whence radiates the divine force of Dharma. In the hall stands an image of Avalokiteśvara modelled after Prince Shotoku, which was given his body length. In his hands rests the flaming *cintāmaṇi*, the emblem of the Bodhisattva's power of liberation. In 623 Tori Busshi's Triad of Śākyamuni, accompanied by two Bodhisattvas, was enshrined in the Horyuji so that Prince Shotoku might reach the 'Land of Bliss'.

The *kondo* or golden hall of the Horyuji is adorned with murals whose style has close affinities to that of India. Its special importance lies in reflecting the

artistic achievements of seventh century India. In the years 643-646, 648-649, and 657-661 the entourage of the Chinese envoy Wang Hsuan-ts'e copied the frescoes on the walls of monasteries in India. Later on these paintings were compiled in 40 fascicules. Some of them were taken to Japan by the Korean artist Honjitsu, and they are said to have been the models for Horyuji murals.

The earliest preserved painting of the first half of the seventh century is the Tamamushi Shrine which has scenes of the worship of the sacred relics of the Buddha, sacrifice for a stanza, sacrifice to a hungry tigress, Mount Sumeru: self-sacrificing deeds of the Bodhisattvas earned them the merits of their karma to Buddhahood. The root texts are the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Buddhism, a religion of peace and moral grandeur, contributed to far-reaching political, social and spiritual advance. Its ascendance was a victory of novelty over tradition whose grass-root customs, popular cults, practices and deities were merged into the new Dharma. It was a challenge to the latent intellectual capabilities of Japan, an opportunity for potential literacy and an impressive asset to cultural outflow.

Statues of the Guardian Kings of the Four Directions (Caturmahārajika) stand on the main altar of the Horyuji. The figure of Virūpākṣa is inscribed with the name of the sculptor Yamaguchi no Okuchi who was commissioned to carve an image in 650. These figures are distinctive in style in the schematic design of the garments, a tendency to natural proportions, and free hanging draperies.

A beautiful wooden sculpture of Avalokiteśvara at the Horyuji temple dated to about 660 shows a development in modelling.

The paintings of those reborn in paradise, on the base of the Tachibana Shrine, are the most Indian of any in Japan. They present a seductive charm with their freer postures, expressive faces, and languid eyes.

Painter Motozane made a copy of the Buddha's Footprints while in China. These had been brought to China from India by Wang Hsuan-ts'e. A stone at the Yakushiji shows this Buddha-pāda.

Remarkable life-size clay sculptures of the Twelve Yakṣa Generals of Bhaiṣajyaguru in Shin Yakushiji are the culmination of the art of the Nara period. A gilt bronze head of Bhaiṣajyaguru, originally the main image of Yamada-dera is 98.3 cm, dated to 685, is now in the Kofukuji at Nara. It must have been a monumental image of majestic proportions.

The Hasedera plaque of 686 representing Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna Buddhas follows the T'ang style. It pictures the 15th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra's* conception of the eternity of Dharma and of the infiniteness of the Buddha. The middle panel has the manifestation and teaching on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa.

Sugiyama speaks of Gupta influence on the two Bodhisattvas, Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha, flanking Bhaiṣajyaguru in the triad at Yakushiji monastery. He opines that the contrapposto seen in these statues goes back to the images of the Gupta period carved in India. In 697 the monumental gilt bronze statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru, 255 cm high, was enshrined in the Golden Hall of the Yakushiji, Nara. It is the basic *joroku* size of sculpture, one of the most popular sizes, two and a half metres for seated figures and twice that for standing ones. They represent the unification of idealization and realism in sculpture. The faces of all the three statues are of wonderful modelling, though the original gilding has peeled off. The triad were to cure the pains of illness and to relieve emotional pressures. The main image is a spiritual rendering of the human form as well as an idealized expression.

The Lady Tachibana shrine stands on the altar of the Horyuji, and it is generally dated to 710. It represents the culmination of the bronze technique. The paintings on the sides of this shrine 'seem more Indian than either Japanese or Chinese' (Robert Treat Paine).

Taima-dera was founded late in the seventh century at the foot of Mt. Nijo with a statue of Maitreya as the main image. The present clay figure of Maitreya and the dry-lacquer figures of the four Lokapālas date from around 710. The axis of the temple was changed to accommodate a large *maṇḍala* as the main image. The Taima Maṇḍala is based on the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*. It represents, for instance, the five *dhāraṇās* of the *Gheraṇḍa-saṁhitā* and other texts on Yoga. The *pārthivī dhāraṇā*, *āmbhasī dh.*, *āgneyī dh.*, *vāyavī dh.*, and *ākāśī dh.* are concentrations on the five elements.

Around 711 new materials and techniques were introduced from China: the technique of using a wooden armature and making the statue with wet clay. The clay permitted the *busshi* 'Buddhist sculptors' to produce finely modelled forms. The aesthetic intuition and mastery of the materials resulted in the perfection of undulations in the drapery folds, visible muscular structure, more powerful expression and realistic forms. This wave of stucco sculpture had Indian origins. The stucco techniques of India reached oasis temples of Central Asia, Tun-huang, Maichishan, and metropolitan cities in China, and finally Japan in the eighth century

NARA OR TEMPYO PERIOD (711-781)

In 710 the capital was shifted to Nara which was laid out with broad streets, palaces and temples on the pattern of Ch'ang-an, the capital of China. This period is called Nara after the city or Tempyo after the famous regnal period (729-48) in which the Daibutsu was made.

The earliest clay images are the four groups of figures of 711 in the pagoda of Horyuji. They illustrate the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha on the north, sacred relics on the west, paradise of Maitreya on the south, and the discourse of Vimalakirti and Mañjuśrī on the east. The statues of the Two Guardians in the central gate were also sculpted in 711. The polychrome clay image of the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha shows his physician Jīvaka. Kneeling in front, he took the Buddha's pulse and announced his passing away. In these scenes the imagery has descended from the abstract to the real.

In Japan, Sarasvatī (Benten or Benzaiten in Japanese) figures along with Lakṣmī in the eighth century. In the annals of the Todaiji monastery it is said that the first ceremony of *Kichijo-gekka* celebrating the worship of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī was held for the first time in the year 722. This may well be the year in which the two images were first consecrated. Ever since, the *Kichijo-gekka* has been an annual celebration at the Todaiji at Nara. The Todaiji image of Sarasvatī belongs to the 'serene' (*śānta*) type in contrast to the 'violent' (*krodha*) manifestations of divinities. The *śānta* aspect is reflected in the modelling of the graceful narrow eyes and placid lips. This Sarasvatī image originally had eight arms, out of which five arms survive, with none of the original attributes. Her eight hands once held the bow, arrow, sword, trident, axe, *vajra, cakra* and noose. The image was a casualty of the catastrophic fire that broke out in 954. Both the images were reduced to whitish clay colour, revealing that they were of unbaked clay. The height of Sarasvatī is six and a half feet.

Dry lacquer statues of the Eight Classes of Beings from the middle Nara period in the hall of Kofukuji were done with sensitivity. The eight were: deva, nāga, yakṣa, gandharva, asura, garuḍa, kinnara and mahoraga. They were for the divine protection of the State. The five-storeyed pagoda was completed by 730, and the images for the West Golden Hall were begun in 734. Images of Śākyamuni flanked by Mañjuśrī and Sāmantabhadra, the aforesaid Eight Classes, the statues of Brahmā and Indra, and several others formed an impressive array in the hall.

The Hokkedo was put up by 733 for priest Roben. It was sanctified by Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, Brahmā and Indra, the Four Lokapālas, and the Two Door-guardians or Nio. In 743 a vegetarian feast was held at the temple for reverence to the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*. The sculptures of Brahmā and Indra show a harmony between spiritual peace and physical form.

Tempyo 'Peace under Heaven' was meant to be an era of peace, but political conditions were not stable. Hirotsugu led an uprising against the central government. The *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* was invoked to suppress the rebellion.

Twenty days after the recitation of the Avataṁsaka, Hirotsugu was captured and executed.

In 740 Emperor Shomu saw a colossal Rocana at Chishikiji near modern Osaka. He said 'we have the most sincere desire to create one ourselves' (as recorded in the Shoku Nihongi Annals).

Floating in a sea of verdant woods is the golden ornament of the imposing roof of the Daibutsu-den 'Hall of the Great Buddha' of the Todaiji monastery. Daibutsu-den enshrines the *virāṭ rūpa* of Rocana, in the form of a gigantic statue, in the national temple of eighth century Japan. Emperor Shomu had vowed to raise this statue to a height of 48 feet to symbolize the power of the profane and the profound. Twelve years and immense materials were spent in casting the Daibutsu. On 9 April 722 it was consecrated in a sumptuous ceremony, which was presided over by Bodhisena, the first historic Indian to have visited Japan. He was a brahmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. Inspired by Mañjuśrī, he went to China to Wu-tai shan mountains sacred to Mañjuśrī. On Imperial invitation, he arrived in Japan in A. D. 736 where he was warmly welcomed. The people knew him as the Baramon (Brahmin) Archbishop. On 25 February 760 he entered in eternal *samādhi* and his disciple Shuei (*Taisho Shinshū Daizokyo* 51: 987a) wrote: 'On his death we felt as though the main prop of the house were broken and we deplored we could hear his virtuous voice no more.... His wisdom, vast as the ocean, always pours over us without ever being dried up.' In this Todaiji temple consecrated by the Brahmin Archbishop, we can view an expressive range of Nara sculptures of Brahmā, Indra, Four Lokapālas, Sūrya, Candra, Sarasvatī and Śrīlakṣmī which have escaped the ravages of fire. In front of the Great Buddha Hall stands the 8th century octagonal bronze lantern adorned with musicians of heaven on its grilled openwork amid florid array of cloud patterns and swirling drapery. The world's largest statue in the world's largest wooden building was intended to express a spirit of devotion in all its grandeur and magnificence and at the same time to give concrete embodiment to national solidarity of all classes of the population. It was a major step towards the democratization of Dharma.

To this day the Todaiji and other monasteries and museums of Japan have masks which were used in the Bugaku or Gagaku dance and music which was introduced to Japan by Bodhisena. There are the masks of Baramon (Brahmin), Garuḍa, Sagara nāgarāja, Yakṣa, Indra, Brahmā, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasiṣṭha ṛṣi, Īśvara, Lakṣmī and others, used in dances performed in temples and in the Imperial Palace at banquets. These forms have been preserved as ceremonial dances for national celebrations. Some of the musical pieces pertain to Bairo or

Bhairava. I had the pleasure of listening to Japanese sacral music at Ann Arbor, Michigan (USA) and was charmed by the depth of its perceptivity.

A few yards from Yakushiji is the Toshodaiji monastery, where the aura of Classical times lingers to this day. It was built for the Chinese Bhikṣu Ganjin who had been invited to Japan in 753 to strengthen monastic discipline in the opulent monasteries of Nara. He succeeded in giving birth to forces which were to correct laxities and extravagances. The severity, calm and purity of Ganjin's character is reflected in his realistic statue. The array of statues in the kondo of this temple expresses the power and grace of the pantheon, with Rocana seated in the centre, the origin of all in the cosmos. The wooden figures of Brahmā, Indra and the Four Lokapālas make an imposing phalanx of statues. When I visited the *stūpa* of Ganjin in September 1970, alongwith Swami Omanand Sarasvati, at the door stood a lady who later disclosed herself as Mrs. Fusano Okada, the wife of a textile magnate. While we circumambulated the *stūpa* and pondered over the flown centuries, Mrs.Okada gazed at us, absorbed in a reverie. As we came out of the door, we presented her a sandal incense-stick. Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto interpreted her innermost thoughts: 'She is so happy to see an Indian priest. It is in ten thousand years that one may have this pious privilege.' So deeply was she moved that she composed a poem on the spot. Memories of eighth century Nara became alive in a sacral realism of the present.

The largest dry-lacquer statue of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, 18 feet high, is in the Toshodaiji which was founded in 759, and where Ganjin lived till his *nirvāṇa* in 763. Its majestic proportions exuding power, the thousand arms remind of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

The *vīṇā* under its Japanese form *biwa* is an integral characteristic of the Japanese Sarasvatī. The most ancient *biwa* known today is preserved in the Shosoin Repository, dating to 757 A. D.

The Shin Yakushiji houses the clay statues of the twelve Yakṣa-mahāsenāpatis of Bhaiṣajyaguru. They have been dated to 760. Once, when the renowned photographer Mr. Ogawa shone a spotlight on the head of one of the statues, it caused the violent, wrathful face to appear as if it were floating up out of the darkness. The light emphasized the wide open eyes, the flaring nostrils, the tensed tendons of the face, a violent expression, and an iron will to root out sin. The *manyu-sūkta* of the *Ṛg-Veda* came alive in it.

Sculpting projects continued at the Horyuji till the late eighth century. The clay statues of Brahmā, Indra, Four Lokapālas were housed in the refectory, and belong to the 760s. They evince the beautiful touch of the artist and are

exquisitely rendered. Refinement of modelling and beauty of their facial expressions remind of T'ang Buddhist sculptures.

The Saidaiji monastery was constructed to house the Four Lokapālas in fulfilment of a vow of Empress Shotoku taken in 764. Four bronze statues were commissioned to quash the rebellion of Nakamaro Fujiwara, based on the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* which teaches that the Four Kings favour a ruler who governs the nation properly. None of these statues remains today, except the demons beneath their feet. Only a wood-core dry lacquer polychrome statue of Lakṣmī, datable to about 790, exists by coincidence.

In 770 Empress Shotoku had one million mini-pagodas made, each with a Buddhist *dhāraṇī* wood-printed on paper. The technique of wood-block printing must have come from China. Wang Hsuan-ts'e had brought stamped pictures from India in 660.

Empress Shotoku ordered in 767 that the worship of Lakṣmī be held in all the provincial temples (*kokubunji*) to 'bring peace, timely rains, good crops and happiness to the people'. The first special service was held at Yakushiji in 770. The painting used in this service has survived. It is painted in varied colours on hemp, with complicated lines, a sensitive rendering of transparent gauze garments, and it emphasizes feminine beauty.

EARLY HEIAN OR JOGAN PERIOD (782-897)

The Jingoji temple in Kyoto has many sculptures in Jogan style. It was founded around 800 and its main image of Bhaiṣajyaguru was of heavy proportions.

In 804 Kobo Daishi sailed to China in quest of the 'ornamental heart of mystery' of Esoteric Buddhism, Shingon or Mantrayāna. It was the new denomination which had gained vogue in the Imperial metropolis of T'ang China which was the golden epoch of ever-new glory on the secular and spiritual planes. Indian teachers, at the Imperial court and in monasteries, lent resplendence to the times. Their sonorous recitation of *mantras* in Sanskrit accompanying gorgeous tāntric rites emanating from the philosophical subtleties of Mantrayāna was the new dimension that had attracted the young Kobo Daishi (then known as Kukai) to Ch'ang-an the cultural centre of Asia. It was here that Kobo Daishi met his master Hui-kuo (746-805), the patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism in China. Hui-kuo was a disciple of Amoghavajra (Chin. Pu-k'ung, 705-774) who had inherited the Dharma from Vajrabodhi (d. 741). Master Hui-kuo was highly esteemed as the successor to Amoghavajra.

When Kobo Daishi called on his guru-to-be, Hui-kuo was full of joy and assurance that the great Mantrayāna had a glorious future. This dramatic

encounter is narrated by Kobo Daishi himself: 'I called on the abbot in the company of five or six monks from the Hsi-ming Temple. As soon as he saw me he smiled with pleasure and joyfully said, "I knew that you would come; I have waited for such a long time. What pleasure it gives me to look upon you today at last. My life is drawing to an end, and until you came there was no one to whom I could transmit the teachings. Go without delay to the altar of *abhiṣeka* with incense and a flower." I returned to the temple where I had been staying and got the things which were necessary for the ceremony. It was early in the sixth month then that I entered the altar of *abhiṣeka* for primary initiation.'

Kobo Daishi mastered all that Hui-kuo had to offer, as one would 'pour water from one jar into another'. The final instructions of Hui-kuo to Kobo Daishi were: 'Now my existence on earth approaches its term, and I cannot long remain. I urge you, therefore, to take the maṇḍalas of both realms and the hundred volumes of the teachings of the Diamond Vehicle, together with the ritual implements and these objects which were left to me by my master. Return to your country and propagate the teachings there. When you first arrived, I feared I did not have enough time left to teach you everything, but now I have completed teaching you, and the work of copying the *sūtras* and making the images has also been finished. Hasten back to your country, offer these things to the court, and spread the teachings throughout your country, to increase the happiness of the people.'

Hui-kuo had the Twin Maṇḍalas drawn for him by the famous painter Li-chen assisted by more than ten other artists. They were polychrome. They found full efflorescence and fruition in their new milieu. Though the original paintings of the maṇḍalas brought by Kobo Daishi are now lost, but from them were painted the Takao Maṇḍalas in 824 in gold and silver lines on purple damask silk in polychrome. These are now preserved at the Jingoji monastery.

Kobo Daishi studied Sanskrit under the Indian teachers Prajñātāra and Muniśrī. He learnt the calligraphy of *bījas* and *mantras* which are still an integral part of Shingon.

Versed in the new learning, endowed with treasures of books, holy images, ritual implements, Kobo Daishi reached his country in the tenth month of 806. This was the beginning of a new age in Japan. Kobo Daishi towers over the culture of his land. Alphabet, architecture, bridge-building, painting, democratization of education, poetics and profound philosophical thought: all bear the impress of his deep insights and intimate commitment to the human condition. The life of Kobo Daishi is pervaded with Sanskrit, from the Sanskrit script to its multi-dimensional expressions. He wrote commentaries on Sanskrit

bījas or symbolic syllables, for example, *Unji-gi* 'Signification of hūṁ'. The Sanskrit alphabet symbolized the profound to Kobo Daishi. He elaborates on it in his *Hizo hoyaku* 'The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury':

> [I take refuge] in the Silent One (Mahā Vairocana) who is
> KA [*kārya*], CA [*cyuti*], TA [*tanku*]
> TA [*tathathā*], PA [*paramārtha-satya*], and YA [*yāna*].

Here the alphabet is the dharma-maṇḍala, evolving (KA), involving (CA), majestic (ṬA), Suchness (ṬA), the Ultimate Truth (PA), and the absolute Vehicle (YA) on which all are being carried.

In the Twin Maṇḍalas is mirrored the realm of Shingon or Mantrayāna infused with Hindu deities. It is a complex empyrean populated with gods and *ṛṣis*, spirits and furies, the inexhaustible beauties, potentialities, activities and mysteries of the world transformed into celestial personages. Here is the deep link of *mantra* with the arts: by sacred gestures (*mudrā*), wealth of symbolism, liturgy, music, incense and song we return to art. Hundreds of deities of Indian origin are represented in the Twin Maṇḍalas of Japan, representing abstractions of thought and recondite *mikkyo* or esoteric doctrine around Vairocana 'the Great Light'. This great art is *koreru ongaku* or 'frozen music' of manifest forms, awaiting one who has attained the summit, the *himitsu shogon shin* or the 'Ornate Heart of Mystery'. They inspire a sense of hidden meaning into the onlooker. Kobo Daishi has said, 'People can be made to feel truth by means of forms and colours.'

The outermost quarter of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala shows several Hindu deities, for example, Gaṇapati or Vināyaka. The Japanese names of Gaṇapati are Binayaka, Shoden and Kangiten. Binayaka is the most usual appellation in the *Hizoki*. Kangiten (Nandikeśvara) denotes the god of happiness, prosperity, and well-being. Shoden can be rendered into Sanskrit as Āryadeva. Besides, specific manifestations have individual names. There is a lovely illustration of this Gaṇapati with an axe (Fig.1) and a radish in a 9th century scroll, kept in the Daigoji monastery at Kyoto, drawn in 821 A. D.



Fig.1
Gaṇapati with an axe

Gaṇapati is still worshipped in Japan. At the Jingoji monastery of Takao a special temple is consecrated to the esoteric Twin Gaṇapati and every year a worship is held in his honour. In other Mantrayānic monasteries too special shrines are dedicated to Gaṇapati. Homes in Koyasan are hallowed by Gaṇapati. On the last day of my stay at Koyasan, I sat on a bench for the bus to the railway station. Curiosity took me inside the shop and there was a graceful image of a standing Gaṇapati in white wood. My repeated entreaties to the shop-owner to give it to me only evoked smiles and polite bowings. Alas for my vain desire! The overflowing bounty of the grace of Gaṇapati still glimmers in the adoring hearts of Japan.

The Trimūrti of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara appears in the outer quarter of the Taizokai or Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Brahmā with four faces (Jap. Bonten) (Fig. 2), Nārāyaṇa (Jap. Naraen-den) on a Garuḍa (Fig. 3), Umā and Maheśvara (Jap. Umā-hi and Daijizai-ten) each of them riding on a separate bull (Fig. 4) in the drawings of Ken-i (A.D. 1030) are the purity of line and the rhythm of grace. How very Japanese they are, in their bold and charming strokes! Umā has her hair tied back like a daughter of Japan, with the perfume of the earth still lingering about her.

Sarasvatī or Benzaiten appears with a *vīṇā* or *biwa* (Fig. 5), sprung from the very soil of Japan. The Japanese representations of the Gods express a deep respect for the dignity of the human form, a love of purity and a vivid feeling for life. According to a Japanese text: 'Sarasvatī is the compassionate Mother of all sentient beings. Her virtuous merits pervade the three thousand worlds. She bestows treasures. She is wondrous wisdom. She grants longevity and happiness. As she presides over music and eloquence, she is also called "Beautiful-Sound Devi ". As she is a goddess of profit, virtues and knowledge she is also known as *Guṇa-devī*. She grants desires to those who pray for treasures or profits, eloquence or music, dexterity or wisdom.'

In Japanese paintings and woodcuts we find the representation of several *brāhmaṇa* sages, for example, Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgiras, Gautama, Atri, Bhṛgu. Here are line-drawings of Vasiṣṭha (Fig. 6), Aṅgiras (Fig.7) and Atri (Fig. 8) with their consorts from the Taizokai maṇḍala of A. D. 806.

After Kobo Daishi had established the monastery at Koyasan, in A. D. 823 he was given control of the Kyo-o-gokoku-ji 'Temple for the Protection of the Country through the Noble Dharma', popularly termed Toji or Eastern Temple. This was the establishment of Mantrayāna in the capital of Japan itself. The 21 statues in the lecture hall at Toji arranged in a maṇḍala paradigm are an impressive monument to a ceremony that was performed in the 9th century for



Fig. 2
Brahmā with four faces



Fig. 3
Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa



Fig. 4
Umā and Maheśvara, each of them riding on a separate bull



Fig. 5
Sarasvatī with a *Vīṇā*

the well-being of the country. Among them are the imposing statues of Brahmā, (Plate 1) Skanda Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and others, besides deities of ferocious appearance whose profound and mysterious sculptures radiate irresistible power. This monastery has preserved the oldest Gyodo masks employed in ceremonial dances. To name a few:, the masks for Brahmā, Indra, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasiṣṭha and Īśvara.



Fig. 6
Vasiṣṭha (Jap. Basu-sen)



Fig.7
Angiras and consort



Fig. 8
Atri and consort

Till recent times, Koyasan forbade the presence of women, while Muroji welcomed them and thus was destined to be a more popular place for pilgrimage, known as the 'Koya for women'. There is a large image of Maitreya Buddha on the face of the cliff on the road which leads to this temple. While it reminds us of its prototypes at Bamiyan, it is a delicate line engraving on the cliff. The central image of Śākyamuni at Muroji is flanked by Bhaiṣajyaguru and Kṣitigarbha on the left and by Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara to the right. The Muroji temple was famous for the maṇḍala of Indra as the lord of rainfall, painted on a wooden wall at the back of the main sanctum. On numerous occasions prayers have been offered for rain during serious droughts. In A. D. 824 Japan's most accomplished rain-maker Kobo Daishi performed *pūjā* for rain which was a resounding success. The holy lake at Muroji is shaped like the Siddham-nagari letter *vaṁ*

representing Vairocana, the prime principle of the universe: for crossing over from *saṁsāra* into *nirvāṇa*.

The Jūni-ten 'Twelve Devas' were featured on sets of paintings or sculptures, as well as in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. They govern the ten points of the compass (E, S, W, N, NE, SE, SW, NW, zenith and nadir) and the two luminaries Sun and Moon. They are Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Īśāna, Brahmā, Pṛthivī, Sūrya and Candra. There is a beautiful set of the Twelve Devas from the Saidaiji Temple at Nara.

Fudo Myoo or Acala Vidyārāja is the main deity of Japanese *homa* (*goma*). He is surrounded by flames and is a manifestation of the power of Vairocana. He is very popular in Japan. The Red Acala of Myooin of Koyasan sits on a rock with a background of flames, indignation glares from his eyes to terrify away all evil. His esoteric name Vajrānala reminds of the epithet of the cosmic form of Lord Kṛṣṇa *vajrānalārka-dyutim aprameyam* in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

HEIAN 2, FUJIWARA PERIOD (898-1184)

The Fujiwara family, whose regency continued from the ninth century up to the twelfth, were prolific builders of temples. The greatest builder among them was Michinaga. In 1019 he began the construction of a wide hall to enshrine nine large images of Amitābha and named it Muryoju-in which was focused on the Sukhāvatī doctrines of meditation on Amitāyus. In 1022 the main Golden Hall and the Hall of Five Vidyārājas (Godaido) were completed and the entire monastery was named Hojoji. In 1030 his daughter Shoshi (988-1074) built a sub-temple in Hojoji. In its meditation hall she enshrined Amitābha with four acolyte Bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Kṣitigarbha and Nāgārjuna. The main image of its Golden Hall was a ten-metre statue of Mahavirocana, flanked by Śākyamuni, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Brahmā, Indra, and the four Lokapālas. The Hojoji became the supreme monument of the Fujiwara regents, and exerted tremendous influence on the architecture, statues and paintings of later times. The genius of the sculptor Jocho at the Hojoji was so distinguished that he was honoured with a Buddhist title. In his sculpture the tranquillity of the Absolute harmonizes with the compassion (*karuṇā*) for the finite.

The major temple constructed under the influence of the style of Hojoji was the Byodo-in. In 1052 Yorimichi dedicated the image of Vairocana as the principal object of worship. The next year, he dedicated the Amitābha Hall, now called Phoenix Hall (Jap. Hoodo), which recreated the Pure Land of Amitābha in tangible form. The central image has the rich glow of gold, its beautiful lotus

seat retains its brilliant original colouring, and on the pedestal is a disk inscribed with Sanskrit *mantras* in the Siddham form of the Nagari script. The pillars, bracketing, ceiling and other woodwork is decorated in appealing coloured designs. The upper part of the walls have fifty-two adoring Bodhisattvas in wood, floating on clouds.

Kiyohira from a branch of the Fujiwara family dedicated the Chusonji in 1126 to ensure the peace and prosperity of the nation and to lead the souls of victims of the earlier Nine Years' and Later Three Years' Wars to the Sukhāvatī Pure Land. The main image was of Śākyamuni, besides a *sutra* repository which had the complete *Tripiṭaka* written in gold and silver on indigo paper. Its bronze bell hung in the bell house weighed 300 kilograms. Chusonji was to rival the glories of the capital Kyoto. The white colour Ekākṣara Cakravartin has a charm of features in its life-like realism.

In 1013 Genshin commissioned the painting of a 'Maṇḍala of Welcome to Amitābha's Paradise of Sukhāvatī,' known for short as *Raigo* in Japanese. It is the descent of Amitābha, Bodhisattvas and monks from paradise to welcome dying supplicants. (Plates 2, 3) It was inspired by Genshin's reading of *sūtras*, millions of recitations, copying *sūtras*, and making Buddhist images. The Raigo paintings on the door of the Phoenix Hall are of the Genshin school and vividly executed. The Phoenix Hall paintings served as models for subsequent Raigo depictions. Yamagoshi Raigo or paintings of an outsized Amitabha encouraging the supplicants from beyond the Western mountains became a preference for their rapid motion. Popularity of the Raigo pictures led to Raigo representations in wood. In 1045, Prince Atsuakira (d. 1051) enshrined Raigo statues.

Shokai, a monk who practised lotus meditation at the Kofukuji, made the Shokai maṇḍala in 989. It was 'woven from lotus fibres' indicating that it was a tapestry. Tradition says that later on lotus flowers appeared from the fibres and they were copied as an addition to the outer border. This maṇḍala is based on the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra*. Against a background of temples, lotus pond, is a dominant Amitābha with Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta. On the left-hand border are the sixteen ways to meditate as preached by Buddha to Vaidehī the mother of Ajātaśatru.

Japan has preserved the tradition of model books for accuracy of iconography in the icon-rich theogony of Mantrayāna or Shingon. The earliest model book is the Gobushingan which was drawn under the personal supervision of Śubhākarasiṁha who was in China from 716-735 till his death at the age of 99 years. This has Sanskrit captions, with drawing indications in Chinese. Kakugen, who lived 1000-1065, has left drawings of *homa-kuṇḍas*.

The Indian monk Sūryayaśas (1017-1073) wrote the *mantras* of deities in Sanskrit and drew illustrations of 428 *mudrās*. One of the outstanding iconographers of Japan is Shinkaku (1117-80) who wrote his *Besson-zakki* in 57 scrolls with text and over 300 illustrations. Shocho (1205-1281) wrote a vast compendium *Asabasho* in which ritual and iconography (in colour) are treated at length, running into 228 scrolls. Dhyānabhadra the Indian teacher has left 291 illustrations of demons causing illnesses, with Sanskrit *mantras* to ward them off. From the 12th century, by the inspiration of Emperor Shirakawa and his guru Kakuyū, commenced an un-interrupted tradition of iconographic model books.

KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1332)

The Kamakura period was a crucial turning point in the history of Japan. In the long bloody war of 1180-85 Yoritomo (1147-99) defeated his rivals and established the capital of his military government (*bakufu*) at Kamakura away from Kyoto. In this turmoil, an innovative style of Buddhist sculpture arose under the brillant sculptor Unkei (died 1223). He was born in a *busshi* family, who had produced statuary for Buddhist monasteries for generations of master and disciple. The burning of the Kofukuji and Todaiji monasteries by the Taira chieftain in 1180 aroused the antipathy of the nation as these two temples had been the pride of Japan since the eighth century. This tragedy came as a shock to Kokei, and his son Unkei, and to other Nara *busshi*. Unkei had the *Lotus Sūtra* transcribed at this time to petition Buddha's grace. Seven of the eight scrolls of this *Lotus Sūtra* commissioned by Unkei have survived. The shafts of the scrolls were made from the wood of the charred pillars of the Todaiji. Unkei was the chief sculptor at the Jorakuji monastery and also worked at Kofukuji. Unkei was living with and working for battle-scarred warriors in a simple and virile atmosphere. Overflowing with vitality, he was shaping a stirring and heroic style. He was endowed with a richly creative spirit and he fast created a sculpture appropriate to the age of warriors. His sculptures of the patriarchs of the Hosso sect or *cittamātratā* sect were based on the *Vijñānavāda* of Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Dharmapāla. The statue of Maitreya with lacquer and gold leaf over wood at the Kofukuji displays the developed style of Unkei, so perfectly formed that we can sense that he had penetrated to the very depths of his art. The statues of Vasubandhu (Jap. Seishin) and Asaṅga (Jap. Muchaku) completed in 1208 at the northern circular hall of the Kofukuji are strikingly imaginative portraits. As we gaze at them, we want to cry: here at last is real sculpture. They are the greatest of his masterpieces. These two great masters of Buddhist thought stand life-size, as if alive, impressive in the

simplicity of their handling, in the natural hang of the garments, and their eyes with a realistic sparkle.

In 1191 Shoga drew the paintings of the Twelve Gods at the Toji monastery. The twelve are: Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Īśāna, Brahmā, Pṛthivī, Sūrya, and Candra. (Plate 4) They are standing figures in profile. They are drawn with a fluency of line which buckles and fluctuates from broad to thin. They reflect a new type of iconography and stylistic changes.

Kaikei was a fellow apprentice with Unkei and he learnt the techniques of carving Buddhist statues from Kokei. People of his time hailed him as 'a man with almost no equal'. Kaikei and Unkei were competing in speed and skill. He was always looking for new horizons. During his youth, his signature was unusual in using the Sanskrit character *oṁ*, pronounced *an* in Japanese. His signature read: 'The *kosho* (skilled artist) Kaikei of the Buddhist name An (written in Siddham script) Amida Butsu' or *oṁ Amitābha Buddha*. His style came to be called the Annami style ('*oṁ namaḥ*' style). It was unique and overflowed with intellectual beauty and realism. This was his individual style, distinct from the Kei school. One of his early works is the Maitreya at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, sculpted in 1189. It is a wooden statue completely covered with gold, charming in its modulations in the draperies and its mundane directness of the Kamakura period. His style reached its perfection in the painted wood statue of Kṣitigarbha in the Todaiji, Nara. The brilliant carving of the robes and the expression on the face combines dignity with grace. The celebrated statues of the Two Guardians (Nio) of the Southern Main Gate of the Todaiji were carved in 1203 by Kaikei and Unkei. Rising to an imposing nine metres they are heroic statues. He carved the statues of the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha (Jap. Jū Daideshi) at the Daiho-onji in Kyoto. They are full of charming daintiness, a beauty with which any one could feel intimate. Kaikei and Unkei are the most representative of those who created the sculpture of the Kamakura period.

The zenith of the Unkei-style sculpture found in the Kamakura region is the Kamakura Daibutsu, the colossal bronze image of Amitābha, 11.5 metres high. Its casting was begun in 1252 under the sponsorship of monk Joko. He raised funds among the people instead of donation by a rich potentate. The robes moulded in thick, deep folds create a vivid impression of flowing movement. The serene face has an expression of ineffable calm. Its size and workmanship mark it out as a prominent masterpiece. It is deservedly the symbol of Japan today, constructed by contributions of devotees of the Sukhāvatī sect. Five

centuries ago, a tidal wave swept away its hall and since it has sat under the open sky. Despite its immensity, the statue has an aesthetic fluency. The statue gazes downward with an aura of divine compassion (*karuṇā*) while the devotees chant adoration to Amitābha 'Infinite Illumination', ***namo Amida butsu***, so that there shines the light of illumination regained.

A statue of Sarasvatī (Jap. Benzaiten) was carved in wood in 1266 and enshrined in the Shrine of Music in Kamakura as the goddess of music. Her arms are positioned for playing a *vīṇā*. Its important feature is that a nude body is shown in sculpture. Nude statuary was popular in Kamakura. It bestowed earthly charms on heavenly beings. The Kamakura period had masks for Bugaku dance. These masks covered only the face, and were derived from India or Campā.

The popularity of the meditative Zen sect was swiftly growing during the entire thirteenth century. It was centred on Kamakura, where Zen temples were concentrated. This art had very distinctive features. The paintings of great masters were given much importance, as they were looked upon as the embodiment of Dharma. These paintings were called *chinzo*, in which absolute fidelity to the master's features was the prime requisite. The 'Red-Robed Bodhidharma' by an unknown artist in 1271, is a superb work, and registered as a National Treasure (Plate 5). It is one of the finest Buddhist paintings of the Kamakura period. It occupies a position of isolated grandeur in the evolution of Zen painting. The colophon in the painting reads:

He [Bodhidharma] was the youngest son of the King of Kāñcī,
And follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line.
He came to China, and the strange five-petalled flower blossomed.
The fragrant doctrine was transmitted on to Japan.
The auspicious signs like sands of the river.

The Raigo paintings gained immense popularity in the Kamakura period. They showed the Descent of Amitābha across the mountains over a panoramic landscape. Amitābha and his two great Bodhisattvas were resplendent in gold. They were expressive of the devotees who embarked on the boat of Amitābha's vow to be 'able to cross over the turbulent sea of birth and death, and arrive at the shore of the Pure Land. The dark clouds of worldly passions will then hasten to clear away, for the enlightening moon of truth begins to shine' (Tannisho). These paintings show King Bimbisāra and his Queen Vaidehī's vision of the Paradise of Amitābha. Amitābha was sometimes accompanied by



Plate I Brahma (Jap. Bon-ten) a wooden statue in the Sermon Hall of the Toji monastery, Kyoto, 9th century



Plate 2 One of the Twenty five Bodhisattvas on a cloud, in the Phoenix Hall of the Byo 'o in. These Bodhisattvas come down from the Sukhavati Paradise, playing music and dancing, to welcome devotees at the time of their decease

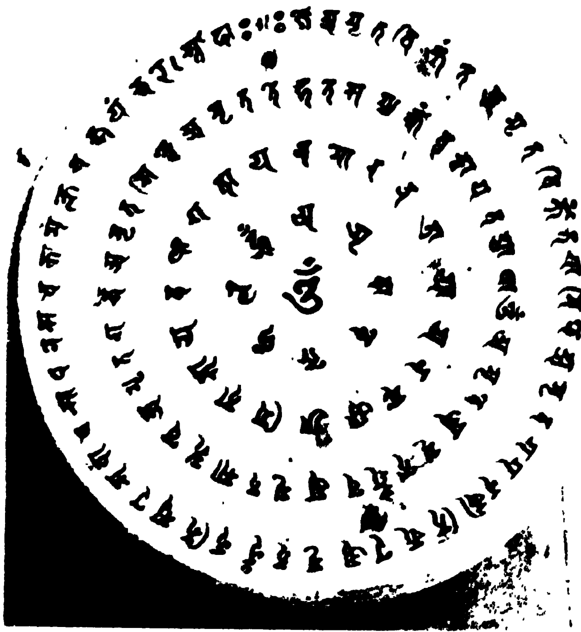


Plate 3 Mantras written in Sanskrit placed on the lotus pedestal inside the image of Amitabha, in the Phoenix Hall of the Byodo in monastery. It is dated 1053.

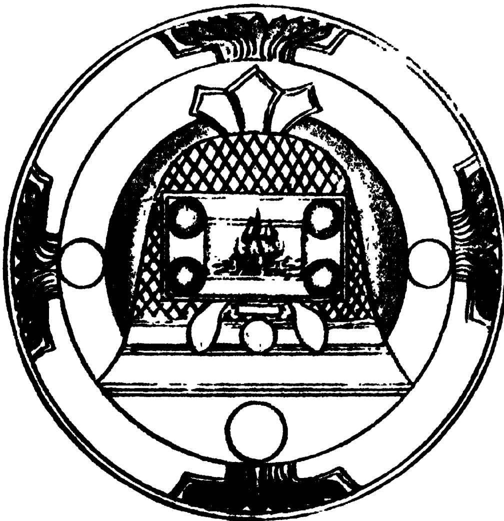


Plate 7 *Kuṇḍa* for homa in the Goma-ro-dan-yo, an 11th century manuscript illustrating the Nava-graha, Twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, and various types of *kuṇḍas* for *homa*



Plate 4 Candra as one of the Twelve Devas on a Pair of screens of 1191 in the Toji monastery, Kyoto

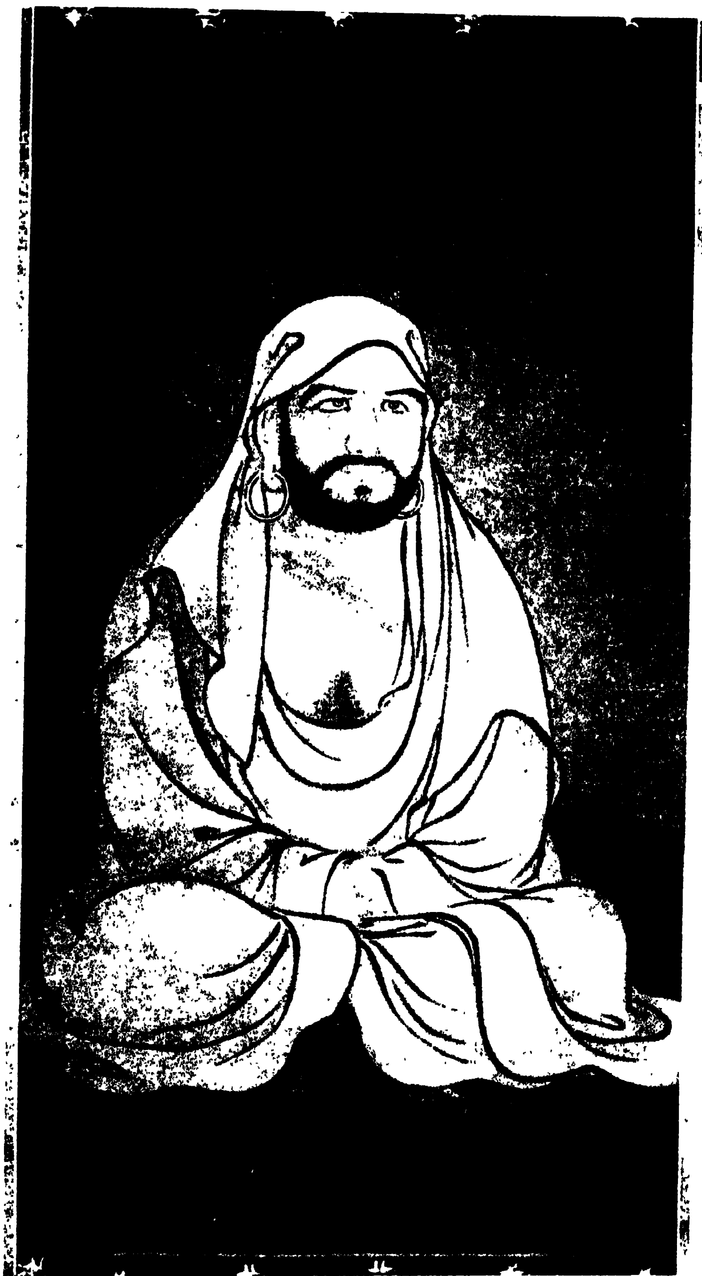


Plate 5 Red-robed Bodhidharma, painted on silk with ink and colours, in 1271 by an unknown artist. 104.8 x 46.4 cm. It is in the Kogakuji Monastery in Japan



Plate 6 Iconography of the Rohiṇī *nakṣatra* for *nakṣatra-iṣṭi* in the 11th century manuscript Goma-ro-dan-yo. The name of Rohiṇī is written on the top right hand in Siddham letters of the 7th century.

Twenty-five Bodhisattvas, who personified the twenty-five steps of *samādhi*. After the thirteenth century, these Bodhisattvas became an orchestra and dancing troupe to greet a devotee awaiting rebirth.

NAMBOKUCHO PERIOD (1333-1391)

In 1333 the Japanese artist Mokuan went to China to paint in the Zen ink style. The Zen monks used ink sparingly and boldly. The pure ink monochrome was a reminder of the Zen dictum: 'Many colours blind your vision.' Eccentric figures, idealized landscapes, unfilled space, a suggested sense of artistic balance in an asymmetric composition reflected the Sanskrit *rūpaṁ śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*. These ink paintings, known as *sumie* in Japanese, were the creations of religious and serene minds.

The cultural forms that evolved in Zen had seven characteristics which are of equal significance and in their inseparability form a perfect whole. The seven characteristics are:

1. No rule, Asymmetry
2. No complexity, Simplicity
3. No rank, Sublime Austerity, Lofty Dryness
4. No mind, Naturalness
5. No bottom, Profound Subtlety, Subtle Profundity
6. No hindrance, Freedom from Attachment (*asaṅga*)
7. No stirring, Tranquillity (*śamatha*)

Hajuin calligraphed MU in grass style. MU appears in a well-known koan, used as an aid to attain Awakening. A monk once asked Master Chao-chou if a dog has the Buddha-nature. The Master simply retorted: MU 'no'. But this reply transcends 'no' in the word's ordinary sense. When the meaning of MU is realized truly, the True Self, the Formless Self, is awakened. In other words, far from simply meaning 'no', MU is Zen itself. Although this character imparts an impression of grotesqueness, it rather attains the quality of Sublime Austerity (characteristic 3), replete with strength, constancy and a masculine vigour. Both the form of the character and the tone of the ink express Subtle Profundity (characteristic 5).

When these characteristics permeate every aspect of human expression, they become alive and vital, vivid and refined in unique cultural forms, that bring about the union of man with the 'flower-heart' (*hana no kokoro*) and 'the universal heart'. The modern gadgetry of three-in-one derives from the 'Principle of Three' in Ikebana, namely, heaven, earth and man. Man is a

channel for the spiritual as well as the earthly: the three form the unbroken Three-in-one. They converge into endeavour in its twin aspects: the metaphysical and the practical, the trans-rational and the logical, the *prajñā* and *vijñāna* aspects of Buddhism. The 'Principle of Three' was expressed in flowers by Buddhist monks in Japan to reflect the profound meaning of *Karuṇā* or Compassion for *all* life and cosmic law of growth. Hereby flower-heart, man's heart and the universal heart were the deep expression of life. The 'artless art' was the Environment, touched by the breath of the spirit, its creativity.

India's austerity was Japan's elegance: minimum of lines to express plenitude of form. It is the aesthetic appreciation of stark poverty, of austere form, the *sannyāsa* of *rūpa*. Haiku is the incarnation of loneliness, of minimal words. The dusty leaf-hut of India is repeated in Japan as a hut with not a single particle of dust. Zen has transformed the primitive into an exquisite flower. The same is done by Japan to modern technology. The emptiness of the phenomenal world, called the ocean of existence or *bhavasāgara*, is the sand garden at Ryoanji, the *kare sansui* 'dry landscape', traversing the seas of illusion towards the shores of *satori* 'illumination' to cross over the sandy ripples of the ocean of existence.

MUROMACHI PERIOD (1392-1572)

Zen influence increased and paintings expressed the Zen ideal of union with the infinite. The Zen painter sought the 'truth' of a landscape in sudden enlightenment. After long contemplation he seizes inner truth in a sword-like stroke of the brush. The Zen artists turned away from accurate detail and remarkable imaginative depth was achieved in the economy of black ink, the *suiboku* (water ink) paintings. The *suiboku* art found its best in landscape painting. Mincho (1352-1431) painted 'The Hermitage by the Mountain Brook' with a lonely cottage over a stream, the solitary retreat of a Zen monk, in communion with nature. It was the ideal of the *tapovana* with towering cliffs, gnarled roots of the pine, the hut consciously over-emphasized, with a quality of mystery and awe.

Sesshū was a Zen priest who lived from 1420 to 1506. He brought *suiboku* painting to its fullest efflorescence. He is the greatest master of the *suiboku* style who captured the mists enveloping the hills, the whiteness of the sand, a Buddhist temple lost in the foliage, in the shimmer of his softer and warmer ink-tones. Zen aesthetics was the perception of beauty in the most lowly object, in the most humble type of work like the decoration of the ridge of one's humble straw roof.

CHIP BUDDHAS (KOPPA-BUTSU) OF ENKU (1632-95)

Enku was born as the son of an unknown farmer in central Japan. He entered a temple near his home and was given the Buddhist name Enku 'complete emptiness' (*śūnyatā*). He climbed Mount Fuji and prayed for the fulfilment of his vow to carve a hundred thousand Buddha images. The ground began to tremble, and the avatar of the mountain appeared and handed a hatchet to Enku. From gnarled and knotted timbers, from disfigured blocks he created images of sacred deities. At the back of several figures he wrote Sanskrit letters. He carved Garuḍas for protecting temples, Indra (Jap. Indara Taisho), Sarasvatī with attendants, Maheśvara and Buddhist deities. On the image of Sarasvatī carved in 1686 he wrote the poem:

Each day this mind grows purer,
The moon in the sky and myself
Round and full.

The sculptures of Enku sleep in tiny Shinto shrines and unattended Buddhist temples. They were a prayer for him, a form of meditation. Mind and hand united in spontaneous creativity. The *koppa-butsu* or tiny chip Buddhas were Enku's invention. They combined function and material, the concept and vow of his *lakṣapūjā*. The sinewy grain and swirling knot were allowed to play in inspiration and execution. It took him twenty-eight years to carve 100,000 images and by this time he was fifty-nine. The inscription on Enku's tomb at the Maitreya Temple in Mino Province says that he died in 1695. He asked a hole to be dug beside the river. The hole done, he sat in it, some one covered it with earth, and put a bamboo tube in the hole so that he could breathe. He had taken *samādhi*. Tall oak and cherry trees entwined with wisteria vines now stand at this spot of his *nirvāṇa*. People living in the village say that these vines will bleed if anyone cuts them.

Japan's art is *koreru ongaku* 'frozen music of forms'. A product of the Japanese soil from the Indian seeds of Bodhi, in an Indian hut with Japanese bamboos. In the graceful line and colour of Japanese paintings over the centuries the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, *devas* and *dharmarājas*, *grahas* and *nakṣatras*, *rāśis* and *ṛṣis* gleam in aspects that range from serene enlightenment to ferocious combat with forces of evil and ignorance. Herein the Japanese painters and sculptors have concentrated their efforts in expressing in human terms a calm exterior and an intense introspection. Even the multiplicity of arms and heads is resolved into the rhythm of form. Here is the world of Indo-Japanese Art which, in the words of an eighth century inscription:

Calms us, gives us a tranquil mind
Every vulgar shadow is dissipated
And caprice is subdued.
Joy, yes, and Harmony.

The Japanese Okakura Tenshin stayed at the home of poet Rabindranath Tagore in 1902. It led to the cultural renaissance of India. Out of his talks with the Indian poet, Tenshin crystallized his essay on *The Ideals of the East*, his first publication in English. Tenshin 'The Heart of Heaven' launched the idea 'Asia is one'. Havell, Tagore, Coomaraswamy responded. The pioneers of modern Indian painting, Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, and others, used Japanese brushes and colours and reflected the diaphanous aura of Japanese paintings in their new creativity. The sketch manuals of Japanese iconography inspired the rise of Neo-Classical Indian art. The Sino-Japanese brush is an expressive instrument. It was invented by General Meng Tien who supervised part of the building of the Great Wall of China. Deer's hair covered with goat's hair: a responsive brush tipped with a fine point. It was to expedite the construction of the Great Wall to defend culture against the barbarians. Two thousand years later, India's visual culture came alive with Japanese brushes. Tenshin had said: 'Mind speaks to the mind. We listen to the unspoken, we gaze upon the unseen.' Likewise did Coomaraswamy say: 'It is the work of poets to make the heart free.' It was echoed in the researches of Coomaraswamy who found parallels for Vedic texts in Japanese art in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* published by the Harvard University in 1935. This cultural encounter left a deep impression on our national ethos. India linked freedom with Japan. Some of our revolutionaries sought refuge in Japan.

To comprehend the subtle mind of Japanese art, we may take the great monk poet Saigyo (1118-1190) who was 'a mind both obeying and at one with nature'. To him we and nature are companions, and a vast and subtle music speaks to us from nature. Saigyo identified himself with the inside-out of the Yoshino mountains, whose blossoms were a way into the inner depths, of journeying to the Himalayas:

Do the white blossoms
On my mountain take the place of
Snow on the holy Himalayas?
I wish to enter the profound
Inner depths of Mount Yoshino.

Saigyo means 'West-go' (*sai* 'West'+*gyo* 'go'), and his poems speak of his mind emptied of all darkness, moving closer to the mountains in the West. West means India. His name symbolizes his perennial pilgrimage (*gyo*) to India (*sai*), with the Moon a fellow pilgrim. The scrolls and statues, *sūtras* and poems were the mind language of Japan, the energy of illumination, journeying to find the pulsing of a heart dyed in the syntax of the Himalayas. (Plates 6, 7)

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* *Courtesy:* Author

38

INDONESIAN ART: INDIAN ECHOES

FOR long centuries before freedom from Dutch Colonial rule, the beautiful island country of Indonesia, abounding in art monuments full of grace and harmony, had been widely known as the island of Java. When the *Rāmāyaṇa* was written, it was already known by the Indian name Javadvīpa, reputed as full of mines of gold (*Suvarṇākaramaṇḍita*). European scholars have held that the indygenous inhabitants here, like those of other neighbouring regions were of Malay-Polynesian stock, that is ethnically different from peoples from India. Ptolemy, the Greek Geographer of Alexandria, who knew the island as Javadieu that is Javadvīpa, held that the people of the trans-Gangetic regions were called Cirrhadae or Piladai. These could have been Cirātas or Kirātas of the Indian tradition.[1] Some *Purāṇas* also locate the Kirātas as staying to the east.[2] Though held as Austrics or people of South-Eastern regions outside India, traced among the Santalas and the Mundaric races of India, those people of South-Eastern countries could have actually been scions of the people known as Kirātas in India. Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon such as the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Dīpavaṁsa* hold that after the third Buddhist Synod convened by Aśoka, two monks, Sona and Uttara by name were sent to *Suvannabhumi* for propagation of Buddhism. Though there exist controversies about the exact identification of *Suvannabhumi*, it is generally held that Java along with Burma and the island of Sumatra had been reputed as *Suvannabhumi*.[3]

Though India's contact with Java can be traced from such a remote age, earliest archaeological evidence of this contact finds mentioned in an inscription of only about the 4th century A. D. In this record there occurs the name of a ruler having a Hindu name called Pūrṇavarman. This early phase of Hindu rule which was located in Western Java did not, however, last for long and the centre of cultural activity had soon shifted to Dieng (Dihyang) plateau in central Java. Here at Dieng plateau have survived the earliest art monuments of Java principally, in the form of a group of temples of moderate shape, but quite significant in form and ornamental modulation. Originally there were quite a few of these shrines here of which four in a cluster are known as the Arjuna group bearing such names as Arjuna, Śrīkaṇḍi, Puntadeva and Sembhadra (Plates 1a,

1b, 1c, 1d), each with the prefix Caṇḍi, a generic term for structures or temples in Java. Each of these temples represents a cubical cell approached by a vestibule on one side, the three other side-walls find ornamented with pilasters and sculptured panels. The roofs in these temples have a repetition of the lower cell, the inside of the cells looking like hollow Pyramids. Upon the gateway of each, there occurs a giant *Kīrttimukha* decoration developed from the *makara* ornament of Indian origin. At a little distance from these temples stands a structure named Caṇḍi Bhīma (Plate 2a), more distinctive than others in shape, with a square cella and an approach vestibule, and several tries of successively diminishing shape, forming a pyramidal tower above. Another nearby shrine is found to bear the name Caṇḍi Ghaṭotkaca.(Plate 2b) This whole complex of architectural monuments calls to mind the Ratha shrines at Mahābalipuram near Madras and are found to bear closeness to the Gupta and Pallava temples of India. Besides these, there exist several other temples in eastern and southern parts of the Dieng plateau, all of which were Brāhmaṇical in character, being dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and other Hindu deities. Dieng plateau, where these temples are located, was not a political centre but an area of pilgrimage with priests and temple servants as residents. The architectural monuments here were rich in sculpture, the finest works of which are found on the walls of Caṇḍi Śrīkaṇḍi representing panels showing Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva while Caitya window niches in the Caṇḍi Bhīma temple find decorated with heads showing individualistic traits, in which primitive Javanese trends are traced.

By the end of the eighth century A. D. Java passed under the kings of the Śailendra dynasty which had originated in Sumatra. The empire of the Śailendras known as the Śrī Vijaya kingdom had extended over Malay peninsula in the North and Indo-China in the North-East, but they had their glory firmly implanted in the art monuments which they had founded at a place called Prambanam (Plate 3) in central Java. The Śailendras were devoted followers of Buddhism and the earliest of the monuments set up by them in Prambanam was a temple dedicated to the Tāntric Mahāyāna Goddess Tārā. This temple is known as the Caṇḍi Kalasan (Plate 4) (built 778 A. D.). Though much enlarged in form, the main features of this Caṇḍi Kalasan temple had emulated the architectural characters of the earlier Dieng plateau temples, having a cubicle cella, superimposed with pyramidal tiers and an approach vestibule. But on three side-walls of the temple here, are found attached three minor shrines, which had images installed inside. Such arrangement of attached shrines bears similarity to shrines of *Pārśvadevatās* on three walls in medieval temples of India. Of the architectural developments under the Śailendra rulers, the



Plate 14 Candi Arjuna, Central Java Dieng plateau, late 8th century A.D.



Plate 15 Candi Srikandi, Central Java, Dieng plateau, late 8th century A.D.

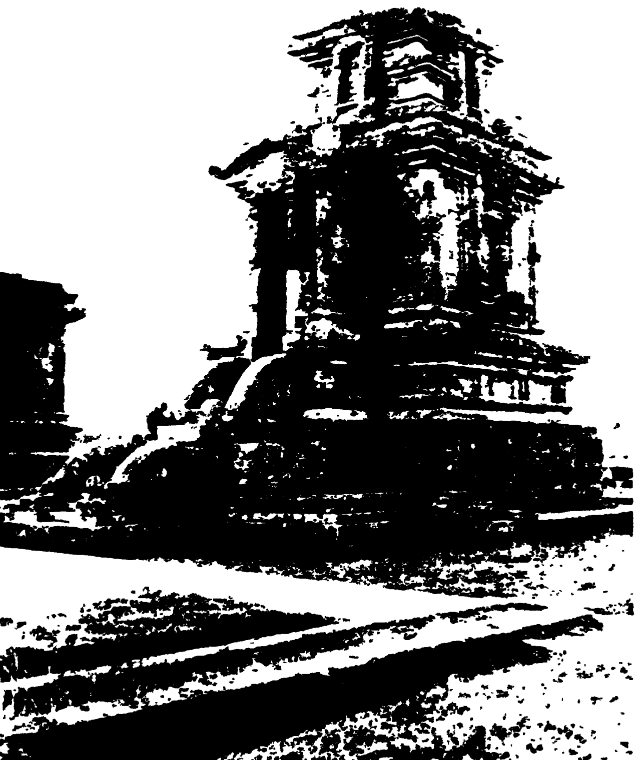


Plate 1c Candi Puntadeva, c. late 8th century A. D.



Plate 1d Candi Sembhadra, c. late 8th century A. D.

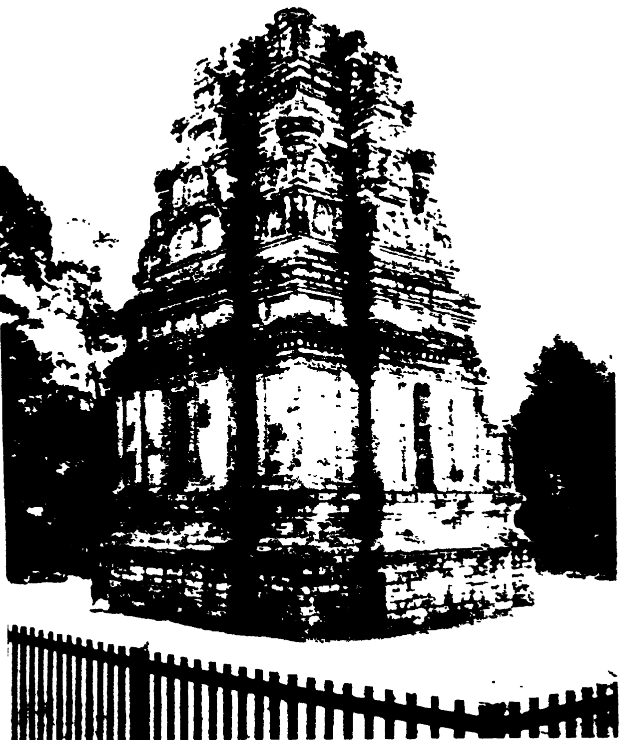


Plate 2a Candi Bhima, Central Java (Dieng plateau), c. 8th–14th centuries A.D.



Plate 2b [illegible]

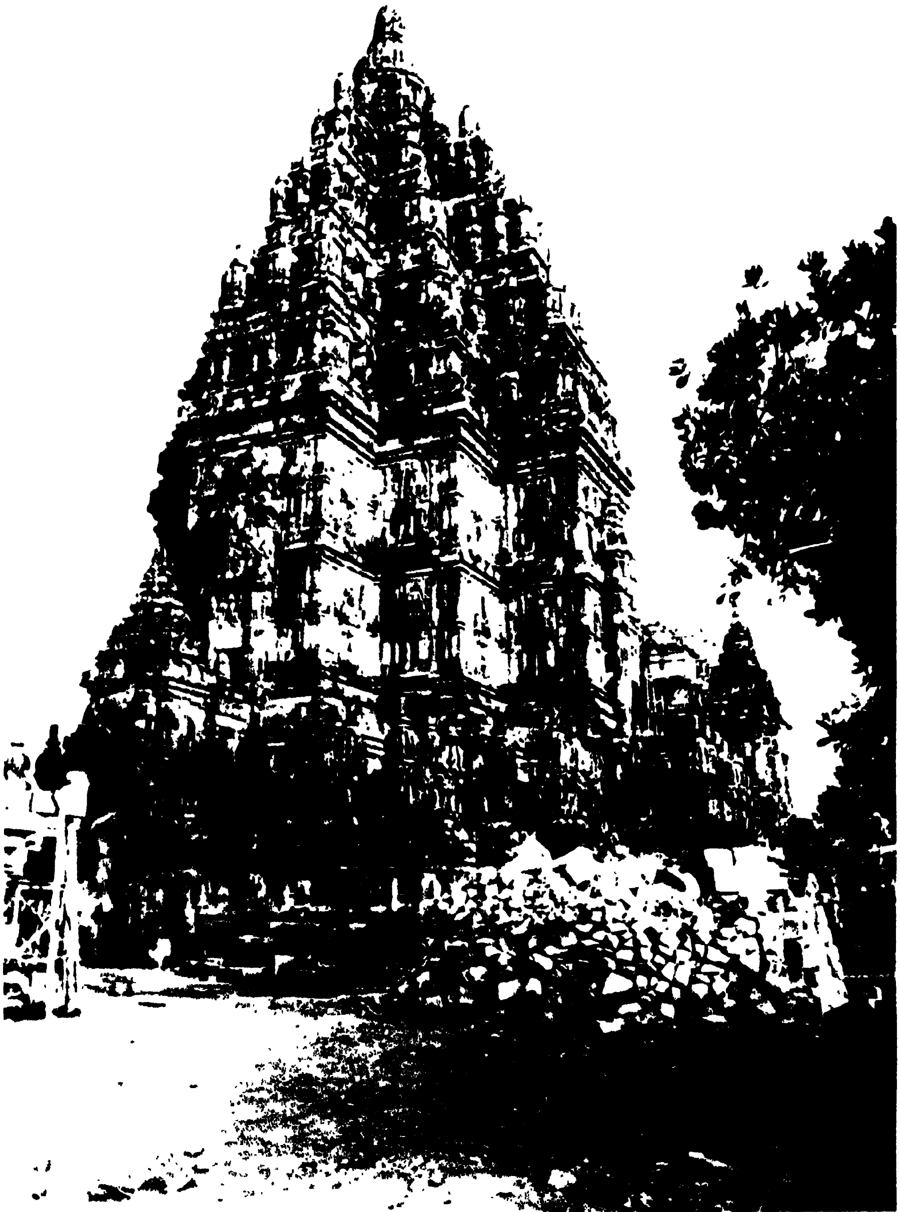


Plate 3 The temple of Śiva, Loro Jongrang, Prambanam, late 9th century A. D. (after restoration)

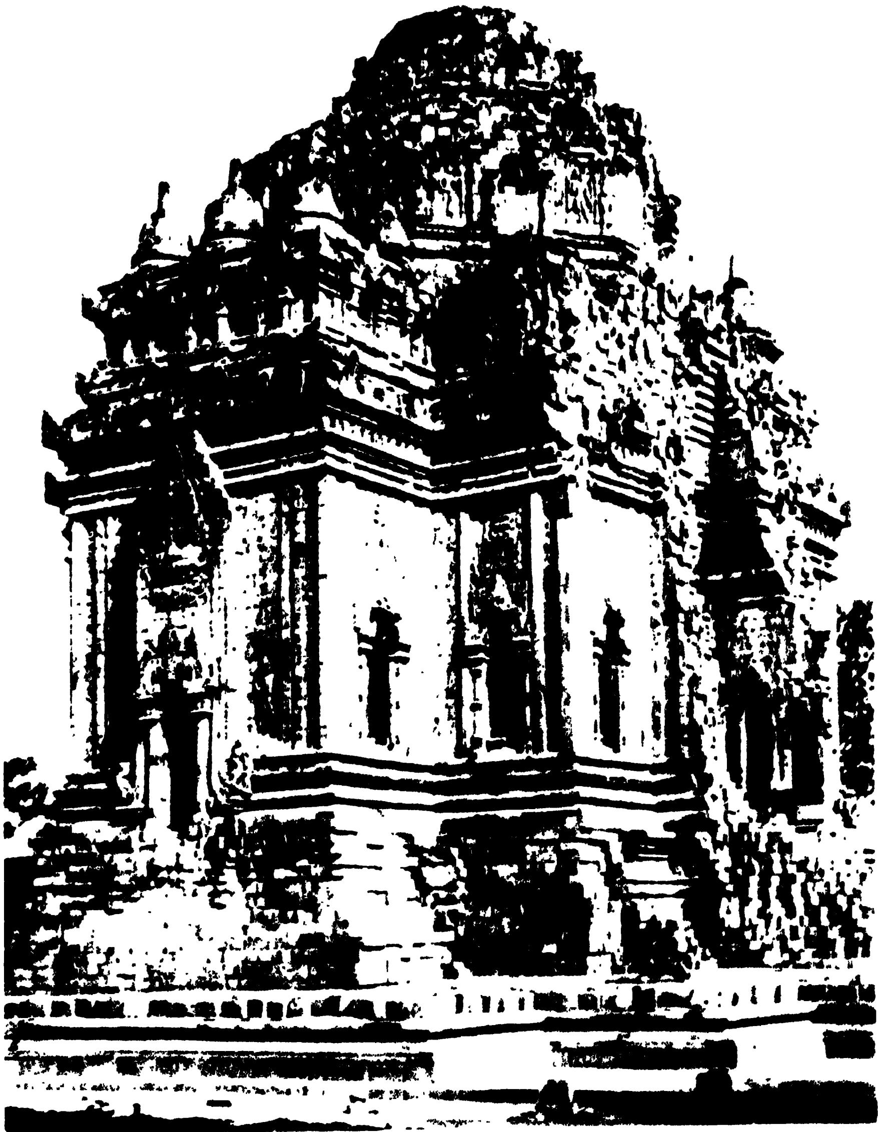


Plate 4 Caṇḍi Kalasan from the South-East Java, c. 778 A.D.



Plate 5 Candi Borobudur, Central Java, c. late 8th century A. D



Plate 6 Rama encountering a crocodile, Śiva temple, Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Prambanam, late 9th century A. D.



Plate 7 Visnu on Garuda, Belahan
Java, Erlanga c. 1043 A.D.



Plate 8 Durga from Candi Singasari
Java 13th century A.D.



Plate 9 Ganesa from Candi Singasari, Java
13th century A.D.

temple of Caṇḍi Sewu reveals a close import of familiarity with the architectural formulation found at Paharpur near Rajshahi in present Bangladesh.

The complex of Caṇḍi Sewu has a plan and set up, having close conformity to the monastic set ups found in India, with a temple at the centre of an open courtyard surrounded by rows of small residential cells for monks, as found at Paharpur. Here, instead of the cells for monks, there are two rows of small shrines along the four sides of the courtyard. At the centre of the courtyard stands the high rise terraced temple upon a square plan with four off-setted projections on four sides. On four sides of this structure there is one inner and another outer row of small shrines forming two square enclosures around. Before the remains at Paharpur had been discovered, the source of the plan followed in Caṇḍi Sewu and the Caṇḍi Borobudur had been held as obscure.[4] The discoveries at Paharpur, held as the ruins of the celebrated Somapura Vihāra of Vārendrī, have clearly revealed that the planning of these monuments in Java were imbibed from the Gauḍ country under Pāla rule.[5] That the Śailendras had very close ties with the Pāla rulers of Gauḍ has been firmly established by an inscription found at Nālandā in Bihar.[6] This inscription has on record that Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, at the request of *Suvarṇadvīpādhipa Mahārāja* Śrī Bālaputradeva, had donated five villages for the upkeep and repair of a monastery built by the Śailendra king at Nālandā. In this inscription Bālaputradeva is claimed as 'Śailendra *Vaṁśodbhava*' and '*Yavabhūmīpāla*', clearly identifying *Yavabhūmī* with *Suvarṇadvīpa* and establishing the close relationship that Bengal had with Java. It is claimed that a guru of the Śailendras was a monk from the Gauḍ country. Traditions credit a monk named Guṇavarman from Kashmir for introducing Buddhism in Sumatra sometime after 414 A. D. Fā Hsien, the noted Buddhist Monk from China, while visiting the country, found no trace of Buddhism in these areas where Buddhism had made its headway only under the Śrī Vijaya rule. The architectural formulations of Caṇḍi Sewu and Caṇḍi Borobudur, built by the Śailendra rulers leave no doubt that Buddhism under the rule of the Śailendra kings and the art traditions brought about by them to Java were from the land of Gauḍ, which was the most flourishing centre of Buddhism in India during that time.

The rulers of the Śailendra dynasty had set up a number of temples in the Kedu plain of central Java. Amidst a number of temples like the Caṇḍi Mendut and Caṇḍi Pawon in the Kedu plain stands Caṇḍi Borobudur, the most outstanding of the monuments ever built in traditional Indian form, a great crystallized symphony of boundless grace and harmony (Plate 5). Standing upon a raised mound amidst a vast expanse of green ricefields with jutting peaks of

volcanic hills in distant horizon, the structure of Borobudur rises in successive terraces on a square plan with offsetted sides, bearing conformity to a Tāntric plan or *yantra* called the *Sarvatobhadra maṇḍala*. There are five walled-in galleries around the five lower terraces, each of which has along their friezes beautiful bell shaped perforated *stūpas*, seventy-two in all, and one large perforated dome at the top. Inside all of these *stūpas* are found installed figures of Buddha seated in the pose of deep meditation. Pilgrims ascending these terraces are taken along a galaxy of sculptured panels showing encyclopaedic confabulations dealing with the life of Buddha based on the text of *Lalitavistara*, ending with the preaching of the first sermon by the master. Thereafter follow legends from the *Jātakas*, and narratives from the *Divyāvadāna*, and the *Gaṇḍāvyūha*. Though centring round Buddha's great call to renunciation and *Nirvāṇa*, the bottom gallery with *Kāmadhātu* scenes and the higher ones with enactments of the life of Buddha and the future Buddha like Maitreya and Sāmantabhadra and the elaborate representation of the story of Subandhu from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, this panorama of frozen scenes are full of dramatic sequences showing endless variety of rich and graceful human forms in a wide variety of poses and gestures. The representations display an extensive confabulation of life, encompassed upon the world mountain, the *Meru*, which this structure is supposed to represent, symbolizing the mountain of the universe transcending from all activity to the cosmic termination in *Nirvāṇa* or *Śūnyatā*, the ultimate of the Mahāyāna concept of redemption. The Buddha figures placed within the half shadow of the perforated domes are imbued with a mystery of unfathomable depth.

The phenomenal epoch of glory of the Śailendras had faded by the end of the ninth century yielding to restoration of Brāhmaṇical culture which dominated over Java till Islam had arisen in power in the fourteenth century. From this stretch of time survive remains of quite a number of monuments built with rich abundance of grandeur and embellished with sculptures of equally gracious formulation. The most glorious of these monuments also in Prambanam, not far from Caṇḍi Borobudur has been the Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang, consisting of three towering shrines, dedicated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. These temples stand along with one hundred and fifty smaller chapels around. The Śiva temple rising at the centre in the form of a truncated pyramid with terraces on all sides and the crucifix of the *Sarvatobhadra* plan bear link with the model noticed at Paharpur. Upon the walls around the galleries here exist scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Plate 6) and also scenes showing the sports of the child god Kṛṣṇa, recalling similar scenes from Baroli in Rajasthan, and Paharpur in Bengal.

The next phase of artistic activity in Java followed the advent of a power from the neighbouring island of Bali. Having held sway over Java for quite sometime, this power from Bali was led by a king named Erlaṅga, who had brought about a surge of artistic activity which has been witnessed in monuments like Caṇḍi Laltunda, supposed to have been set up by Erlaṅga's father Udayana. A sculpture representing Erlaṅga as Viṣṇu, riding on Garuḍa (Plate 7) set up posthumously, stands as an evidence of the Devarāja cult identifying the king with the deity worshipped by him. Of about the same age exist quite a number of other sculptures among which a Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī (Plate 8) and a Gaṇeśa (Plate 9) stand as masterpieces of plastic rendering.

After a short-lived domination of Erlaṅga from Bali and his successors, Java was once again consolidated under indigenous rulers of the Siṅgasāri (1280-1292) and the Majahapit (1294-1478) dynasties. The monuments of this period, though not insignificant in number, rarely reveal any advancement in style or in manifestation. Most of these are of Brāhmaṇical order such as the Caṇḍi Kital or the Caṇḍi Jabung, both of which are Śaiva temples while in the temple called Caṇḍi Jawi can be witnessed a syncretistic adjustment of Buddhism with Śaivite cult. This period had witnessed Java to ascend in great height in power and prosperity which found reflected in a number of majestic monuments to be found at Panatarang, built during the Majahapit rule.

Though Islam had swept over Java by the sixteenth century, traditions which had been deeply entrenched in life, culture and social pursuits of the people in that country could not be obliterated by Islam. Strong survivals of Indian traditions can still be found in the personal names of the people, the pleasures and sustenance they derive from the performance of dramas based on themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (*Arjunavivāha*), Shadow-plays (Wayang Beber), Masked-plays (Wayang Topeng), puppetry (Waying Golek), shapes of jewellery, batik textiles, and so forth. The vital strength of Indonesian civilization remains deeply entrenched in the traditions received from India for long.

Year of writing: 1993

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* *Courtesy:* Plates 1a-3, 5 A.I.I.S., Gurgaon; Plate 6 A.S.I.;
Plates 4, 7, 8, 9 *Art of Java* —O.C. Gangoly

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PAGĀN: THE INDIAN CONNECTION

KNOWN for long to the outer world as Burma, the country immediately to the east of the Indian subcontinent has of late adopted for itself the name 'Myanmar'. This has sequence to an account in the *Sāsanavaṁsa*, a Pali text dealing with the history of Buddhism in Burma, recalling the account of sending of a mission to a country called *Marammamaṇḍala*, also later known as *Marammadeśa* and *Marammaraṭṭha*, after the third Buddhist synod convened by Aśoka.[1] As a matter of fact, the history of Burma has been virtually a history of the spread of Buddhism and events closely associated with this movement. Because of this the artistic activities in Burma have also been primarily Buddhistic in nature.

Literary chronicles of Burma almost exclusively deal with events and activities concerning Buddhism of the *Sthavira Nikāya* or Theravāda order. However, archaeological explorations in Burma have brought into view quite some remains of Brāhmaṇical as well as Mahāyāna and Tāntric affiliation, datable from long before Theravāda predominance had been established by king Anawrattha (Aniruddha) of Pagān, after he had conquered Thaton in 1057 A. D. After this glorious achievement of Anawrattha of bringing unity of two large regions of Burma, Pagān, the capital of Anawrattha had turned into a great centre of religious and artistic activity and the erection of a very large number of temples devoted to Theravāda order. In one of these temples known as the Shwezigon Pagoda there is an inscription which states that a sage named Bishno had founded a city in Burma named the city of Viṣṇu.[2] It is intriguing to find in some old records that the name of the city of Prome in southern Burma had been mentioned as Śrīkṣetra or Pisana Miyo, that is the city of Viṣṇu.[3]

India's contact with Burma came to be established quite at an early date and Prome had witnessed this contact particularly under Brāhmaṇical influence. From a small village called Hmawza near Prome have been unearthed archaeological remains of a very extensive scale, establishing Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist connections from about 4th-5th centuries A. D. Of the Brāhmaṇical remains found here, mention may be made of images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and the like. Then, however, the centre of political and artistic activity was shifted to Pagān in the north where also Brāhmaṇical Hinduism had continued

to exist in perfect cordiality with Mahāyāna creed and the *Ari* sect of Tāntric order for quite some time. The Ananda Museum at Pagān has a number of stone and bronze images of Hindu deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā (Plate 1) and Gaṇeśa collected from nearby ruins.[4] The only surviving Brāhmaṇical temple in Burma, a Vaiṣṇava shrine, Nat Hlaung Gyaung (Plate 2), existing near Pagān, is a striking example of architectural form. It is a square structure with terraced body which rises to a great height ending in an *āmalaka* based finial. There also exist some beautiful sculptures at Pagān of Mahāyāna deities like Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Hayagrīva, Lokanātha, and the like.[5] Mention may be made in this connection of the existence of Tāntric deities in Payathonzu and Nandamannya temples near Pagān, retaining traces of the *Ari* sect of Tāntric Buddhism, which at one time had a powerful presence in Pagān.

Buddhism had certainly reached Burma quite early as some gold leaf inscriptions recovered from near Prome, datable from the 5th century A. D. would prove.[6] Burma also remembers the advent of Buddhaghoṣa, a great exponent of Theravāda Buddhism about 450 A. D. Yet Theravāda cult could not make much headway till Anawrattha, who had become an adept to Theravāda cult under the influence of Shin Arahan, a Theravāda monk of deep profundity, had conquered Thaton and had turned Marammadeśa into a strong united entity. With this achievement of Anawrattha Pagān grew into a city of great eminence witnessing the construction of about 5000 temples of different sizes in and around the area. Of these monuments, construction of the great Shwezigon Pagoda was started by Anawrattha in 1059 A. D. This was enlarged and completed by Kyanzittha, a successor of Anawrattha in 1112 A. D. Built during the successive centuries, Nanpaya of the eleventh, Thatbinnyu of the twelfth and Mingalazedi (Plate 3) of the thirteenth centuries are held as monuments of great splendour. But among all these the great Ānanda temple (1082-1090 A. D.) stands unique in its expansive dimensions and massiveness. All these are structurally quite akin to the Nat Hlaung Gyaung in their cubical body and pyramidal tower, while the celebrated Mahābodhi (Plate 4), also in Pagān, appears as a verbatim reproduction of the great Mahābodhi temple of Bodhagaya in Bihar.

This great upsurge in structural endeavour, however, does not find reciprocated in the field of sculpture in equal strength. Theravāda order had originally an inhibition towards making and worshipping the image of Buddha. This inhibition was, however, overcome in course of time and worship of Buddha in image form had gained widespread popularity. Yet Theravāda never encouraged growth of number of deities as had been promoted by the



Plate 1 Brahmā, Nanpaya, Pagan, 11th century A.D

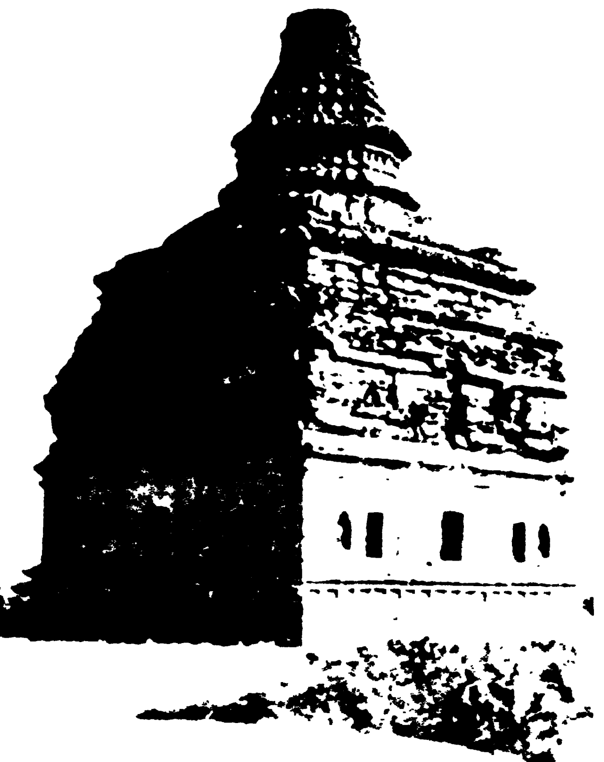


Plate 2 The Vaisnava Nat Hlaung Gyaung, Pagan 931 A.D

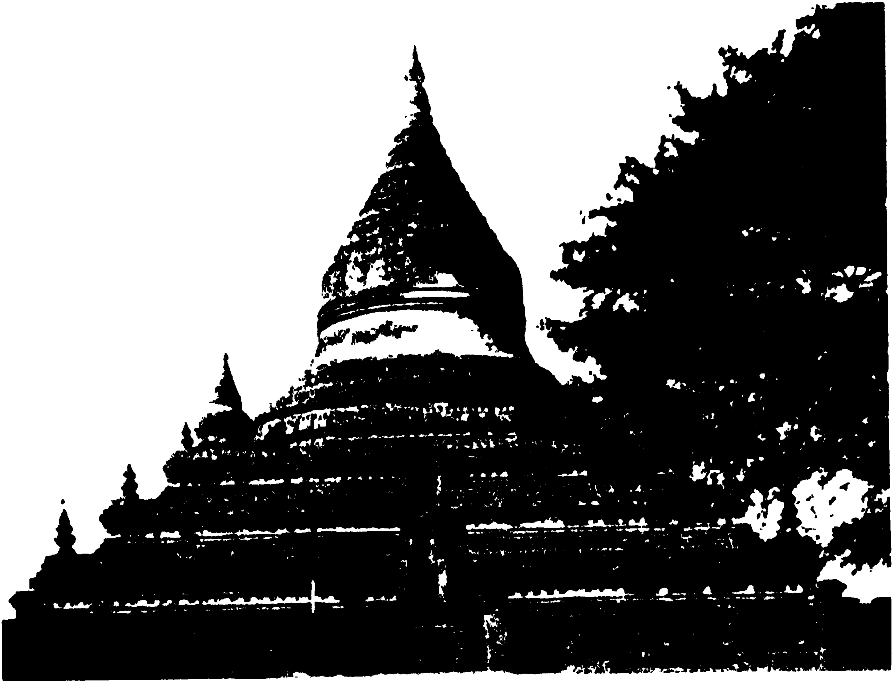


Plate 3 Mingalazedi temple, Pagan, Burma, 1274 A. D.



Plate 4 Mahābodhi temple, Pagān, Burma, 1215 A. D.



Plate 8 Enamelled plaque [illegible] of the Ananda Pagoda, Pagan, c. 1082–1090 A.D



Plate 6 Jataka scenes Painting on the wall of Kubyaukgyi temple, Pagan, 1084–1112 A.D (repainted [illegible] A.D)



Plate 7 Enamelled plaque from the [illegible] Pagoda, Pagan, [illegible] A.D

Buddhists of the Mahāyāna and Tāntric orders. The Theravāda temples in Burma as in Sri Lanka were installed mainly with images of Buddha, shown in most cases as seated in *dhyāna* pose with hands either in *Bhūmisparśa* or *Dharmacakra pravartana mudrā*. Some of these images in Burma are quite distinctive in execution, having facial expressions of deeply spiritual nature. Excavations at Pyū have yielded a large number of stone and bronze images of Buddha imbued with subtle grace and quiet charm.[7] Of other such images mention may be made of those found in temples known as Bebe and Lemethna as well as in the Yahandagu Pagoda. A distinctive figure of Buddha in *Dharmacakra pravartana* pose can be found dominating the altar in the temple of Zagu. The celebrated Ānanda temple has been a great storehouse of beautiful representations of the life of Buddha (*avidurenidāna* stories) in sculptured panels set upon inner walls. In material other than stone and bronze, glazed tiles bearing scenes from the life of Buddha can be found in the same Ānanda temple (Plate 5) and also in Western Petlaik, Shwezigon and the Mingalazedi temples. Paintings of beautifully executed human forms and varieties of flora and fauna can be found upon temple walls depicting *Jātaka* scenes in the Kyanzittha cave temple, and also in the Kubezatpaya (Plate 6) and Nandamannya Pagodas in Pagān.(Plate 7)

A military expedition led by Kublai Khan, the Emperor of China in 1287 A. D. had caused considerable damage to the monuments and art works of Pagān. But this great setback was soon overcome and Burma regained its composure in cultivating its life and culture under the aegis of its own form of Theravāda Buddhism, continuing the trend till to the present times as can be noticed in the magnificent Shwedagon Pagoda built in Rangoon and the Pathadawgyi temple in Amarapura built as late as 1820 A. D.

Everyday life, culture and activities of the people of Burma have preserved in strength the traditions imbued through Buddhism from India as temples, temple decorations, images and sculptures, wall paintings, metal gongs and bells, beautiful jewellery, popular festivals and the theatrical performances held in temple premises would reveal. It is no surprise to find life and culture richly furnished with memories of the glorious traditions of India from days of classical past still preserved and invigorating the people of Burma in a measure of boundless extent.

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Plate 4 Mahābodhi temple, Pagān, Burma, 1215 A. D.

Plate 5 Enamelled plaque over the wall of the Ānanda Pagoda, Pagān, *c.*1082-1090 A. D.

Plate 6 *Jātaka* scenes: Painting on the wall of Kubyaukkyi cave temple, Pagān, 1084-1112 A. D., repaired 1468 A. D.

Plate 7 Enamelled plaque from the Nandamannya Pagoda, Pagān, 1300 A. D.

Courtesy: Plates 1, 2, 3, 4 *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*—A.K. Coomaraswamy; Plates 5, 6, 7 A.S.I.

40

ART OF NEPAL

I. BACKGROUND

॥ 1 ॥

LAND-LOCKED Nepal has three distinct topographical zones: (a) in the south extends what is called the *Terai*, the southern part of which is geographically a part of the Gangetic plain; (b) the north comprising a dense forest-belt running into the Siwalik mountains; beyond this belt in the north the country flattens into a series of valleys, of which the one round Kathmandu is the largest and historically the most important; (c) and further beyond in the north are the foot-hills of the Himalayas.[1] The *Terai* produces rice, sugar-cane, wheat and jute and can sustain a considerable population on a fairly subsistence level economy. It was in this region that the Licchavis of Kapilavastu had their small oligarchical kingdom presided over in the sixth century B. C. by King Śuddhodana, the father of Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha. His birthplace is the Lumbinigāma where Aśoka set up a commemorative pillar.

But it is not in the *Terai* region that the history and culture of Nepal were made; that was done higher up in the rich valley around Kathmandu, which has a continuous and concentrated history from at least the third century B. C. to our times. The Kathmandu valley is indeed the heart of Nepal. All the major scenes and acts of the slow-moving life and culture of the people of Nepal were staged at Kathmandu. The valley is drained by the Bāgmatī which follows relatively a straight course; mythology says, however, that it originally was a lake which was cut by a single stroke of the sword of Mañjuśrī. The Kathmandu valley itself is indeed a paradise for the archaeologist and the art-historian.

Land-locked Nepal looks on a map somewhat geographically isolated by high mountains from the main land of India on the one hand and of China and Tibet on the other. In reality she is not, and never was. Through the mountains and across the hills there were passes and paths that were being trodden by human feet from immemorial past, and China, Tibet and India lay open to Nepal through the West, South and East. Ethnological evidence clearly indicates that a large

segment of the Nepalese people is Tibeto-Nepalese in ethnic origin, the other major ethnic element being Indo-Nepalese, corresponding roughly to the two important linguistic groups, one speaking languages or dialects of the Tibeto-Burman language family and the other, languages or dialects belonging to the Indo-Aryan. Culturally, however—and if one has to go by the evidence of literature and religion, of language, and archaeology—Nepal's contact with India seems to have been much more intimate than either with Tibet or China.

The traditional history of Nepal as given in the *Vaṁśāvalīs*[2] begins with the tribal rule of the Gopālas and the Ābhīras belonging to the 'mixed Austric and Dravidian and probably also Indo-Mongoloid speakers who were in occupation of the Nepal valley prior to a wholesale influx of purer Mongoloids—the Nepal or Newār people'[3]. The Ābhīras seem to have been followed by the Kirātas. The *Vaṁśāvalīs* give us a list of 26 or 29 names of Kirāta kings. Evidently the Kirātas belonged to the Tibeto-Burman speaking family of people who were supposed to have their capital-city at Lalitpur where there still exists a mound called Patukodan which is believed to have been associated with this ruling dynasty.

But these accounts do not seem to have any basis in what is known from archaeology. Recent excavations and archaeological field work at more than one place have provided for us the fact that there was human habitation in the *Terai* region at least as early as the sixth century B. C.[4] In the third century B. C. Emperor Aśoka raised a commemorative pillar at Lumbinigāma to mark the birthplace of the Buddha. This seems to indicate that even at the time of Aśoka, Lumbini was nothing more than a village; one may safely assume that there were similar village settlements all along the *Terai* region. Tradition would have it that Aśoka also visited the Kathmandu valley and caused to be built four *stūpas* at Lalitpur. Recent archaeological excavations at Tilaurakot, Banjarahi and Paisia, all in the *Terai* region, seem to indicate a sequence of cultures that can successively be labelled as Mauryan, Śuṅgan, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta, according to Indian historical and archaeological terminology. It is clear, therefore, that the *Terai* region has been continuously within the orbit of Indian history and culture. A few trial excavations have also been carried out in the Kathmandu valley itself, but these have not brought to light any data that can historically be dated in the pre-Licchavi period of Nepalese history.

The first historical ruling dynasty of Nepal was doubtless that of the Licchavis who seemed to have ruled over the country for about two hundred and fifty years from well-nigh the beginning of the fourth century A. D. It was from about this time that Nepal including the Kathmandu valley, seems to have become more and more exposed to Indian cultural and commercial contact. The earliest known

records of this dynasty are two inscriptions of King Mānadeva, engraved on two images of Viṣṇu-Vikrānta, one at Lajimpat and the other at Mṛgasthalī. Both bear identical date of A. D. 467.[5] The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions Nepal as a *pratyantadeśa* or border territory of the eastern frontier of the Gupta empire;[6] this is perhaps the earliest epigraphic mention of Nepal in any historical document, the first literary mention being in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[7]. Samudragupta's father Candragupta I, is known to have married a Licchavi princess named Kumāradevī. The Licchavis have left a number of epigraphic records inscribed in the so-called Gupta-Brāhmī character.

In the seventh century, Nepal seems to have been ruled over by two dynasties of kings occupying two different areas of the country, one, a continuation of the earlier Licchavis and the other known in history as the Ṭhākurī dynasty of kings. The founder of the Ṭhākurīs seems to have been one Aṁśuvarman who was originally a *mahāsāmanta*, a big feudatory chief of the Licchavis. The Harigaon inscription of A. D. 638 issued from Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana illustrates his concern for his people.[8] Aṁśuvarman was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj and Magadha[9] and it was during his time that Nepal and India seemed to have been drawn closer to each other. At the same time he seems to have entered into diplomatic relations with the Tibetan King Srongtsan-Sgam-Po (A. D. 620-649); indeed Aṁśuvarman seems to have given in marriage his daughter to the Tibetan king and recognized the sovereignty of the latter.[10] A contemporary record says that the Nepali King had to supply forced labour to the King of Tibet.

On the other hand Somadeva, a king of the later Licchavi dynasty, married the Maukharī Princess Vatsā Devī, a grand-daughter of the later Gupta king Ādityasena. His son Jayadeva married Princess Rājyamatī, daughter of the Kāmarūpa king Harṣadeva who has sometimes been identified as Śrī Harṣa of the Tejpur plate of Vanamāla. These two matrimonial relations seem to have cemented further the close relation of Nepal with India, particularly with eastern India.

It was during the first half of the seventh century that the celebrated Chinese traveller Hsüān-Tsāng visited Nepal and left a short account of the country. According to him, the capital of the country 'was above 20 li in circuit; the country yielded grain and much fruit, also copper yaks and francolins; copper coins were the medium of exchange; the people believed both in false and true religion, the Buddhist monasteries and the Deva temples touching each other. There were about 200 Buddhist ecclesiastics who were attached to both vehicles and the number of non-Buddhists, was not ascertained.'[11]

The Ṭhākurīs continued to rule in Nepal up to the end of the twelfth century, in two branches it seems, one known as the Ṭhākurīs of Nayakot and the other,

as the Ṭhākurīs of Patan. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries Nepal seems to have played a decisive role in bringing India closer to Tibet and China; indeed, she seems to have been the most important transmitter of Indian culture to Tibet and China. The main planks of this culture were Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhism on the one hand and Buddhist art on the other, the most important centres of which during these centuries were Bihar and Bengal.

By about the middle of the twelfth century Nepal seems to have opened herself up to cultural contacts with and influences from Deccan India. The Karṇāṭī king Nānyadeva who had founded a dynasty in Mithilā came to have a sway over Nepal as well, and brought Nepal in closer contact with the Brāhmaṇical culture of the Drāviḍian Deccan. Karṇāṭī sway over Nepal was a thing of the past by about the end of the fourteenth century, but by that time the Newārs, a mixed Indian and Indo-Mongoloid people speaking a Tibeto-Burman language, who had come to form the core of Nepalese culture, were completely won over by the Brāhmaṇical culture of the Deccan. The impact of this culture can be seen in a large number of images of Brāhmaṇical deities found in various places in the valleys as well as in the behavioural pattern of Brāhmaṇism, particularly among the Newārs. But Chatterjee goes further and finds a response of such impact in 'the presence of a sacred place named Godāvarī in south Nepal as well as the establishment of the shrine of Telujamātā or Telegumā, a Śakti goddess held in high esteem by the Newārs, which later became the tutelary deity of the Mallas'.[12] He thinks that the induction of the Deccani brāhmaṇas as priests in many temples of Nepal, is also a direct result of this impact.

After the Ṭhākurī rule in Nepal had completely collapsed, a new dynasty of kings, that of the Mallas, found itself as the ruling authority in Nepal who reigned from 1200 to 1768-9.[13] The Newārs came to regard the Mallas as the first national rulers of the land. Founded by Arimalla they ruled over Nepal for well nigh four hundred years. Their sway came to an end in the eighteenth century when the Gorkhās, a mixed Mongoloid people with a Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya upper class, and claiming a Rajput descent, overran the country. During the long regime of the Mallas, Nepal drew still closer to India, both culturally and commercially. It is very interesting to note that throughout the long centuries of close Indo-Nepalese contacts, the relationship of the two countries had practically no political or military undertones, and yet at Dulh, a tiny territory in the centre of Nepal, the king boasted of his descent from the ancient nobility of India.[14]

Not very much later the greatest of the Malla kings Jaya-yakṣamalla inflicted a severe blow to Nepal by dividing his kingdom amongst his heirs into three houses, namely, the Mallas of Kathmandu, the Mallas of Patan and the Mallas of Bhatgaon.[15] By about this time an interesting change in the culture of Nepal seems

to have taken place: the early records of the country were all invariably written in Sanskrit, but those written from the time of Jaya-yakṣamalla, i.e. from about A.D. 1480 onwards, but more increasingly from the seventeenth century, came to be written in Newārī which eventually became the cultural language of Nepal.[16]

॥ 2 ॥

Religious life in Nepal, at any rate, on the higher and formal levels of society, follows on the whole, the mainstreams of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism of the Pālas of India supported by successive waves of immigration from India, though at the folk level the idea of primitive animism was being practised all through. If tradition is to be believed, Buddhism might have been introduced into Nepal by Aśoka and his *mahāmātras*.[17] The introduction of *Smārta-Paurāṇic* Brāhmaṇism seems to date from the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period of Indian history, that is from about the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era.[18] Since this time, but more specifically from about the eighth century, Nepal's contacts with India on the one hand, specifically eastern India comprising Bihar and Bengal, and through these regions indirectly also Karnataka, and with Tibet on the other, seem to have been continuous till the end of the medieval period. The period witnessed the culmination of the Paurāṇic religion and hence of Paurāṇic deities. The numerous grants and inscriptions of the Licchavis and the famous inscription of Harigaon[19] indicate that not only the kings and the members of the royal families but also the ordinary citizens practised orthodox Brāhmaṇical rituals which were in strong agreement with the religious system prevailing in India. An inscription of the Licchavi king Manadeva, dated around fifth century, incised on a broken pillar near the temple of Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇa,[20] illustrates Viṣṇu with his *śrīvatsa* mark. Another inscription of Lajimpat, dated A.D. 467[21] records the installation of the image of Viṣṇu by Manadeva. One Naravarman, by the order of Mānadeva, installed a Śivaliṅga. Guhamitra, a trader, installed an image of Sūrya at Tabahal during this period. Jayavarman, a layman, placed a Liṅga on the northern door of the Paśupatinātha Temple[22] for the welfare of the king and his people. An inscription, dated N.S. 370, refers to the establishment of an image near the Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇa temple.[23] The composite cult-god Hari-Hara, an image of whom has been found at Deo Patan, illustrates that the syncretistic process of combining the powerful cult-gods like Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu was already on quite early in history.[24]

Buddhism also seems to have gone through a similar evolutionary sequence. In the history of the two religions, i.e., Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism, it is not easy to draw a clear dividing line between them, especially in the later phases of Buddhism when Vajrayāna Buddhism began to evolve icons showing marked Brāhmaṇical features. Besides, if the Licchavi kings and *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman of the

Ṭhākurī dynasty were exponents of Brāhmaṇism and Brāhmaṇical cults, they were also at the same time patrons of Buddhism and Buddhist institutions. While recording the donations to temples belonging to various religious sects like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, Aṁśuvarman in the Harigaon inscription records donations made to Buddhist establishments as well. During the first half of the seventh century Srongtsan-Sgam-Po, the hero-king of Tibet, married a daughter of Aṁśuvarman who was instrumental for the conversion of Tibet to the Buddhist faith. Indeed, Nepal seems to have become the most important transmitting station for the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. From about the eighth century to about the end of the twelfth and thirteenth the high tide of cultural contacts between India and Nepal reached its peak. It was during these centuries that countless number of Buddhist monks and their associates including artists and craftsmen must have been going to Nepal and Tibet carrying manuscripts, paintings and small portable icons in metal and stone with them and drawing adherents to their faith and their way of life. Active support for Buddhist *saṁghas* and other establishments came not so much from the royalty and the nobility but from the ranks of the trading and commercial communities and from the rich land-owning agriculturists. We know from the T'ang chronicles that the largest majority of the traders and monks were either Indian or Tibetan.[25]

It seems that in the seventh and eighth centuries Nepal was commercially very active, enjoying almost a monopoly of trade, especially transit trade, between Tibet and India. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the word *Nepālakam*, that is, belonging to, or originating from Nepal, denotes a special kind of rug made of sheep-wool which was very popular in India.[26]

As has often happened in history, Indian religions seem to have followed the track of such trade and commerce between India on the one hand and Nepal, Tibet and China on the other.[27]

If monks and priests followed in the wake of traders, artists did so in that of monks and priests. Simple logic would suggest that Indian artists must have travelled to Nepal for the propagation of Indian religions through illustrative materials, and this is supported by the evidence not only of the art itself but also of the iconography of a very large number of sculptures and paintings from Nepal. It is, therefore, evident that the art and religion of Nepal, especially Buddhism and Buddhist art of the country, can only be understood against the background of this active Indo-Nepalese and Tibeto-Nepalese trade contacts. Nepal's Brāhmaṇical sculptures and paintings from about the eighth century onwards are of East-Indian affiliation. There is another trend equally potent in Brāhmaṇical sculptures. This is evidenced in the style showing western Deccanese affiliation. They seem to indicate that there must have been colonies of priests and artists, all originating from the Gaṅgā-

Yamunā valley and from the Deccan, that had settled down in Nepal and worked for and in the midst of their Nepalese patrons, but spelt their religion and art in their own traditional language and style.

The most striking thing about Nepal is that there is not any definite distinction between the culture of the court and that of the people. In fact, what really happened was that the Nepalese people have been absorbing over a long period of their early history, elements of Indian culture by adjusting them to their peculiar requirements without making them look too different from that of the original form.

Since Nepal, geographically speaking, is a meeting place of India, Tibet and China, she rendered the signal service of linking the two great religions of India, Tibet and China. Through the process of acceptance of the art and iconography of the images of gods and goddesses from India together with the theory and technique of their manufacture, she played an initiatory and decisive role in the art of Tibet and China. The interesting legend of Princess Bri-Btssum, daughter of Aṁśuvarman marrying a Tibetan king, throws interesting side light. She is said to have taken with her a miraculous sandal-wood image of Tārā and was thus instrumental in introducing Buddhism into Tibet. Even centuries later, in A. D. 1260, when there was no direct contact between the royalties of Nepal and China, the art of Nepal seems to have been playing its role in China and Tibet through the agency of a skilful artist, a worker in both stone and metal, named A-Ni-Ko.[28] It is said that the monasteries of both the countries were decorated by A-Ni-Ko and his contingent of eighty artists from Nepal. Tradition has it that the art form and style established by this master and his colleagues became the guidelines of the imperial statues of China, and that A-Ni-Ko had the satisfaction of witnessing it even before he died.

|| 3 ||

The statement that Nepalese art through the centuries revealed contacts with and affinities in art form and iconography of another culture, in this instance, Indian, has indeed no bearing upon its essential originality. The history of this art as known to date begins with the Licchavi period of Nepalese history; even from this beginning the art presupposes an established tradition and shows motifs and symbols that are all its own, or on which there is at least a distinct stamp of indigenousness. This tradition and these symbols and motifs persist from century to century, so much so that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to trace the parent motif or symbol. The thread of continuity is seldom lost.

To a Nepali, the residence of the king should be in the heart of the city; he is in fact considered as the highest spiritual and temporal reality. The chieftain's house

or the king's palace thus came to form the nucleus of the settlement. For the king, his capital city was his home and everything in the city led up to him. This is the usual pattern of the Nepali city settlement. Even now in the cities like Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhatgaon, where royal houses of many storeys with long steep roofs and overhanging eaves can be seen forming a complex with the nucleus of a temple dedicated to the king's *Iṣṭadevatā*, one may find the exact replica of an ancient type. The traditional building materials in Nepal, for civil architecture at any rate, have always been, as in traditional India and south-east Asia, of a perishable kind like wood, bamboo, mud, tiles etc. From what one sees even today, Nepalese secular architecture must have been of a very high order, but we have no means at our disposal to ascertain what this architecture was like before the seventeenth century. The only extant example of secular architecture today is the royal palace with its ancillary buildings, but these examples of secular architecture are not earlier than the seventeenth century.

The Newārs are credited with having been the builders of the urban civilization of the ancient cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, which were each at one time or other a centre of Newār settlements. The cities as we see them today, seem to have been built on a more or less regular plan with a large square in the centre. The main roads radiate from this centre and go in different directions of the city and cut each other at various points; in-between there is a network of narrow lanes. The better class of houses in the cities are elaborately decorated with plaster and painting; in general they are provided with projecting balconies and windows which are all richly carved. A Chinese travel-diary based on the report of Hsüān-Tsāng of A. D. 657, states that the Nepalese houses, whether of the kings or nobles or of the ordinary people, were made of wood, and walls were decorated with carvings and paintings, representing intricate designs of peacock with outspread tails, groups of figures of gods, men, griffins, birds and *mithuna* couples. The upper floor is often projected over the facade resting on brackets and provided with very decoratively carved wooden screens. For their very rich, decorative carvings in wood, gorgeous colours, variety of shapes and forms, and their impressive heights, the secular architecture of Nepal provides a very interesting chapter in the history of architecture in the East.

The Kathmandu valley which cradles the cities, may perfectly be characterized as urban from the point of view of planning and architectural form and style. The group of buildings which grew up around the *darbār* square formed the nucleus of the Nepalese cities. The most important of these buildings was the royal palace with paved open space in front for ceremonial occasions. Around the square were the administrative buildings, and in the centre, the temple. The same travel-diary,

referred to above, provides a description which will suit any of the three big cities of Nepal. 'In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles; its *bolsters*, grilles, columns, beams, and everything therein, are set about with fine and precious stones. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water.'[29] From this focal point streets radiate in different directions leading to the different quarters known as *tolas* or *paṭṭis*, as in many old cities of India.

A very remarkable aspect of the Nepalese culture is that the entire historical process through which the people and the country have been moving along, seems to have been concentrated in Kathmandu which also includes Bhatgaon and Patan. It is literally and figuratively the heart of the valley. Its situation has an immense geo-political significance, which is why it appealed to the Licchavis, the Thakuris, the Mallas and the Shahs through the centuries. What they needed most was certainly considerable space of level ground surrounded by high defensive hills with but few secure passes for negotiation with other countries and peoples. Kathmandu answered to these needs.

II. ARCHITECTURE

II 1 II

A most interesting fact of the cultural life of Nepal is that the two great religions, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism, have been co-existing side by side in a most intimate manner and from relatively early times, acting and reacting upon each other without being conscious of it even. Indeed, on the behavioural level it is difficult to point out the lines of demarcation, so integrally are the two religions woven into the texture of Nepalese life. This is most pronounced in the religious architecture of the country.

The architectural monuments of Nepal are all concentrated within an area of less than two hundred and fifty square miles, and they are all situated in the valley itself. Religionwise and also typologically these monuments belong, as they do in northern India, to three different categories: (i) Buddhist *stūpas*; (ii) Buddhist *caitya-vihāras*, and (iii) Brāhmaṇical temples of the *Nāgara*, that is, of the well-known north Indian type in their different variations of form. The first two of these types, both Buddhist in religious affiliation, are accommodated in Nepal in one single unit of establishment.

By far the largest number of Buddhist establishments is found to be situated within the city walls. There is however one notable exception, the Svayambhūnātha, which is situated in a quiet site at some distance from the walled city. More than two hundred Buddhist establishments are located at Kathmandu and Patan. The

vihāras, which are not unoften double-storeyed, follow in general the usual ground-plan of the Buddhist monasteries of India; they consist of a square block formed by four rows of cells arranged along the four sides of an inner quadrangle. But since in Nepal, Buddhist monks do not observe celibacy and lead ordinary family life, this basic plan not unoften suffers from changes introduced by structures added to it from time to time because of the enlargement of the families of the monks. Most of the *vihāras*, besides having *stūpa-caityas*, have also within their precincts, temples with roofs of receding tiers, so that the general *ensemble* of a *vihāra* in Nepal is somewhat different from that of *vihāras* in India.

Traditionally, the oldest *stūpas* in Nepal are the so-called Aśoka *stūpas* at Patan. The general shape and form of the base and the dome of these *stūpas* are not very much different from what can be reconstructed from the ruins of the *stūpas* in India, that are usually attributed to the initiative and patronage of that great Maurya monarch. In fact, the Patan *stūpas* in their original form (Plate 1) did not perhaps differ materially from the Aśokan *stūpas* at Piphrawa or Sāñcī. Due to the accumulation of new architectural elements, designs and ornaments in course of more than two millennia, it is not possible to visualize today the original form of these so-called Aśokan *stūpas*.

The same comment is perhaps applicable to the existing shrine of Svayambhūnātha (Plate 2) and to another, dedicated to Mañjuśrī and situated in Sangu, which is traditionally believed to be the oldest site in the Kathmandu valley. The latter shrine is interesting from the religious point of view since Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī has here been identified with his Brāhmaṇical counterpart Sarasvatī, a female divinity. This *stūpa* is, therefore, worshipped by both Buddhists and Brāhmaṇical Hindus. But the shrine lies buried beneath the hill-top, and it is difficult to determine what its original architectural form was like. The plan of Svayambhūnātha is that of the usual *stūpa* characteristic of the valley. It is a square temple over which rises an up-turned saucer-like tumulus surmounted by a solid square box-like construction responding evidently to the Buddhist *harmikā*. On the four cardinal sides of the *harmikā* are four enormous human eyes looking out into the outer world as it were. This decoration on the four cardinal sides of the *harmikā* seems to be a characteristic feature of the Nepalese *stūpa* shrines. The *harmikā* is superimposed by a sharp pyramidal structure corresponding perhaps to the shape of the receding *chatras*, which in its turn, is surmounted by a finial that supports the *kalasa*. The original *stūpa* seems to have undergone a number of later additions and alterations; it is, therefore, difficult to visualize its original form. The main approach to the *stūpa* is from the east, by a long flight of steps guarded by figures of *garuḍas*, peacocks, elephants and lions. The base of the dome is

ringed by a set of continuous rows of small wheels and four tiers of little lamp-stands, which is evidently of Tibetan inspiration; indeed Tibetan influence in this shrine is pronounced in the ritualistic practices as well. The entire gilded ornamentation above the drum and the magnificent finial seem, however, to be the products of indigenous workmanship.

The great Bodhanātha shrine, ascribed to the patronage of the Licchavi king Mānadeva (sixth century), seems to have a typical Nepalese *stūpa* form. The monument consists of three step-pyramidal platforms rising to a total height of forty-five feet; on the topmost platform rests the huge dome of the *stūpa* rising to a height of another forty-five feet and with a diameter which is exactly the double of its height, that is, ninety feet. The lower portion of the drum is encircled by a continuous line of niches, each sheltering a deity of the Vajrayāna pantheon. The enormous eyes that have already been referred to, are characteristic features here as well. One of the significant architectural works of the period, standing in the Dhvaka-baha at Kathmandu is the so-called Licchavi *caitya* (Plate 3). In form it looks like a miniature monolythic temple, crowned by a hemispherical dome. Each face of the *stūpa* contains a standing figure, representing Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and two Tathāgatas, holding characteristic attributes.

Besides these few important *stūpas*, there are numerous others scattered all over the country. Many of the important *vihāras* also shelter *stūpas* within their precincts, for example, the Atha-baha and Jatkha-baha *vihāras* at Kathmandu and the Woku-baha and the Gueta-baha *vihāras* at Patan. There are also a few important *caityas*, the most important of which is the *Gelandva* shrine, situated at the southern end of the Kirtipur hill. Another large *caitya* which consists either of four seated Buddhas around a *stūpa* facing the four cardinal directions, or of a single one seated on a lotus throne which, curiously enough, rests on a *yonī*. The obvious indication is that the *stūpa* form here is being interpreted as that of the Liṅga, in which a Tāntric significance cannot perhaps be ruled out altogether.

The *vihāras* in Nepal are usually walled on all the four sides, pierced on the entrance side for the provision of the main gate. They are all self-contained and have a more or less uniform plan. In the centre of the walled square enclosure, on a square platform is a *stūpa*, the dome of which rests on a high drum; above the dome is the square *harmikā* decorated on the four sides with one pair of large, all seeing eyes on each side. A pair of such eyes are sometimes to be found above the main entrance of some of the monasteries. All around the *stūpa*, in the large open space there are a number of cells for various cult images and a larger number of small votive *stūpas*. Along the surrounding walls on the four sides are arranged the residential cells meant for the monks, cells for serving as kitchen, refectory or

service hall, meeting hall etc. and a *maṇḍapa* all facing the closed courtyard. All precautions seem to have been taken in this closed yard to screen the inmates and their religious practices from public gaze, obviously because of their esoteric character and the secrecy of ritualistic behaviour that was enjoined on the monks.

II 2 II

With the exception of the great Paśupatinātha and a few other minor ones, all Brāhmaṇical temples in Nepal are situated in public squares, large and small. These temples represent varied forms and types which are generally comparable with well-known types and forms of Brāhmaṇical temples in India.

The most characteristic form of Nepalese religious architecture, whether Brāhmaṇical or Buddhist, is to be found in the wood and/or brick temples and *vihāras* provided with slanted roofs rising upwards like a tower in a number of receding tiers. This is indeed the most typical Nepalese architectural form. This is an architectural phenomenon which is typical in South and South-east Asia. It seems however that the type may have been conditioned, partly at any rate, by climatic considerations.

The tower type of Nepalese temples consists of a square cella set within a bigger square which is roofed, as already pointed out, by a tower rising upwards in two to five diminishing tiers. The ground-floor seems to be the most important one since the upper storeys are usually blind, being non-functional and are built in the form of casements of intricately but delicately carved wooden architectural features and decorations. The shadows cast by the long over-hanging eaves that are supposed to support the glistening roofs, produce a most pleasing aesthetic effect. It is not unlikely that the type was evolved out of the ordinary domestic architecture of Nepal. In Nepal an ordinary homestead in the valley has a similar but simpler ground plan and elevation, except that it has at the most two slanting roofs in diminishing stages, a form which is still so common in the villages of Bihar and Bengal, in Burma and Thailand and in Kerala. There is an old temple at Kathmandu called the Yatkha-baha, the projecting struts of the casement of which are adorned with Yakṣiṇī figures. The roof of the temple, surmounted by a small finial, gives one the impression of an average dwelling house in the valley but for its ornamental door-way. Another temple at the Darbar Square at Kathmandu, dedicated to Śiva and Pārvatī, happens to be a two-storeyed building which too, gives the impression of a delightful piece of domestic architecture with Śiva and Pārvatī looking down from the window above.

Whatever may have been the origin of this type of civil and religious structures, the fact remains that the Nepalese architects and craftsmen adopted and nurtured it through the centuries, making it a distinctive architectural form by a very successful

blending of the two building materials of wood and brick. But for a thousand years that are spread out before our eyes, the type shows no evolution and no change except in sizes and proportions.

A tenth-century Chinese travel-diary contains an entry which purports to describe, very briefly, a building presumably of this type: 'In the capital of Nepal there is a building of many stages which is more than 200 *chih* in height; it is 400 *chih* in circumference and is divided into three terraces, each terrace divided again into seven stages.'[30]

The most interesting features of this type of structures, whether secular or religious, are the carved wooden panels, doors, windows, eaves and struts. The entire weight of the wooden superstructure consisting of the slanting roofs and the tower itself seems to be carried by the pillars, bracket capitals and radiating rafters which are all very richly carved. The profusely ornamented brackets with conventional designs and graceful but vigorous figures in relief lend a peculiar charm to these edifices. The projecting lower end of the radiating rafter beams is joined with a horizontal beam which transfers the load to the struts resting on the projecting brackets. These bracket lintels which serve an important architectural purpose show very clearly how decorative carving, figural sculpture and architecture can be integrated into one formal entity. (Plate 4) Windows of these structures seem to receive a most careful and elaborate treatment. These were all evidently latticed windows of various forms and designs.[31]

But in Nepal there seems to have been a much greater variety of forms and designs of such latticed windows; this was achieved mainly by dovetailing small pieces of wood and integrating them with moulded brick and modelled terracotta. A very attractive decorative device of a window screen is that of a peacock which forms the centre from which radiates the entire design (Plate 5). Another is that of the Sun-god who is surrounded either by a circle of human skulls, as in the Kumāri temple, or flanked by the goddesses Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, or driving in a chariot of seven horses. Still there is another, which shows Kṛṣṇa dallying with the *gopinīs*. Indeed, endless is the variety of such devices and the lattice designs. The patterns are usually geometrical though scrolls too are not infrequent. The walls are decorated with pilasters which frame tall vertical recesses; these are all richly carved in foliated relief. The pillars, square or cylindrical or tapering, support the stone lintels; they too are richly carved in ornamental reliefs. The main entrance door, leading to the sanctum, is flanked by brick or stone pilasters; its uprights and leaves too, are very richly carved with floral and foliage decorations.

II 3 II

All the extant shrines of this type belong to the period of the later Mallas. Seen from the air, Kathmandu, an egg-shaped valley consisting of three contiguous

towns, Kathmandu itself, Patan and Bhatgaon, is popularly known as the 'land of temples'. Indeed there is a countless number of big and small temples concentrated within the valley itself. The present shrines at Caṅgu and Seṅgu may be taken to be *in situ*, standing exactly where the original shrines may have stood. Kailāsakūṭa, behind the present temple of Paśupatinātha, might have been the original place of Paśupati's main shrine. But these are assumptions which are yet to be proved archaeologically. Many of these, however old their foundations may be, are not older than the eleventh or twelfth century; quite a few could not have assumed their present form before the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The Method of construction shows assimilation of brick, stone and wooden technique. While the foundation and the lower part of the walls are laid and built in stone or brick, the entire structural frame is made in wood; the filling is done by pieces of stones and bricks kept together by mud mortar. The method is, however, common, even today.

Such temples in Nepal fall generally into three more or less well-defined types. The first type consists of a square cella which shelters the *sanctum sanctorum*, surrounded by a *pradakṣiṇa* or circumambulatory path running between the walls of the inner square cella and those of the large outer square. These two squares are covered by a roof which rises in the manner of a low pyramid composed of horizontal courses diminishing in size and terminating in a finial (Plates 6, 7). The second type happens to be a frank adaptation of the common North Indian *śikhara* temples. Here too, the sanctum is accommodated in an inner square which, in the fully developed form of the type, is surrounded by a pillared *verandah* that seems to serve as the *pradakṣiṇapatha*. The inner square and the *verandah* are raised on a high, terraced plinth, and the *śikhara*-spire rests on the walls of the inner square, which together lend to the temples the impression of a dignified height. The spire itself is not one single architectural unit but is a composition consisting of a group of members, which gives the impression of the body of the spire being formed by a system of turrets (Plates 8, 9). It is curious that this type is not provided with any *maṇḍapa* projection in front which is an invariable feature in the developed *śikhara*-temples in India. There is still a third type, a very simple one, which consists of a square cella roofed by a bulbous dome topped by a finial.

Of the first type the earliest known temple seems to be what is called the temple of Kumbheśvara in Patan (Plate 6). There is a temple of the same type at Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇa. An inscription on a pillar surmounted by what is certainly a Viṣṇu-Cakra, records a donation by Queen Rājyavatī in commemoration of the victory of King Mānadeva in A. D. 496. But the structure as one sees it today, does not seem to date earlier than the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century: the inscribed pillar must have formed part of a much earlier structure at

the site or even elsewhere. The temple is situated on the top of a steep hill which lies eight miles east of Kathmandu across the Manchra river. It is placed in the centre of a square courtyard which is lined on all sides by rows of small cells, meant presumably for devotees and pilgrims. The central pyramidal tower, wrongly described as *pagoda* by most writers, 'is one mass of hammered brass, beaten up into angels and devils, reptiles and fishes, winged creatures and floral motifs.'[12] All available space including that of the pillars, has indeed been covered with elaborate and sumptuous decorations consisting of conventional representations of Vaiṣṇava icons, legends and symbols like the *padma*, the *śaṅkha* and the *cakra*. The three doors of wood that mark the front and the sides are also very sumptuously decorated. The roof consists of storeys which are functionally blind, but are enriched with mouldings, balconied windows, turrets and other architectural motifs.

If the Caṅgu-Nārāyaṇa is the richest of the type, the Nyapāla temple at Bhatgaon (Plate 7) is perhaps the most dignified one. It is raised on a high plinth consisting of five receding terraces and roofed by a pyramid of five steps, covered all over by beaten brass of the colour of glistening gold. The inner square of the sanctum that enshrines the goddess Bhairavī, is reached by a long flight of steps that cut across the five terraces of the plinth, each terrace-platform being guarded by two colossal figures, evidently *dvārapālas*.

Around the city-squares of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan there are many other temples of this type, some simple in form, some more elaborate. The Paśupatinātha temple on the Bāgmatī river, a simple two storeyed shrine placed on a square platform, is one of the simpler variety. The Matsyendranātha or Macchendranātha temple at Patan, built according to an inscription in 1408, is somewhat more elaborate. It was originally a Buddhist temple dedicated to Padmapāṇi, but was at a later date converted to a Brāhmaṇical one. But the most typical and relatively more important ones seem to be the three Taleju temples at Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, all datable in the eighteenth century. Apart from the rich carvings and sumptuous decorations that characterize all the temples of this type, there is an architectural feature which deserves notice: the series of compressed storeys of the pyramidal roof are kept in position by slanting struts locked in the transverse beams above. This feature serves a functional purpose in the main, but it has also an aesthetic significance.

The second type of the North Indian *śikhara* variety consists of a single square cella which houses the sanctum. The simpler forms of this type have no projecting porch; in the more elaborate ones even this porch is a very nominal one. The high and slim *śikhara* or the spire rests on the four walls of the square cella, the entrance side alone of the walls being pierced by a high door with a semi-circular arch. The plain walls of the square cella are divided horizontally into two parts by two ribbed

mouldings, which however do not seem to serve any functional purpose. It is on these four walls that the roof of the square cella and the sides of the *śikhara* tower rest; the tower rises straight in a perpendicular manner to roughly half the height when it takes a slow curvilinear form until it reaches a stage where it is superimposed by an architectural element which must have been derived from the traditional *āmalakaśilā*. This element is not as round as an *āmalakaśilā* is, but is formed in re-entrant angles that follow the lines of the square cella and the tower. On this *āmalaka* is a short series of cornice mouldings upon which rests a vase with foliage; this vase motif is repeated more than once in increasingly smaller sizes. A typical example of this *śikhara* type is the temple of Śiva at Kathmandu. In its architectural form and proportions the type is a very simple one, but a dignified one nevertheless.

Elaboration of this type can be seen, for example, in a miniature temple near Sondhera in the Deo Patan area, and further elaborations in the Jagat-Nārāyaṇa temple at Patan, the Vatsalā temple at Bhaktapur (Plate 8) and in Hariśaṅkara temple. In the Jagat-Nārāyaṇa there is the addition of an *ardhamaṇḍapa* repeated on each side of the *śikhara* tower, where it is superimposed by a miniature *śikhara*. The tower of the main *śikhara* is thus broken up by other architectural elements which cluster around its body. The lintels of the doors and the facades of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* simulations around the body of the *śikhara*, are all decorated with intricate carvings of competent workmanship, representing the activities of gods and goddesses in complex positions and attitudes.

A temple of the same type but with a projection at the main entrance, can be seen in the Durgā temple at the Darbar Square at Bhaktapur. Here the large square cella is placed on the elevation of a series of diminishing plinths (Plate 9). The cella is reached by a series of elaborate steps with seated human and animal figures flanking each flight of steps of which there are as many as seven. The tower itself takes the form of compressed storeys. The elevation thus seems to suffer somewhat in its verticality; it is considerably disturbed not only by the turrets at the base but also by the dominance of the horizontal lines and the rich elaboration of the niches around the storeys.

The Kṛṣṇa temple at the Palace Square at Patan, datable presumably *c*. 1700, seems to be in the same line of evolution (Plate 10). The temple consisting of a small square cella within a larger one, is raised on a high plinth of diminishing tiers. The *śikhara* tower rises up in three arcaded storeys, each provided with an open colonaded balcony which runs all around.

Of the sharp-edged *śikhara* form, the Mahābodhi temple at Patan (Plate 11) which is said to have been built by Abhayarāja Vajrācārya, some time during the seventeenth century, is perhaps the best and the most well known. Built entirely of

brick, its model must have been the famous Mahābodhi temple at Bodhagaya. Its sanctum square, like most other Nepalese temples, has no porch or *ardhamaṇḍapa* projection except at the entrance side. The shrine rests, like all other temples in Nepal, on a high square plinth. At each corner of the square plinth there is a miniature temple of the same form as that of the main one. There are numerous other examples of this type, scattered all over Nepal.

Incidental mention may here be made of certain free-standing columns which are sometimes seen in front of some temples (Plate 12). One of the best examples of such columns can be seen in front of the main temple at the Darbar square, Kathmandu. Such columns are usually surmounted by the kneeling figure of the king or the donor, or by the figure of the *vāhana* Garuḍa or Nandi, depending on the temple being respectively one of Viṣṇu or Śiva. Built in segments of round or fluted and slightly tapering shafts, these columns or *stambhas* must be the lineal descendants of the *dhvaja-stambhas* of the Indian tradition.

A new type of religious architecture seems to have come into vogue in Nepal from the time of the Shāh kings (Plate 13). Since its form is characterized by the superimposition at the top of bulbous domes, it has been suggested that the type may have partly at any rate, been inspired by the domes of Islamic architecture. While one may not altogether deny such a possibility, it can also be argued that these domes may have been an adaptation of the traditional Buddhist *stupa* form. But be that as it may, one of the best examples of this type is to be seen in the Śiva temple at Hanumandhoka, Kathmandu or in a Bhairava temple in the same city. In ground plan the temple is a square with re-entrant angles and with a pillared porch at the entrance side. Elevation-wise, the entire structure is raised on a high platform which lends to it some amount of dignity. Simple and dignified in its proportions, the different parts and elements of this construction have indeed been welded into an unified architectural composition.

But the most typical religious architecture of doubtless and distinctive Nepalese origin are the shrines of the ancestral gods (*degu-dya*) and local gods (*luka-mondya*). The Lumari-Ajuma temple at Tundikhel and the Ajima temple on the platform of the great Svayambhū *caitya* are two interesting examples of this type. The ground plan is a simple square with a box-like cella serving as the sanctum, around which runs a pillared corridor, and over which rises a high pyramidal tower with a receding series of sloping roofs, usually five, supported by wooden brackets. These brackets and the door lintels are all richly carved with foliate motifs, *makaras* and *kīrtimukhas*; certain motifs are also of Tibetan and Chinese origins. Like almost all Nepalese temples these shrines also rest on a high step-pyramidal platform. Of special interest is the temple of Litakot dedicated to the goddess Mai, which Tucci found on the road leading to Jumla-Chelkha.[33]

III. SCULPTURES AND BRONZES

॥ 1 ॥

Sculpture in Nepal shows an obvious dependence on and close relationship with the plastic tradition of India, for understandable reasons, without doubt. The two major religions of the country, Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism, which shaped and formed the ideological, imaginative and the behavioural world of the Nepalis, of the Newārs in particular who were the dominant cultural group, were both of Indian origin; the gods and goddesses, the myths and legends, the motifs and symbols etc., that have been current in Nepal for centuries, belong to these two religions. With this rich repository of thematic content of the two religions came also the respective forms of art and iconography that articulated this content in visual form and the theories and techniques that were associated with these forms from time to time. Different traits and traditions of art belonging to different times and different regions of India, depending on their contact with Nepal, thus entered the country and conditioned the vicissitudes of her sculptural art.

The relative seclusion of the valley seems to have given the Nepalese people more favourable environs for working on the Indian models by strict observance of the Indian forms and canonical systems of proportion etc. There can be no doubt that by far the largest number of sculptures and bronzes were worked out locally in Nepal. It is most likely that Indian artists who came along with the monks and priests, traders and merchantmen etc., were employed by local patrons to supply their religious needs and requirements, and that in course of time a local professional class of stone-carvers, metal-casters, painters, wood-carvers and architects must have also grown up, first as apprentices of Indian professionals and later, as independent artists and artisans. But what is curious to note is that even at a later date, say, by about the ninth-tenth-eleventh centuries when one would legitimately expect to find a considerable amount of localization of the imported forms and styles, one does not actually do so. Even the ethnic types and faoial and physiognomical forms remain throughout unmistakably Indian and no elements of local environs make themselves felt anywhere. The character of plastic treatment, the stances and gestures etc. rely almost exclusively on those of Indian art forms of different periods and regions. Definitely recognizable Nepalese characteristics are indeed very few and far between.

Recent archaeological finds at Tilaurakot, Banjarahi and Paisia to which reference has already been made, show very clearly how early sculptural art-forms in clay are closely related to those of the time of the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Kuṣāṇas of Indian history. But a connected history of the sculptural art of

Nepal is not possible before the advent of the Licchavis in the third century A. D. This dynasty of kings ruled over Nepal for several centuries, and during their regime Nepal and India came into very intimate contact through more than one channels: religious missions, trade and commerce, political and diplomatic relations and matrimonial alliances. These centuries, that is, from about the fourth to about the seventh, witnessed in India a great and glorious cultural efflorescence under the rule of the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, the Puṣyabhūtis and the early Cālukyas of Vātāpī. This glory finds itself reflected in the forms and styles of objects of art recovered from various places in Nepal; indeed, these objects are frankly reminiscent of and are presumably related to the contemporary art traditions of the Ganga-Yamuna valley and western Deccan. Here one finds a Vākāṭaka tradition too, which we shall consider in greater detail at a later stage; but even at this stage one may note that it was a force to reckon with during the Licchavi regime. The disintegrated image of Garuḍa crowning the victory pillar of Mānadeva at Caṅgu, the image of Varāha at Dhum Varāhi, of Virūpākṣa at Āryaghāṭ, of Gaurī and Yamunā in the Paśupati temple area and a number of Buddha-Bodhisattva figures including a relief representing the story of the Temptation of the Buddha, are some of the finest examples that register the impress of this tradition. There is another very important Indian trend of art at work in Nepal from about the ninth century; this is the so-called Pāla and Sena school of art of Eastern India. Indeed, during the rule of the Malla dynasty Nepal developed very close relations with Magadha and other areas of this region. A few of the objects of art in bronze, found in Nepal may have been imported from the main land, but a large majority must have been made locally. Changes were of course effected slowly towards gradual Nepalization, especially in cast-metal icons, but the art form did not undergo any major transformation. This has been a continuing process ever since to this day.

II 2 II

Chance finds and systematic surveys are fast bringing to light a profusion of examples of sculptural art from all over the valley. It is now clear that during the long centuries covered by the rule of the kings of the Licchavi and the Malla dynasties there was an intense activity in Nepal in the field of sculptural art. The chronological framework is also more or less clear so that a few representative specimens may now be reviewed by way of a survey of the art.

The most important and perhaps the earliest piece of sculpture of Nepal is a huge (3' 1½" x 1' 6½"), heavy, frontal and free-standing image of what seems to be a Buddha-Bodhisattva figure in buff-colour sandstone, recently recovered from Harigaon, Kathmandu (Plate 14). The earthy heaviness of the figure, its frank frontality with an emphasis on the second dimension, the style of wearing the

dhoti, its plastic treatment and its general character of form and iconography would suggest at once that it is affiliated to the art-form and style of the Buddha-Bodhisattva images of the Mathurā school of the first century A.D. Indeed, but for the material the Harigaon image could be regarded as a first cousin of the three well-known Buddha-Bodhisattva images installed by Friar Bala at Mathurā, Sarnath and Śrāvastī. Unfortunately at the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to explain archaeologically and historically the background of the appearance of this art-form and style in the very heart of the Kathmandu valley unless one assumes that even at that distant date the valley was in direct communication with these important centres of art and culture in northern India.

But perhaps in one stray example of what seems to have been an essay in royal portraiture one may detect a physiognomical form which is earthy and heavy in proportion, expansive and broad and somewhat rigid in its frank frontality. Made in grey limestone, the free-standing, crowned statue of the one who must have been recognized as a king is still preserved in the Gorakṣanātha monastery at Mṛgasthalī, Paśupatinatha (Plate 15). The *prabhāmaṇḍala* round the head seems to attribute divinity to the figure and the broad expansiveness of the shoulders, the chest and the arms are doubtless efforts at articulation of power, energy, authority and dignity to the figure, which is sought to be heightened further by the manner of standing firmly with the feet planted somewhat apart. Formally speaking, the figure which may tentatively be dated stylistically in the third or fourth century A.D., is strongly reminiscent of the Kuṣāṇa form of Buddha-Bodhisattva on the one hand and of the royal statues on the other, of the first two centuries of the Christian era. Strongly of the Mathurā-Kuṣāṇa heritage in a somewhat later manifestation is the seated figure of what seems to be that of a Kirāta King. Seated in a regal attitude the figure reminds one of Kuṣāṇa royal portraits.

Certainly later in date by at least a century or more and very much different in its plastic formulation is the rounded figure of a devotee in kneeling, squatting position in front of a way-side Viṣṇu temple at Kathmandu (Plate 16). The character of the plastic treatment of its rounded volumes, the expression of the face and of the more-than-half-closed eyes and the wig-like treatment of its long hair mark it out as one registering some of the values of classical Indian art. But at the same time one has also to take note of the general heaviness of the figure and the broad expansiveness of the chest and the shoulders which seem to hark back to its Kuṣāṇa-Mathurā heritage.

How this Kuṣāṇa based Gupta tradition was at work in Nepal can perhaps be seen in a couple of sculptured pieces, one in sandstone showing a *kumbha* or water-pitcher surmounted by the head and face of a woman protected by the spread-out hoods of a *nāga* (Plate 17), and the other in bluish grey limestone

representing the nativity scene of the Buddha, at the Sundara Fountain at Deo Patan (Plate 18). The first one is iconographically a unique piece. It is well known that the water-filled *kumbha* is a fertility symbol, the *kumbha* being equated with the woman's womb; indeed the *Kathāsaritsāgara* equates it with the female uterus. The style and idiom of the Ganga-Yamuna valley of the sixth-seventh centuries are very clear in the nativity scene relief, yet a certain Mathurāesque flavour seems to linger on the face, the hips and the thighs of Māyādevī. She stands in a well-known graceful *bhaṅga* with both her raised hands softly clutching the yielding branch of a tree to support herself. The delicate bends of her physical frame seem to find place in two other specimens (Plates 19, 20) in which one can see how faithful an interpretation of an Indian art-form could be in the Nepalese context and how such an interpretation could be locally accepted as of the soil itself.

II 3 II

These undated examples help us acquire an idea and a feel of the nature of the sculptural art of Nepal. But Nepal provides us with a number of dated and easily datable examples of art which would enable one to formulate a reliable chronological framework and follow the course of evolution of the art.

The earliest of such examples are two inscribed and dated images of Viṣṇu (both 467 A.D.), one from the Mṛgasthalī and another from the Lajimpat area of Kathmandu, both depicting Viṣṇu in his *Trivikrama* form (Plates 21, 22). In the compositional scheme of both, in the forward thrust of the figures and their powerful gestures, the oblique sweep of their bodies and their powerful yet sensitive modelling, they are strongly reminiscent of contemporary west-Deccanese sculptures of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. The heavy consistency of the modelling and concentrated roundness of the sturdy physical frame of these figures and of the Varāhāvatāra figure from Dhum Varāhi (Plate 23) are unmistakable evidences of a close contact of Nepal with the Gupta-Vākāṭaka tradition. Historical evidence of such contacts is not altogether lacking. Qualitatively perhaps on a lower level but equally interesting is another sculpture of Viṣṇu-Trivikrama from the Cāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa area showing the impress of the same tradition. This piece is somewhat descriptive and hence loaded with iconographic details, but the quality of plastic treatment and the sturdy linear movement of the figure, despite a somewhat stiffening of plasticity, leave no doubt as to its original inspiration.

Belonging to a slightly later period but to the same affiliation are the images of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi from Dhvaka-baha where the figures stand in niches between pilasters facing the four directions. (Plate 24) To the same affiliation seem to belong the image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara near

Patan, and a Brāhmaṇical relief representing Kṛṣṇa subjugating the serpent Kālīya at the Vasantpur Palace, Hanumandhoka. (Plate 25) The composition of these pieces, the sturdy physiognomy and the powerful movement of the figures, their architectural setting and their plastic treatment cannot but remind one of the reliefs of the caves of Udayagiri (Bhilsa, fifth century) on the one hand and of Aurangabad and early Ellorā of the time of the early Cālukyas of Vātāpī, on the other (seventh century).

To a slightly later period should perhaps be ascribed the images of Kṛṣṇa or Balarāma. In its almost three dimensional ponderosity and the manner of the treatment of the different planes of the body the figure seems to have a very close similarity with some of the similar figures of the Aurangabad caves. Belonging to more or less the same West Deccanese tradition is an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa and another of Viṣṇu-Viśvarūpa (Plate 26). The figures are full of the vibrant sap of life, allowing their forms swelling as it were from within. Indeed, the nature of human figuration, the character of formal composition and the effect of rock-texture of these reliefs cannot but remind one of the rock-cut reliefs of the Pallavas and the Cālukyas of the seventh century.

A group of Ekamukha and Caturmukha Liṅgas may be worth mentioning in this connection. Not all the images belong to the same aesthetic form; nor do they all belong to the same time. At least two (Plates 27, 28) which are found near the Paśupatinātha Temple, resemble the well-known Mukhaliṅgam of the Nachna Kuthara Temple of the early Gupta days.

II 4 II

It is now clear that from already about the fifth century Nepal started listening to the reverberations of the Indian art forms, mainly of the Deccan and the Ganga-Yamuna valley. But, in respect of the latter, Nepal seems to carry on the tradition of Mathurā more than that of Sarnath on one hand, and of Eastern India on the other. Broad masculine chest and shoulders and a firm body-form expressive of enormous energy happen to be the special contribution of Mathurā in this tradition. Examples of the impress of this tradition in Nepal are indeed too many to refer to. Gupta classical grace and proportions, poise and elegance seem to have been given full value in a number of images. The earliest of these is the Umā-Maheśvara image from Sikhu-Baha, Lalitpur, which bears an inscription with a date equivalent to A. D. 550. This is perhaps the earliest Umā-Maheśvara icon from Nepal. (Plate 29)

A sixth century sculptural panel in limestone depicting the story of Māra's Temptation (see Plate 19) seems to cling honestly to the eastern version of the Gupta classical tradition. The plastic character of the female figures has all the

grace and poise and warm sensuousness and human charm of the *nāginī* of Maniyar Math, Rajgir. But the grace and charm of the temptress girls are in very sharp contrast with the violent gestures and movements of Māra's hosts.

A very interesting piece of sculptured relief of this trend comes from Nagaltole (see Plate 20). Presumably narrating the legend of the *Kumārasambhavam* the relief actually purports to present a very sweetly sensuous domestic scene with loving care and tenderness. The soft sensitivity of the plastic treatment, the vibrant composition, the tender curvaciousness of the line, the graceful movement of the figures and the fine and subtle display of light and shade make it a most interesting human document. Here is thus reflected the same classical tradition which expresses itself most effectively in a number of Buddha images (Plates 30, 31) in their vibrant youthful physiognomical forms and the refined sensitivity of the plastic modelling. The soft compassionate expression of the face and the attitude of calm composure that characterize these sculptures, are but echoes of what was being worked out in the contemporary Ganga-Yamuna valley. The contact of the artists in Nepal with those of Eastern India was reinforced in the centuries that followed, especially during the regime of the Pālas and the Senas. With the passing of time the Gupta legacy came to be interpreted differently in Eastern India in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The stages are all reflected in the contemporary relief sculptures of Nepal in more or less details. Reference may be given in this connection to a number of cult images. Executed in high and bold relief, the image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Plate 32) despite rotundity of form is hard and stiff. The grammar, diction and idiom of the sculptural art of Eastern India seem to have got fixed in Nepal. The Sūrya image at Banepa (Plate 33) is an instance in point. It leads one to assume that craftsmen from different centres of Bihar and Bengal may have migrated to Nepal during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries and in larger numbers immediately after the Turkish conquest, and there they and their descendants continued to work in the same tradition as they had been used to back at home centuries before.

From about the thirteenth century onward, the compositional scheme of the reliefs, their plastic treatment and architectural features, the ornaments and decorations of the figures and their physiognomical form etc. that meet the eye on countless number of reliefs are all directly attributable to the contemporary life of Nepal as had been conditioned for centuries by Indian life and culture. Icons dating from this period follow increasingly the prescriptions as laid down in the Brāhmaṇical or Buddhist Tāntric texts. At the same time, one comes to notice an increasing localization of the facial type and features of the figures, namely, elements of a racial type with slanting eyes and slightly high cheek-bones which are the

obvious cognizances of the ethnic types of Nepal. Also one begins to notice in the reliefs some patternized versions of the endless repetitions of the same body-form, facial type, standard poses and attitudes. Whether it is a Buddhist icon or a Brāhmaṇical divinity, the body is always held within a stiffened outline. Yet the physiognomical type has a conventional charm which is repeated from figure to figure. Any definite chronological sequence is therefore difficult to establish.

A very significant and interesting example of an attempt at localization of the eastern tradition is furnished by a fine image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, elegantly ornamented and crowned. Strongly reminiscent of the classical tradition of Indian art as articulated in the early medieval Buddha images of Eastern India, particularly of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the broad forehead, the high cheek-bones, the slanting eye-brows and the general sharpness of the facial features of this image perhaps reveal an attempt at imparting to the face a certain local ethnic character.

Art in Nepal from now onwards came also to be marked by increasing hierarchization which was due presumably to the stabilization of the Tibetan Lamaistic Buddhism in Nepalese religious ideas and practices. Thus, art slowly and inevitably became degenerated into stereotyped cultic forms; increasingly the iconic forms came to be regarded as *yantras* or magical patterns with hardly any deviation. They were produced in countless numbers. It is not, therefore, surprising that today one comes across a countless number of images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Umā-Maheśvara, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Buddha, Bodhisattva, Tārā and various other aspects of Buddha-Śaktis etc. being recovered from every nook and corner of the valley.

By about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the whole of North India was overrun by the iconoclastic forces of Islam. Cut off thus from her age-old sources of inspiration and activity, Nepal was thus forced by history to evolve an art-language of her own, slowly but eventually. Already, towards the end of the Malla period, local accents in the form of facial type, physiognomy, drapery etc. were becoming more and more pronounced. But, in general, sculptural art of Nepal, even at this stage, remained somewhat a prolongation of the East Indian forms and styles, which was perhaps inevitable. Nepal, because of its cloistered existence, was somewhat obliged to cling to what was already an established tradition. But even so, definite Nepali traits, for instance, the arched brow, pointed nose and high cheek, broad chin and short stocky body-form, impart to the art of this phase a pronouncedly Nepali character. Figures of mythical animals and *grotesques*, of Mahākāla or Bhairava (Plate 34) in their terrific aspects seem to have a grip on popular imagination and these are repeated again and again in the contemporary reliefs.

Not unoften the art of sculpture in Nepal offers surprising examples which cannot be explained fully in terms of the Indian tradition. One such sculpture (Plate 35) seems to be that of a torso of a male figure wearing its hair in the form of a wig and having heavy earrings and a rope-patterned waist-band in double moulds. Its facial and physiognomical form is heavy and expansive; the plastic treatment is flat and stiff. Its wide open eyes, thick lower lip and the heavy nose seem perhaps to reveal a tribal ethnic type which may not have been of local origin, though it has been described in the records of the Archaeological Survey of India as that of a Kirāta. It is *in situ* at Āryaghāṭ within the precincts of the Paśupatinātha Temple.

A still more intriguing piece of bold relief is that of a dwarf supporting a water-spout, located at Sondhera at Deo Patan. (Plate 36) As if heavily weighed under the weight of the water-spout, the giant dwarf squats in a difficult position which has been very ably managed in a meaningful composition within a rectangle. The wavy treatment of the hair and the beard in masses, the boldly rounded and modelled physiognomical form and facial features and the balanced display of light and shade and the distribution of the masses, lend to the figure a severe dignity and a grand solidity of texture and feel. It is indeed one of the finest pieces of sculpture that Nepali art has to offer and it is not easy to explain it in terms of Indian art exclusively.

II 5 II

As in stone sculpture, so in bronzes too, Nepal's dependence on Indian forms, styles and techniques is equally obvious. It is also equally obvious that eventually Nepal made a successful venture towards the formation of a Nepali style. The first lessons were presumably learnt from the Indian masters, but the artists of Nepal tried to improve upon it and kept up their practice without let or hindrance; this allowed the tradition a much longer lease of life than it was possible anywhere in the east except in Tibet and Burma. The most important centres of bronzes in Eastern India, it is well known, were Chausa, Nālandā and Kurkihar in Bihar, Varendra and Jhewari in Bengal, for instance. Literary and archaeological evidence points to the fact that from the beginning of the fifth and sixth centuries, but more particularly from the eighth, countless number of monks and priests went from the monastic and priestly establishments of Bihar and Bengal to Nepal and Tibet. Stone sculptures were heavy and hence difficult to carry on one's back, but not so manuscripts and bronzes which were easily carried to Nepal. Quite a number of them must have been borne on the shoulders of Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇical priests. With steady widening of the sway of various cults of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism and an increasing clientele, the demand for such small size bronzes

seems to have been ever on the increase, and very soon small scale foundries for casting such images may have also come into existence for meeting the increasing demand. Indian images must have provided them the models, which presupposes that Indian masters must have been present there to train them not only in the lessons of form and iconography, but also in the very intricate and difficult processes and techniques of bronze-casting.

Indian cast metal icons seem to have reached Nepal during the later Gupta culture period. But the appreciable influx of the metal-casters must have taken place from Magadha and Bengal during the rule of the Pālas and Senas.

The most favoured technique of metal-casting in Nepal was the method which is technically known as *retardataire*. The *cire-perdue* or lost wax method was also known to the Nepali artists. These are still widely practised in Nepal where there is still a demand for such images.

Since the iconography and art form of most of these images were more or less fixed, the images turned out by the local foundries were in most cases, like products manufactured on a mass scale, that is, more or less mechanically, served in full their cult purpose. Yet, on the whole, one must admit that despite a general fixation of the art form, Nepal through the centuries maintained a relatively high standard throughout.

Summarily speaking, the female figures maintain throughout a slender and elegant physiognomical form, an almost oval facial type with slightly pointed chin and almond shaped eyes and a pair of slightly hardened and tight breasts. Male forms are fleshier and relatively short-statured. They have a broader face with a slightly longish and pointed nose. But male or female, both forms are characterized by a tense rigidity of pose and attitude. Both tend to look like ideal types that offer no clue to their mental disposition, emotional mood or ethnic identity.

But here and there, in the early stages of the art, one can come across examples where there is considerable slackening of this tense rigidity. In such instances the soft sensitivity of the lines and of the plastic treatment of the body clearly affiliated to the late Gupta tradition is also noticed. One such instance is a standing four-handed Viṣṇu which is now in the Boston Museum. The image bears a close formal relationship with some of the stone sculptures of the Licchavi period. The four-handed Śiva (Plate 37) standing in slight contra-post bears a close stylistic resemblance to the classical Gupta form of the sixth century. The image of Tārā, seated in *sukhāsana* (Plate 38), seems to be a continuation of this style. In the fullness of its warm and voluptuous physiognomical form and in its sensuously relaxed and languorous attitude, the seated Tārā figure carries on the characteristic style of the late classical form as realized by the East Indian artists of about the

eighth-ninth centuries. To this phase and character also belongs the figure of Vasudhārā (Plate 39). Neatly cast, this is indeed a fine example of Nepalese metal sculpture. It is this style which formed the basis of the cast-metal images of Nepal till the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

But from the fourteenth century onward, with increasing hierarchization of the cults one notices an increasing hieratic stylization of forms. The figures become more an more loaded with a profusion of jewellery and flexions of the bodies. These tend to make them rigid and petrified. But a sort of feverish energy and ecstatic happiness render them violent and aggressive, which is particularly noticeable in the Tāntric images, such as those of Bhairava, Vajravārāhī, Vṛṣasaṁhāra, Hevajra, Heruka, the Ḍākinī and a host of other Tāntric Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical gods, goddesses and semi-divine beings. The endless stream of gilt-copper images, depicting a host of Tāntric Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses, is certainly of great iconographic importance but the images have very little to offer to a student of art.

These cast metal images can broadly be divided into two categories, which have no chronological significance. Indeed, they seem to have been fashioned simultaneously through the centuries. The first category includes the gods and goddesses of the Vajrayāna Buddhist pantheon; these icons, formally speaking, happen to be a continuation of the Pāla art of Eastern India in an increasingly stylized version. The second category is also an outcome or extension of the first, but the icons of gods and goddesses that belong to this category are pronouncedly of Tāntric inspiration, and in their art and iconographic form they seem to have a Tibetan Lamaistic accent.

The first category would include such examples as are provided by the figures which are stylistically suggestive of the post-Gupta tradition of Eastern India. (Plate 40) A solidly cast gilt-copper image of Tārā is an interesting example (Plate 41) of the last phase of this category of icons.

To the second category belong those dynamic compositions of gods and goddesses of definite Tāntric inspiration, into which have been introduced a great deal of Tibetan demonology. These are generally of very intricate craftsmanship and very precisely worked out in elaborate details. Indeed, these icons are mostly visual symbols of Tāntric experience, in the making of which the Nepalese metal-casters seem to have achieved a very high proficiency.

Plate 42 is an excellent example of what has just been said. The linking of the two figures, both in a state of fury in the act of becoming one, without making them appear to lose their balance, is a compositional marvel and a feat in technical cleverness and efficiency. Examples of this kind can be seen in many figures of

later periods where the god is locked in close embrace with his Śakti holding a skull-cup and a *kartari* in her two hands.

IV. WOOD-CARVINGS AND TERRACOTTAS

II 1 II

The art of wood-carving is indeed the pride of Nepal. Both in secular and religious buildings wood, beautifully shaped and formed and carved in intricate patterns and designs, was extensively used in door-frames, door-leaves, windows, cornices, brackets, lintels, struts, pillars, pilasters and architraves, in fact in all available surfaces of wood as it were. Apart from vegetal and geometrical forms of all conceivable varieties, human and animal forms of life and myth too enrich the repertory of these wood-carvings which is still a live art in Nepal. The wood that was used in the old temples and palaces of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Vasantpur, for instance, was locally known as *dhumsi* which means 'strong', or as *chasi* which means 'as strong as tiger'. Contemporary builders use *śāl*, *agrat* and *chapa* which are all available in plenty at and around Kathmandu. *Sankhu* wood is, however, considered to be the best.

But unfortunately no wood-carving that can be dated before the thirteenth century, has come down to us. Temples, both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist, had their surfaces covered with carvings of figures of divine and semi-divine significance. These figures, relatively speaking, are less bound down by rigid iconographic injunctions, and not unoften they breathe a secular air even. But stylistically they belong to the same norm that controls the bronzes and the stone sculptures. This is clear in the quality and character of modelling, the descriptive detail of the contours and the emphasis on their harmonious amplitude. As one proceeds along the arrow line of time, one sees a certain slackening of the contours, and then the figures seem to exhale an intimate warmth and delicacy of feel and atmosphere that are unknown to the last phases of stone sculptures and bronzes. One cannot also afford to miss the carvings in relief representing myths and legends from the Indian epics, which the common people were more familiar with. In wood-carving the method of narration closely follows that of the *paṭa-citras*, that is, one rectangle is given to each legend or part thereof, which is separated from the next by a vertical or horizontal line.

Some of the figure-carvings on the struts are remarkable for their exquisite craftsmanship and compositional skill, the ascending lines of the sinuous volume are gracefully balanced and responded to by descending lines, and they create a fine rhythmic movement. These figures are in most cases iconic, representing Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses. Some of the figures are mythical

and semi-religious like those of the epic hero Bhīmasena and of *śālabhañjikās*, for instance. Quite a few of these figures are easily identifiable since they are provided with writings either in Newārī or Sanskrit, giving their names, as one finds in the Caturvarṇa Mahāvihāra at Bhatgaon and Chausyabahal and Musyabahal shrines at Kathmandu. Secular themes like those of dancing men and women, mother and child, barber shaving his customer (Hanuman Dhoka), amorous couples, frankly erotic scenes, animals in processions etc. also abound, the last being fine studies in poise and balance, sensuous charm and disciplined grace. That the artists experienced sort of a sensuous delight to carve these decorative themes is made clearly manifest in their fine workmanship and free play of imagination.

Narrative scenes, compared to the purely decorative, are weaker in movement and grace as well as in their narrative significance. Even a cursory look at the representations of the life of the Buddha at the Marustal shrine at Kathmandu, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stories at the Kṛṣṇa temple at Patan (Plate 43), would prove the point.

The innate, playful love for finely balanced and colourful design seems to have been reserved for the window-screens and bracket lintels. The windows are all decorated with traditional *nāga-bandha* (serpent motifs) or *valli-bandha* (floral and foliage motifs) designs, *gavākṣa* (cow-eye) or *kuñjarākṣa* (elephant-eye) designs, *svastika* or *nandyāvarta* (geometrical) designs, to cite only a few of these examples. Very characteristic is the design of the peacock which is admirably spaced and stylized as a decorative ornament (Plate 5).

But the history of wood-carving as spread out before our eyes from the thirteenth (Rudra Varṇa Mahāvihāra, Patan) to the eighteenth century (Nyapāla at Bhatgaon), does not seem to have any evolution. When the art comes to view in the thirteenth century it is already a fully evolved one, all but fortified by tradition and continuous practice. Themes are more or less fixed, patterns and designs conventionalized and forms standardized. These themes, patterns, designs and forms are retained and repeated century after century.

II 2 II

Recent archaeological excavations in different areas of Nepal have yielded a considerable number of terracottas representing human and animal figures, datable from about the third or second century B.C. to a very late period in history.[34] Human figures include a number of human heads, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs which reveal the unmistakable impact of Maurya, Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa forms and characteristics; in fact, these frankly belong to the contemporary Indian denominator in regard to the art of terracotta. Latest excavations at Kapilavastu have provided

additional proof in favour of this hypothesis. Of the moulded type a considerable number came out of the excavations of Dhum Varāhi; they represent human and animal figures of a variety of forms. Stratigraphically and from associated objects these terracottas seem to belong to the Licchavi period of the history of Nepal. Despite their slightly heavy proportions the execution and treatment of the figures exhibit a certain quality of sophisticated craftsmanship. The medieval temples of Nepal, particularly of the sixteenth through to the eighteenth century, were built in brick. Different forms and types of terracotta figures representing cult icons, demi-gods, *apsarās*, *kinnaras* etc. decorate these temples. Invariably painted in bright colours these terracottas, fine examples of which can be seen in the Kumārī Mandir at Kathmandu, lend a peculiar charm and gaiety to these temples. A fixed and rigid iconography makes the cult and semi-divine figures look somewhat stiff and conventional, but the skilled craftsmanship is unmistakable. Stylistically speaking, three figures closely follow the lines and principles of their counterparts in stone.

V. PAINTINGS

|| 1 ||

Judging from examples that have come down to us, painting in Nepal, when it comes to view for the first time, is already a highly evolved art, whether it is in the form of miniatures used in illustrating texts written in Sanskrit or Newārī or on that of scrolls or wooden book-covers or in that of a special form which, in the absence of a better term, may be called *maṇḍala-paṭa* painting of magico-religious significance. This art like the art of sculpture in Nepal is essentially and almost exclusively religious, and is controlled and conditioned by a hieratic, sometimes even esoteric, religious order. This is evident in its thematic content, spirit and atmosphere, irrespective of whether the religion is Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical, Buddhism in its Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna versions holding the sway in the main. An interesting point to note is that in the manuscripts the paintings do not actually illustrate the text; indeed they are illustrations of the gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon, in their various manifestations. It has been suggested that the main purpose of these paintings was ritualistic or magical. It seems to be a valid hypothesis not only in respect of the manuscript illustrations but in that of the paintings in Nepal in general except for certain later narrative ones.

Since painting in Nepal was almost exclusively iconic and strictly controlled by monks and priests in the seclusion of temples and monasteries, it does not, generally speaking, lend itself to having an evolving life of its own. It had a derivative beginning, drawing its artistic and iconographic forms, styles, and idioms from the

manuscript paintings of Eastern India, which once adopted. soon tended to become standardized and conventionalized. These standard and conventional forms continued for centuries to this day but for the fact that at later dates Nepal experienced the impact of Tibetan, Rājasthānī and Pahadi paintings; in a considerable number of later paintings these facts find themselves registered. Yet for better understanding it is worthwhile to follow the course of the art chronologically so far as it is possible with the help of dated manuscripts and stylistically datable paintings. The earliest examples belong all to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and they are to be found in a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated in Nepal Samvat 135 - 1015 A. D. (Cambridge University Library); two wooden-covers of another *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript dated 1028 (collection of Mr. S. K. Saraswati of Calcutta), a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* dated 1105 (Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University), and a third *Aṣṭāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript dated 1148 (Asiatic Society, Calcutta). There are a few illustrated but undated manuscripts in the Darbar Library at Kathmandu, the *Piṅgala Mata* and the *Devi-mahatmya*, for instance, on stylistic grounds they may also be assigned to about the twelfth century. All these paintings belong frankly to the East Indian tradition of manuscript painting of the tenth through to the thirteenth century. The style and character of the paintings are so characteristically East Indian that it is more than likely that they were executed by the immigrant artists from Bihar and Bengal. Slowly but surely the form and style of the painted gods and goddesses were accepted and adopted by the local artisans themselves, and the practice continues to this day. Indeed, paintings like those of the gods and goddesses of the *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript referred to above, are still to be found in most houses in Nepal. To any student of sociology it would seem interesting to note how this form and style of art and iconography persisted without any appreciable change for such a long period of time

The composition of these paintings follow certain fixed canons and principles of balance, proportion and rhythm. The main divinity, usually a Bodhisattva or the Buddha or a Brāhmaṇical divinity like Śiva, is placed right in the centre against an architectural background or semi-round aureole, and is flanked by divinities of lesser importance. Vacant spaces are usually filled in by flying figures or by floral or other decorative motifs. The modelled mass of human and other figures is usually controlled by sinuous lines, somewhat modelled, and flowing in a rhythmical sway that underline the sensitivity of the lines and curves. The best specimen of this style can however be seen in any manuscript of the *Prajñāparamitā* or in any other manuscript now extant in Nepal, but the one in the custody of the Asutosh Museum and the other in that of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, are perhaps the best. The colours that are generally used are a variety of golden yellow, white of chalk,

black of *kajjal*, vermilion, vermilion red, Indian red, and green, all mineral colours in some form or other. But one must not forget that colour in Nepalese painting follows the prescriptions of iconography as they do in Tibetan paintings. In many instances the modelling quality of colour is very much below that of the line. This is very clear in the illustrations of the manuscript dated in the Nepalese era and now in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Contour colour here is denuded of any modelling quality and is laid out in an absolutely flat, two dimensional manner.

Ray observes in this connection that paintings of this phase and form 'seem to have a distinctly Nepalese flavour and idiom which is marked by the absence of any trace of modelling in the coloured surface, the upward stiffening of the pale-like erect bodies'.[35] A similar form and style can also be detected in the banner and *paṭa* paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Any hieratic art is conservative by nature; it involves copying of iconographic types and hence persistence of similar types in a more or less fixed form through the ages. This conservative attitude in art and iconography would explain the persistence of an art form of the eleventh century till as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, in the earlier instances the lines are more rounded and sweeping and colour has almost a modelling effect. Consider, for example, an illustrated book-cover representing queen Māyā in the Lumbini forest, or another book-cover representing Brahmā offering homage to the Buddha, or a third depicting monkeys offering fruits to the Buddha (Plate 44), which have equivalence in the illuminated manuscripts from Eastern India.

Towards the beginning of the twelfth century the roundly modelled line and its sensitivity tend to become more and more sketchy and schematic. The facial features have now a tendency of becoming linearized and the colour modelling stereotyped and hardened if not faint. Besides, as Ray points out, 'from about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with increasing hierarchization stabilization of artistic form set in'.[36] In the three paintings from an illustrated palm-leaf of the twelfth century one representing the Buddha in Tushita heaven attended by Brahmā and Indra, the second, the Buddha subduing the elephant Nālagiri (Plate 45), and a third showing the seated figure of Padmapāṇi, one can clearly see how the East Indian tradition was slowly being worked upon and transformed by local Nepalese and Tibetan art forms and practices. The line is still round and continuous, but it has lost its modelling quality; in the fourteenth and fifteenth century examples, modelling of colour is altogether absent. This is evident in such paintings as those of Prince Siddhārtha of the Lakṣacaitya *paṭa*, Vāsudeva Kamalaja, and quite a number of other illustrated manuscripts belonging from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. In all these examples, a slow and gradual suppression of plastic conception by the

linear is clearly noticeable. With the passage of time this tendency was ever on the increase. But this was in no way a process of Nepalization since in Nepal it was nothing but an echo of what was exactly going on in India during these centuries.

II 2 II

In early Nepalese banner-paintings one can still see the round modelled line controlling the round mass modelled in colour. But soon broad expanse and tight and solid outline begin to show less substance. The line tends to be brittle and modelling dessicated; increasingly the figures are shown in flat profile or flat frontality, and sharp lines and acute angles tend to characterize them. At a still somewhat later date, that is, by about the later half of the eighteenth century, certain elements of contemporary Pāhāḍī painting from the Western Himalayas, seem to have made themselves felt in Nepalese painting. This is clearly illustrated in a painting depicting the Buddhist legend of Sudhanyakumāra (Plate 46). The character of the line and of the application of colour, the facial and physiognomical forms of the figures, the dress and manners and attitudes, the architectural setting and the total compositional character are all strongly reminiscent of Pāhāḍī painting in general. There is much in the paintings of this kind that would remind one of elements from West Indian, Mughal and Rājasthānī paintings, which seem to have entered into the fabric of Nepalese painting not directly but through the Pāhāḍī schools that had already imbibed these elements.

In a number of manuscript and scroll paintings from Nepal impact of Rajasthānī, Mughal and Pāhāḍī paintings is clearly discernible in the sharply outlined elongated face, large petal-shaped eyes and general costumes consisting of long *jāmāhs*, tight *cuḍidār pyjāmāhs*, *komarbandhs*, *dopāṭṭās*, and turbans of several types of male human figures. The skirt, bodice and *cādar* of women also recall Rajput-Mughal-Pāhāḍī idioms. In certain others the Pāhāḍī idioms, particularly of Basohli and of the earliest Rājasthānī paintings, seem to be manifest in the small mouth, receding chin, large eyes and the general colour scheme.

Art and religion in Nepal have always been very conservative in character, and it is very difficult to fix the date of an undated manuscript painting or a scroll just on formal and stylistic consideration. But generally speaking, all such paintings that show the impact of Rājasthānī-Mughal-Pāhāḍī paintings belong to a date not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. In fact the majority of them seems to be datable in the eighteenth century. An indication for dating is contained in one of the scrolls where one can detect a representation of King Bhūpatīndra Malla (1681-1721), and it is more or less well known that this type of painting was practised in Nepal mostly during the regime of the Mallas.

॥ 3 ॥

Tibetan elements begin to enter Nepalese painting from about the seventeenth century; a good early example is a scroll that shows the penance of the Buddha. But much more Tibetan in feeling and atmosphere is a class of Nepalese paintings that portray malevolent demons and gods and goddesses in a most dynamic form, almost surrealistically. Horrifying in their thematic content as well as in their presentation, these paintings are strictly two-dimensional; the lines are laid flat and there is no modelling of colour at all. But the drawing is always firm and clear and the preference for designs and patterns very pronounced. Rich use is made of luscious green and yellow. Besides these *paṭa* and *taṅkā* or *prabhā* paintings, there is another kind that illustrates *maṇḍalas*. *Maṇḍala* is the 'externalization of a process of an inner picture formation and its absorption on the basis of, and with reference to, a state of pointed concentration'.[37] Visually speaking, geometry is the basis of these *maṇḍala* paintings and magic is the core of their thematic content.

The growth of the symbol of *maṇḍala* round the Śākta conception of the Devī as the primordial energy, brought forth in Nepal and Tibet a special mode and form of painting purporting to give support to ritualistic meditation for fulfilling certain magico-religious purposes. Evidently this is Tāntric in essence and character, and Tantra is all pervasive in Nepal irrespective of whether one is a Buddhist, or a Śaiva, or a Śākta, or a Vaiṣṇava. A considerable number of these painted *maṇḍalas* are used even today in daily rituals. But aesthetically and pictorially also these *maṇḍala-paṭa* paintings have a meaning and significance which should not be ignored. Their compositions, though arranged in rigid symmetry, have an arresting quality. Starting with the pivotal central square which shelters the main deity of the particular cult, it fans out in all directions in compartments of squares and triangles, all held in widening circles, each compartment sheltering minor divinities of the cult. But in some of the *maṇḍala-paṭas* the main deity in the central square, like that of Mahākāla or Vajradhara (Plate 47), is so large and overpowering that it pushes out to the fringes as it were, all other minor divinities. The formal treatment of space, and that of colour, mainly deep Indian red, deep and mellow blue, green with a patch here and there of glowing yellow and white, impart a fine pictorial quality to these paintings. Towards the latter part of the seventeenth century *maṇḍala-paṭa* painting in Nepal seems to have integrated a large amount of Tibetan and Chinese elements.

A few remains of mural paintings from Nepal are also known. They are all tempera paintings on walls over a ground prepared with clay, hemp and a sort of molass. The colours used are the same as in the miniatures, namely orpiment,

vermilion, indigo, lapislazuli blue, chalk or conch-shell white and *kajjala* black. Mural paintings of Nepal belong to the distinct West Himalayan tradition of late medieval times and though executed on the smooth and flat surfaces of mud walls prepared for the purpose, these paintings are in fact miniatures and scroll paintings transferred on to the walls in somewhat larger dimensions. Here and there in some of these wall-paintings one can detect slight attempts at modelling with the help of subdued tones of colour but, generally speaking, the treatment is flat, and colours that strike the eyes are red and gold, and the compositions are measured out in rectangular panels with thick borders that separate one scene from another. A most important and interesting series of murals can be seen in the palace of Bhūpatīndra Malla at Bhaktapur, and another, which is equally interesting, in the Kumārī temple at Kathmandu. The physiognomical type of the figures, their movements, slightly modelled outlines, longish and bearded faces and the architectural motifs are all such as to recall very strongly the tradition of mural paintings in the Western Himalayas.

A few rectangles of painting seem to record the names of the artists; one such artist was called Kuin-ga Sang-Po who was responsible for a few paintings on the walls of the Satī-Taleju temple at Patan. The paintings on the gallery walls of Mulachouk at Bhatgaon still seem to hark back to the classical mural tradition of India in the character of their composition, drawing, colouring and movement.

VI. RELIGION AND PANTHEON OF GODS AND GODDESSES

Since the receptacle of art in Nepal happens to be the gods and goddesses of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical pantheons in the main, it is perhaps necessary that a short account of these two pantheons should follow any introduction to the art of the country.

Mahāyāna Buddhism, by creating the figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, had already paved the way for the growth of a pantheon, but even as late as the fifth and sixth centuries few could have imagined how varied, complex and extensive would this pantheon be four centuries later under the impact of Vajrayāna and its later offshoots. The key to this phenomenal growth of the pantheon seems to have been supplied by the recognition in Mahāyāna itself of the system of the five Dhyānī-Buddhas. Indeed, these Dhyānī-Buddhas and their Śaktis helped the building up of an elaborate but systematically classified pantheon of gods and goddesses who are found sheltered in the monastic establishments of Nepal. The beginning of this expansion of the pantheon may perhaps be dated in about the eighth and ninth centuries, but it was perhaps from about the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries that the process of proliferation seems to have quickened a

great deal, presumably because of increasingly closer contacts with the Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet.

According to the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna interpretations, the first divinity of the Buddhist pantheon is, as the name indicates, the Ādi or original Buddha who is supposed to be without beginning and without end, infinite, and self-existing or Svayambhū, the creator of the world revealing himself in the form of a flame issuing out of a lotus, which is the usual symbol of the Ādi Buddha in Nepal where he is worshipped as Svayambhū. The Lamaist Buddhist sect of Nepal and also a sect of Nepalese Mahāyānists worship him under the name Sāmantabhadra in which form he sits in *dhyānāsana* and wears no crown or jewellery. The Buddhists of Nepal, in general, worship the Ādi Buddha as Vajradhara who is sometimes represented singly, but is also often associated with his Śakti.[38] He is also not unoften shown with his Śakti, the two interlocked in a fast sexual embrace, which is technically known as *yab-yum* in Tibetan.

From the Ādi Buddha was supposed to have emanated the five Dhyānī-Buddhas, each having a Śakti of his own. Vairocana, the first Dhyānī-Buddha often occupies the most important position in the *maṇḍala* paintings of Nepal. The five Dhyānī-Buddhas are often represented in the niches around the base of the *caityas* like Svayambhū and the Bodhanātha.

The emanations of five Bodhisattvas and their respective Śaktis as well as of the five Mānuṣī Buddhas are also well known in Nepal. Of the five Bodhisattvas the most popular in Nepal were the Vajrapāṇi and the Avalokiteśvara whom one finds represented very often in Nepalese Buddhist establishments. Not unoften Vajrapāṇi is represented in Nepalese paintings holding *vajra*, *ghaṇṭā* and *pāśa* along with Mañjuśrī and Padmapāṇi and sometimes even with Tārā. From the number of finds it seems that Avalokiteśvara is the most popular Buddhist divinity in Nepal. His main cognizances are the rosary, the lotus, the *namaskāramudrā* and the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha shown in the centre of his crown. The most important forms of Avalokiteśvara that are found in Nepal happen to be those of Padmapāṇi, Lokeśvara or Lokanātha and Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara. Padmapāṇi in the Nepalese tradition is supposed to have created all animate things by the command of his Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha. In one of the temple paintings in Nepal he is shown in eleven emanations, manifested in eleven heads arranged in three tiers representing respectively the world of desire, the world of true form and the world of no form, personified in Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi, standing respectively for Mercy, Wisdom and Force. In fact these three concepts seem to have been concretized in the Nepalese tradition in the form of Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara who sits on a lion, carries a sword and holds a trident and a *vajra*, thus combining in him the aspects of both Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi.

There is another Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī, who seems to have been held in high esteem in Nepal; indeed here he is regarded as a human hero who is supposed to have cut the hill into two by his sword, created the valley and the lake. He is in fact considered as the creator of the valley and the builder of its cities. His usual attributes are the sword and the book, the latter placed on a blue lotus or *Nīlotpala*. Usually he is shown with one head, but he may also be shown with as many as four heads and eight arms. Not unoften he forms the magical centre in *maṇḍala* paintings. He has various manifestations, and is accordingly known by various names: Mañjughoṣa, Mañjuvara, Mañjuvajra, Vajrāṅga, Vāgīśvara etc. The last, i.e. Vāgīśvara seems to have been a tutelary deity of Nepalese Buddhism and is worshipped widely all over the valley. The prayer wheels in Nepalese temples bear the *mantra* 'Oṁ Vāgīśvara Hum'. Lokeśvara under the name of Macchendranātha is another very popular Buddhist deity of the valley.

In the next scale of hierarchy in so far the Buddhist pantheon is concerned there are the mortal Buddhas among which Śākyamuni and Maitreya are most popularly represented. Besides, there is a number of divinities which happen to be either emanations of one or the other of the Bodhisattvas or just abstract principles represented in human form. Such are the gods who are known as Prajñāpāramitā, Nāmasaṅgīti, Pañcarakṣāmaṇḍala, Nairātmā and Yamantaka or Yamāri, Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart of Kuvera, Hevajra, Mahākāla and Hayagrīva, the last three being none other than the Dharmapālas, i.e. the defenders of the Dharma, specifically in the Northern version. Of these the Jambhala seems to have been the most popular and the earliest icon of Jambhala in Nepal can be dated as early as the eleventh century. Hayagrīva, i.e. the god whose head and neck are like that of a horse, is also frequently met with in Nepal. He seems to be the protector god of the horse and thus a most favourite deity of the nomads of Tibet. In Lamaistic Buddhism, Hayagrīva occupies a most important place. Hevajra like Hayagrīva represents the terrific aspects of reality and wears a long garland of skulls. Not unoften he is shown as embracing his Śakti in a deep sexual union. Besides, there is the feminine principle, called under different names in both Brāhmaṇism and Vajrayāna Buddhism, such as Vajravārāhī, Nīla Sarasvatī, Chinnamastakā, Kālī, Vidyādharī etc. In or around the eleventh century Vajrayāna Buddhism seems to have been the dominating religion in Nepal. On the basis of the fact that the largest volume of Tāntric literature was copied between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries Nepal seems to have been mostly under Tāntric influence during that period.[39]

Years ago Banerjee pointed out that many Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna gods and goddesses were in fact Brāhmaṇical divinities in origin. He indicated very clearly the transformation of Indra to Vajrapāṇi, of Brahmā to Mañjuśrī and of

Viṣṇu to Avalokiteśvara, the last being a syncretistic form of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. He showed further that Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara was nothing but Viṣṇu, while his terrific forms like those of Siṁhanāda Nīlakaṇṭha and Halāhala were adaptations of Śiva.[40]

If the Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas had significant roles to play in Buddhism, so had their Śaktis whose number, looking at the varieties of their form, seems to have been very large. These feminine divinities were generally supposed to protect their votaries against the *aṣṭamahābhaya* or the eight great terrors. The one generic name that belongs to all of them is Tārā, meaning literally one who is the saviouress or protectress. Tārā is represented in Nepalese paintings in various colours, and in accordance with the colour given, she assumes different names and characters.

Besides the various forms of Tārā, there are other feminine divinities in Vajrayāna Buddhist iconography, the most important of which are Prajñāpāramitā, Vasudhārā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Parṇaśavarī. Prajñāpāramitā is very easily identified by her *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, the lotus and the book symbols. She seems to be a Buddhist adaptation of the Brāhmaṇical Sarasvatī. Vasudhārā also seems to be a similar adaptation of Brāhmaṇical Śrī or Lakṣmī. Parṇaśavarī seems to have been originally a tribal deity who was incorporated into Vajrayāna pantheon. Usually she wears a short dress made of leaves round her girdle.

From what we have seen above it is clear that the origin and development of the Buddhist pantheon have been very much conditioned by the ever-expanding world of Brāhmaṇical icons. One reason for introducing new forms was obviously sectarian rivalry and another, perhaps, a conscious attempt at syncretism. Some gods might have had some concrete mortal base. The Lamaistic Buddhists believe that Tārā was incarnate in all good women; the Nepalese queen of the Tibetan king thus came to be known as the Green Tārā. This belief has been most realistically presented in a copper figure of Tārā from Nepal[41] where the attitude of the image seated on the elaborately carved lotus seat is frankly secular.

Brāhmaṇism does not seem to have made any dent on the culture of Nepal before the fifth century, but when it did in about the fifth and sixth centuries it had already evolved its full *Smārta-Paurāṇic* form. Indeed, Brāhmaṇism and Brāhmaṇical iconography in Nepal throughout her history are characteristically *Smārta-Paurāṇic* and its pantheon of gods and goddesses are therefore those five divinities or *pañcadevatās* that dominate *Smārta-Paurāṇic* Brāhmaṇism, namely Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti and Sūrya. There are other minor divinities without doubt, both male and female, like Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Kārttikeya, Indra, Brahmā etc., *vāhanas* of gods and goddesses like Garuḍa, Nandi—bull, lion etc. and semi-divine beings like Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, *nāgas* and *nāginīs*, *kinnaras* and

gandharvas etc., but they all cluster around the five principal divinities. All these together go to constitute what one may call the Brāhmaṇical pantheon of Nepal.

According to *Smārta-Paurāṇic* Brāhmaṇism, Gaṇeśa occupies the first position; he has to be propitiated first before the worship of any other divinity can take place. Nepal seems to have followed this tradition very closely and faithfully. In fact, he seems to have been and still is the most popular god, and no devout Nepalese Hindu or Buddhist begins his daily life without an invocation of Gaṇeśa. That he was and is the most popular divinity is confirmed by the existence of a countless number of Gaṇeśa-shrines spread over the entire valley, indeed almost at every nook and corner.

Enshrined in temples or standing on the wayside the elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇapati can often be seen holding his usual cognizances like the rosary, the *modaka*-cup, the *aṅkuśa*, the *nāga*, hatchet, radish etc. His *vāhana*, the mouse, also finds a place on one side. The earliest record of the existence of a temple dedicated to Gaṇeśa goes as far back as the time of Aṁśuvarman; the record is dated in A. D. 645.[42]

Archaeologically speaking, the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal dates back to the fifth century A. D. The existence of a Vaiṣṇava shrine belonging to the Licchavi period is proved by a stone pillar inscription of Mānadeva, dated A. D. 464 and situated in front of the Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa temple[43]. Here in this inscription Mānadeva invokes Hari who is described as the presiding deity of Dolādri, the hill on which the Caṅgu Nārāyaṇa stands. It is to the patronage of the same Licchavi king Mānadeva that one must also ascribe the earliest find of Vaiṣṇava icons in Nepal. At Mṛgasthalī and Lajimpat king Mānadeva seems to have installed two icons of Viṣṇu in his Trivikrama manifestation. They are both dated in A. D. 467.[44] The entire imagery of the huge colossus taking the three steps is frankly a Nepalese adoption of similar forms of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka tradition of Western Deccan.

The spread of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal seems to have been due to the active royal patronage of the Licchavi kings who were closely connected with the Guptas and hence with the Gupta-Vākāṭaka cultural complex of Northern India and the Deccan. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that the *Pañcarātra* cult which gained popularity in India during the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period became a popular form of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal during this time and the Vaiṣṇavite iconic forms of the Licchavi period should, therefore, conform to the usual Viṣṇu icons of Gupta-Vākāṭaka India. The combination of four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu in one iconic type made itself manifest in Nepal during this period and remained popular throughout the history of Nepal.

The *Vibhava* or incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu must also have been numerous in Nepal since Licchavi inscriptions mention the names of Vāsudeva, Keśava, Hari,

Narasiṁha, Nārāyaṇa, Varāha and Pradyumna, but icons of all of them are not available. Of those that are available in Nepal mention must be made of the icons of Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmanāvatāra. Indeed their importance in Nepal seems to be as much as that of Viṣṇu Trivikrama. The cult of Rāma does not seem to have ever been popular in Nepal, though at a very late period of her history, Hanumān came to be regarded as a popular deity offering protection.

South India also seems to have been another source of Nepalese Vaiṣṇavism. Not very far from Kathmandu there is a huge figure of Viṣṇu lying on the coils of Anantanāga inside a tank. Evidently it is an icon of *Anantaśāyī* Viṣṇu, locally called as Buḍhā Nīlakaṇṭha, which however means that the local people considered it as an image of Śiva. What is iconographically most important in this image is a distinctive mark on the forehead of Viṣṇu, a mark which is associated with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sect of South India belonging to the Vadakalai branch of the sect.[45]

The fact that Vaiṣṇavism became popular in Nepal from very early times is confirmed by the reference to several Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas* in Nepal mentioned in India sources. In the Damodarpur inscription of the time of Budhagupta (*c*. 475-495 A.D.) mention is made of two shrines, one of Śveta-Varāha Svāmī and another of Kokāmukha Svāmī, both located in the Himalayas. The inscription indicates that these were places of pilgrimage which were visited by the inhabitants of Northern Bengal.[46] Nepal has also yielded considerable number of Viṣṇu images of *Sthānaka*, *Āsana* and *Śayana* varieties.

The Licchavis, it is well known, had strong leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism. But there is no doubt that from the time of Aṁśuvarman, Śaivism came to gain increasing influence in Nepal. This ascendency of Śaivism seems to have centred round the great Paśupatinātha temple. A clash of cults, at any rate for the time being, may have taken place, but a conscious attempt at the unification of the two cults seems to have been made not very long after. Gnoli mentions a noble named Svāmīvartha who was responsible for consecrating an icon of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa Svāmī; there seems to be here an obvious attempt for unifying the two cults. To cite another instance, Jayāṁmalla in a manuscript of *Mahīrāvaṇavadha nāṭaka*, calls himself *parama vaiṣṇava parama devatādhideva parama māheśvara*.

Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal seems to have received a fresh impetus by the introduction of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult centring round the *līlās* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and of Bāla-Gopāla. This changed ideological vision of Vaiṣṇavism was evidently inspired by the Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇavism of contemporary Eastern India. At Patan there is a black sandstone image of Veṇudhara, set up by the seventeenth century king Siddhi-Narasiṁha Malla, representing Kṛṣṇa playing his flute. But here in this image Kṛṣṇa is flanked by Śrī and Puṣṭi. The direct inspirations of the Kṛṣṇa-

Rādhā myths and legends as interpreted in Eastern and Northern India are however found in such examples of art as in the paintings of *Kalipustaka* (*c.* 1600 A.D.) of the Cambridge University Library. Here one can see in detail representations of the very well-known *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in all their amorous attitudes and associations. A few folios of a manuscript in the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi also present similar scenes.[47]

Śaivism in Nepal seems to have made its first impact during the early centuries of the Christian era. The *Bṛhatkathāpaiśācī* of Guṇāḍhya speaks of a *rājā* named Yaśaketu who had his capital in the city of Śiva in Nepāladeśa. Archaeologically speaking, we cannot, however, locate any evidence of the cult before the fourth century of the Christian era. In an inscription of the year *samvat* 399,[48] one Ratnasaṅgha records the installation of a *liṅga* at Deo Patan and the grant of several pieces of land for its worship and maintenance. The Deo Patan covers the entire area of Paśupatinātha temple including Mṛgasthali and Kailāsa. A little over a decade and a half later in the year *samvat* 413,[49] king Mānadeva records in an inscription the installation of a Śivaliṅga in the courtyard of Paśupatinātha temple. A little over half-a-century later, in *samvat* 455, an inscription at the side of Paśupatinātha temple refers clearly to *Paśupatikṣetra* which had evidently gained the reputation of being regarded as a holy site. An inscription on the pedestal of a *liṅga* in Deo Patan speaks about a land grant for the Paśupatinātha temple.[50] Gnoli refers to an inscription, dated *samvat* 462,[51] recording the establishment of another *liṅga* in the quadrangle of the Paśupatinātha temple. During the reign of Mānadeva a private individual, Prasaṅgha by name, installed a *liṅga* named in the inscription as Prabhukeśvara, in the same Paśupati temple area.[52] A fragmentary inscription in corrupt Sanskrit records the installation of another *liṅga* called Nātheśvara[53] on the road leading from the Paśupati temple to Mṛgasthali. These records make it perfectly clear that the Paśupatinātha temple had already, by about the fourth-fifth centuries of the Christian era, come to be regarded as a most important centre of the cult of Śiva and that the installation of Śivaliṅgas within its precincts and suburbs had come to be regarded as an act of merit. That Śaivism had taken root in the valley seems to be more than evident.

But Śaivism came to enjoy still better days since when king Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhākurī dynasty came to power. He describes himself in an inscription of *samvat* 520 as *Paśupati-pādānugṛhīta*,[54] that is, protected by the feet of Paśupati. He is known to have been responsible for making a considerable number of donations to the Paśupatinātha temple and for raising a number of smaller shrines around the main one. A stone slab inscription[55] issued by *Bhagavat-Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛhīta Buppa-pādānudhyāta* Śrī Jiṣṇugupta in the temple

of Ādīśvara near Kathmandu and provided with a reclining bull at the top, records the establishment of a shrine of Nātheśvara for the happiness of his father in heaven. The deity obviously is a form of Śiva, but no such icon has come down to us. An undated mutilated inscription of Jiṣṇugupta's reign[56] incised on a stone which supports a parasol over a very weathered icon of Caṇḍeśvara in the great temple of Paśupati, speaks about the god Caṇḍa. Caṇḍa is none but Śiva, possibly in his *ugra* form. An inscription of Jayadeva II dated *Harṣa Saṁvat* 159 (A. D. 765), inscribed on a stone slab behind the Nandin, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati, opens with a *praśasti* of Śiva who is the highest god and is worshipped by Rāvaṇa and Bāṇāsura. The same inscription[57] describes Paśupati as a four-faced *liṅga*.

From about the tenth-eleventh centuries iconic representations of Śiva in his well-known Paurāṇic forms seem to have become current in Nepal. Of these forms most popular are those of *Umāsahitamūrti* or *Umāliṅganamūrti* and of dancing Śiva. Of the latter we have quite a few icons from all over the valley though it is somewhat difficult to fix them in time with any amount of certainty. Of *Umāsahitamūrti* the two earliest examples are those that were installed by kings Bhajadeva and Rudradeva, respectively at Patan and Mṛgasthalī; in both Śiva is shown seated in *lalitāsana* with his consort Umā placed on his left lap, Śiva holding Umā in a loving embrace. Of similar icons we have quite a number recovered from various places in the valley and belonging to various times.

The most interesting and distinctive iconographic form of Śiva in Nepal is his manifestation in different forms of Bhairava. A twelve feet high stone-plaque of the black demon, Kāla Bhairava, sculptured in high relief, stands in the heart of the Vasantpur palace, with a chaplet of skulls around his head and a garland of human heads around his neck. In three of his six hands he holds a sword, a cluster of three heads and the trident of Śiva, the destroyer, whose manifestation he is. The Bhairavas are usually nude, terrific with their round rolling eyes, and are often seen with their Śaktis. Bhairava, it is well known, is a Tāntric form of Śiva. On the second storey of the temple of Paśupatinātha there is a Bhairavacakra which definitely associates the temple at once with Tāntric Śaivism. Besides, there are four supports of the main roof of the temple and on each of these supports one can easily notice an image of what can easily be identified as that of Unmatta Bhairava. That the Paśupatinātha temple was at one time a centre of Tāntric Śaivism there cannot perhaps be any doubt. This hypothesis finds support in the fact that the Guhyeśvarī temple which stands very near to the Paśupatinātha is frankly a place for Tāntric rituals and worship, and even to this day one has to offer his worship at this temple before he can do so at the Paśupatinātha. The impact of Tāntricism on

the iconography of Śiva led to the creation of a number of iconic forms mainly of the *ugra* or terrific aspect of Śiva like Bhairava and Mahākāla. These types are frequently met with in Nepalese manuscript and *ṭaṅkā* paintings. Nepal also seems to have had some experience of the *kāpālika* cult. On the stone parasol over the image of Caṇḍeśvara at the Paśupatinātha temple there is an epigraphic record of the time of Jiṣṇugupta which seems to speak of a class of Śaiva teachers (Pāśupatyācārya) wearing garlands of skull. There is a Gorakṣanātha temple within the precincts of the Paśupatinātha; the resident-devotees of this temple are still known as *kāpālikas*.

Nepalese archaeology has also made available to us quite a few images of Śiva in his manifestation of Lakulīśa; these images have all been recovered from the Kathmandu valley, but they belong to different types, from about the fourteenth century onwards. One can easily assume that there must have been a Lakulīśa sect of some significance. The Paśupatinātha complex which seems to have been the centre of Śaivism in all its various aspects, underwent a significant change during the regime of the Mallas, especially of Yakṣamalla. This king, for some reason or other, wanted to make the Paśupatinātha temple a centre of *Smārta-Paurāṇic* Brāhmaṇism, unsullied by any contact with Tāntric ritualistic practices which were most dominant and pervasive in nature in the religious life of Nepal from at least the tenth-eleventh centuries of the Christian era. He is recorded to have imported *Bhaṭṭāraka* Brāhmaṇa priests from South India; since that time to this day the priests of the Paśupatinātha temple have always belonged to this particular class of South Indian brahmins who even now happen to be a very closed community marrying strictly among themselves. It has been noticed that during the Licchavi period a closer assimilation of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism was achieved which resulted among other things, in the evolution of the iconic form of Hari-Hara. Later on Hari-Hara came to be involved in another iconic form called Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha (Brahmā) as well as in still another called Hari-Śaṅkara.

There was evidently an attempt at a unification of Śaṅkara or Śiva with Nārāyaṇa-Svāmī [58] as well as with Brahmā. Licchavi inscription which mentions such gods as Ardhanārīśvara, Murārīśvara, Keśava-Śaṅkara etc., also mentions another god Sulabhīrcchāraṅgapāṇi,[59] evidently a combination of Sulabhi or Śiva and Viṣṇu as Sāraṅgapāṇi. In certain cases Hari and Hara are both shown with their consorts, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī respectively.

If there is evidence of unification and syncretization, there is also evidence of sectarian bias and rivalry. The Bhīmārjunadeva inscription of the year A. D. 642 at Dakṣiṇākālī refers to an icon of a *Jalāśaya*[60] Viṣṇu which is frankly an icon of Viṣṇu lying on the Anantanāga. More than one icon of this description

are known from Nepal; but the Dakṣiṇākālī icon is locally identified with and called Budhā Nīlakaṇṭha or Old Śiva. The importance and antiquity of Śiva cult in Nepal is indicated by the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* which gives a list of the number of sacred shrines dedicated to the worship of Śivaliṅga, namely, Maṇiliṅgeśvara, Gokarṇa on the Bāgmatī, Kīṭeśvara, Kumbheśvara in Patan and Phaṇiliṅgeśvara on the Godāvarī.

The origin of Śakti worship in Nepal can perhaps be traced to a remote past. To an average Nepali the world is animate and there is in everything including things that are non-living, a living spirit which is indeed the fertile force which makes the land yield corns, roots and flowers, the herds multiply and women bring forth offsprings. The Nepalese know this force as '*mai*' or '*Ajima*'. Thus there are places in Nepal which are called *maithan* or the place of the mother; in many such *maithans* one finds a lonely temple or shrine growing up in no time, which are called '*mai-devī*' temples. The Guhyeśvara temple in the Deo Patan area seems to have been originally a '*maithan*'.

An inscription of Mānadeva's wife records the installation of a *mātṛkā* image in a temple at Palanchowk.[61] In another inscription of the same period, we find a reference to a temple of Indaldevī,[62] evidently a *mātṛkā*-goddess, in connection with the installation of a *liṅga* known as Ratneśvara. At Lalitapura Pattana there stands the temple of *Chinnamastikā*, one of the manifestations of the goddess Kālī, on which king Jiṣṇugupta had an inscription incised,[63] which indicates that this temple must have been in existence from some time before. Besides, there is a small group of images lying within the precincts of the temple, showing very clearly that this temple was an important centre of worship of the Devī in her various manifestations. There is a similar group of Devī icons lying scattered in the yard of the temple at Āryaghāṭ on the Bāgmatī river below the Paśupatinātha temple; there can hardly be any doubt that this temple was also at one time a centre of Devī worship.

In an illustrated manuscript, *Saptaśatī*, datable during the reign of Indradeva, there are representations of the ten mother goddesses (evidently Durgā in her ten manifestations). The Kathmandu valley has yielded a very large number of icons of ten-handed Mahiṣāsuramardinī, all datable from about the tenth-eleventh centuries A.D. Besides her Mahiṣāsuramardinī manifestations, the Devī has also been represented in Nepal in many other forms, namely, Jagadambā, Annapūrṇā, Ambā, Bhabānī, Caṇḍī, Bhairavī, Cāmuṇḍā, Mahālakṣmī, Mahākālī, Nārāyaṇī, Taleju etc. which are all in some form or other the manifestations of Durgā. Temples dedicated to the Devī were founded already in the early Licchavi period, but there does not stand anything in Nepal of the kind of a *Śakti-pīṭh*, or a sacred centre of Śakti worship prior to the late medieval period.



Plate 1 So called Asoka *Stupa* Patan



Plate 2 The *chattravali* of the Svayambhunatha Kathmandu, 9th/10th century A.D.



Plate 4 Bracket figure, Vasantapur Palace, Kathmandu, 14th-15th century A.D.



Plate 5 Peacock Window, Pujari Math, Bhaktapur, 14th-15th century A.D.

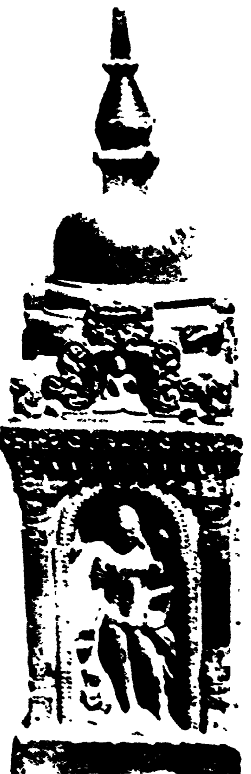


Plate 5 Licchavi Caitya, Dhvaka baha, Kathmandu,
6th century A.D.



Plate 6 Kumbhesvara temple, Patan, dated N.S. (Nepal
Samvat) 510

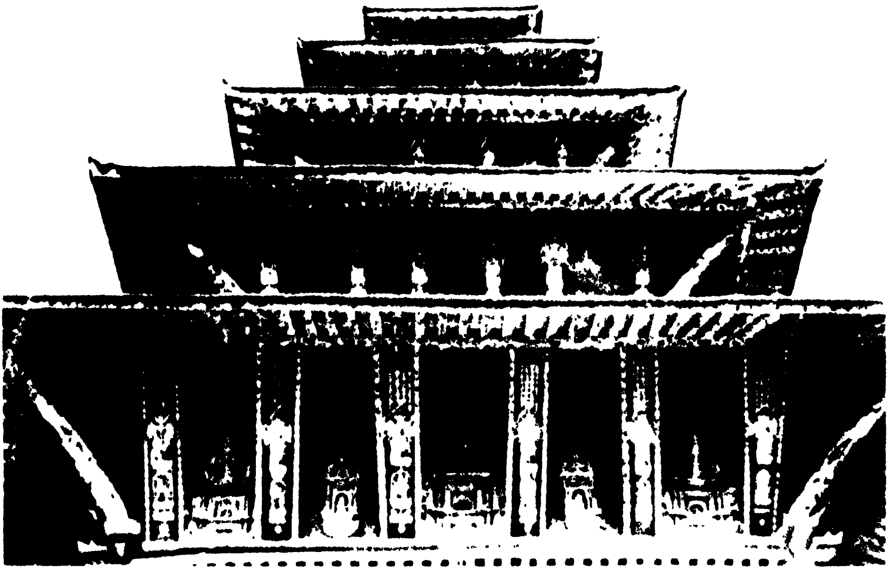


Plate 7 Nyapala temple, Bhatgaon 1482–1508 A.D.

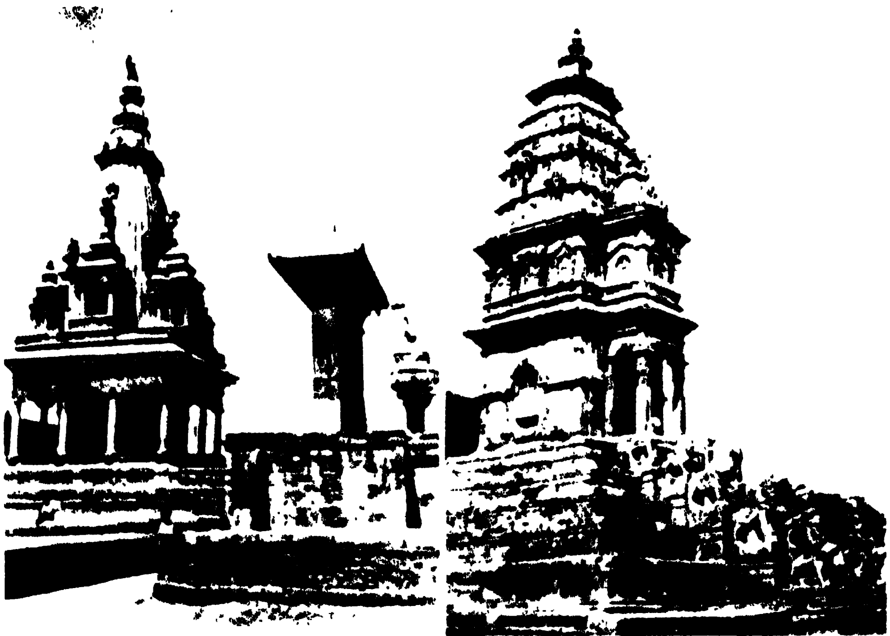


Plate 8 Vatsala temple, Bhatgaon, 15th/16th century A.D.

Plate 9 Durgā temple, Bhatgaon, 15th/16th century A.D.

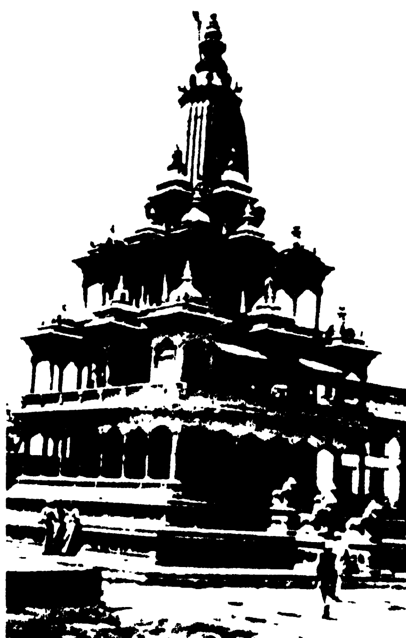


Plate 10 Krsna temple, Patan 1637 A.D (After D.R. Regmi)



Plate 11 Mahabodhi temple Patan 16th/17th century A.D



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Plate 28 Caturmukha Linga, Pa[illegible] [illegible]mall[illegible], 8th/9th century A.D.



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Plate 31 Buddha with elaborate nimbus, Svayambhunatha, 9th-10th century A.D.



Plate 29 Uma Mahesvara, Kathmandu, 8th-9th century A.D.



Plate 33 Surya image, Banepa, 11th/12th century A.D.



Plate 34 Dancing Bhairava National Museum, Kathmandu 12th-13th century A.D.



Plate 35 Four handed Siva Indian Museum, Calcutta 7th/8th century A.D.



Plate 35. Kirata (Aryaghat), Pasupatinatha temple, Kathmandu. Stylistic affiliation with Kusana-Gupta form



Plate 36. A Dwarf supporting a water spout, Deo Patan, 13th-14th century A.D.



Plate 38 The image of Tara Seated in *Sukhasana* The Ashmolean Museum Oxford England 11th/12th century A D



Plate 39 [illegible] Indian Museum Calcutta 11th/12th century A D



Plate 40 Khadiravani Tara Indian Museum Calcutta 11th/12th century A D



Plate [illegible] Tara [illegible] Collection [illegible] century A D



Plate 1[illegible] Hayagriva, Sethna Collection, Bombay, 13th/14th century A.D.



Plate 1[illegible] Epic Scene, *Abhimanyuvadha*, Krsna temple, Patan (wood carving), N.S. 757



Plate 44 Monkeys offering fruits to Buddha. Eastern Indian style, 10th to 13th centuries A.D.



Plate 45 Buddha subduing the elephant Nalagiri 12th-14th century A.D.



Plate 46 The King's palace: details from a Sudhanya Kumara Scroll 18th century A.D.



Plate 47 Mahakala 18th-19th century A.D.

Of minor manifestations of the Devī, Nepal knew of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, Bhūdevī or Vasudhā, but in most cases, as attendants or *pārśvadevīs*. Lakṣmī is worshipped even today as a domestic goddess, but there are also independent shrines dedicated to her. Sarasvatī, otherwise known as Sāradā, seems to have been at one time a very popular goddess in medieval Nepal, though she seems to have later lost her popularity. In a fourteenth century inscription she is called *mātā* and one of her descriptions is that of *Kāmamūrti*, her usual iconographic attributes being the rosary, *vīṇā*, *pustaka* and her right hand either being in *varada* or *abhaya mudrā*. Not very far from the Svayambhū *stūpa* at Kathmandu there is a half-hidden temple on the top of a hillock, which must have been at one time dedicated to Sarasvatī. Even today on the bright *Śrīpañcamī* day common Nepalese folk flock to this temple to offer their worship to the goddess Sarasvatī.

In many localities in the valley one can see a large number of independent icons of some mother goddess or the other, either in small temples or standing in the open. The majority of them are no longer in formal and regular worship. Yet no Devī is altogether neglected in Nepal since the Newārs never forget to pay their homages to these wayside goddesses on festive occasions.

The tradition and practice of *Kumārīpūjā* also seem to have been very active and potent in Nepal.[64] Even today, on specified occasions, a girl of six is duly enshrined as Kumārī, the virgin mother, and is duly worshipped as a true and living goddess. Her sway is acknowledged far and wide and even by the king who is almost equated with Nārāyaṇa. To a Nepali she is a human representation of Gaurī or Pārvatī, but her godliness lasts as long as she does not reach her puberty.

The worship of Sūrya seems to have been made current in Nepal already during the early Licchavi period. An inscription of the time speaks about the founding of a temple of Sūrya by one Guhamitra.[65] The image installed in this temple is called in the inscription as Divākara, whose name was Indra. Curiously, in the inscription itself Sūrya is identified with Indra, why, it is difficult to explain unless one refers to the *Ṛg-Vedic* tradition where Indra is addressed as *Savitṛ* in the fourth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

In a later inscription, the Sun is addressed as Śiva-Bhāskara who is supposed to dispel the darkness of ignorance. At Bhatgaon there is a temple dedicated to a god who is described as Sūrya-Vināyaka which seems to indicate that Sūrya at one time came to be identified with Gaṇeśa, an identification which is mythologically explained in a late text called the *Nepāla-Māhātmya*.[66] A considerable number of Sūrya icons have been found in Nepal, the oldest of them datable to the eleventh century, in A. D. 1030[67]; they are either bare-footed or high-booted. The bare-footed ones are usually seated in *padmāsana* on a double petalled lotus, while the

high-booted ones are standing, holding the stalk of a lotus flower and wearing a waist-band and jewelled crown.

In the heart of the city of Kathmandu stands a temple of Indra, but the deity installed at the sanctum is locally known as Ākāśabhairava. This Indra has indeed no connection with the Vedic god of the same name or with Indra of early Indian archaeology. It is several times more than life-size Indra and has here a most terrific form with long snarling fangs issuing out of his mouth. Normally the god is kept hidden behind closed doors that are open on some festive occasions alone. But Nepal also knows of the Paurāṇic Indra mounted on his elephant, Airāvata, and is accompanied by his wife Śacī. This manifestation of Indra in iconic form is very common in Nepāl. Connected with Indra there is a most popular festival in Nepal which is called the *Indrayātrā* and is associated with the temple of Indra at Kathmandu.

The *Indrayātrā* festival seems to mark the end of the rainy season when mother earth is fertilized. Obviously the festival is a magical one, intended to assure adequate supply of water and a rich harvest.

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[28] The tradition relating to A-Ni-Ko refers itself to the days of Kublai Khan. It is said that the renown of the Nepalese craftsmen was such that when Kublai Khan asked his spiritual

leader, the Śākya abbot 'P'ags-Pa, to erect a golden *stūpa* in Tibet, the abbot could not think of better craftsmen than those of Nepal. On request the Nepalese King Jayabhimadeva selected a young relation of his, Valabāhu (1245-1306), whom the Tibetans called A-Ni-Ko, to lead a contingent of eighty Nepalese craftsmen. The tradition of A-Ni-Ko has continued for a long time, and even in a late iconometric treatise, the *Tsao-hsiang-tu-liang-ching*, one finds it mentioned in the introduction.

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ART OF SRI LANKA

INDIA and Sri Lanka are geographically situated very close to each other separated only by a narrow stretch of sea. Almost all cultural and religious developments, emerged and grown in India, had their repercussions and influences in Sri Lanka. Legends say that Sri Lanka was populated by the Aryans who migrated from India from the earliest times. Some archaeologists are of the opinion that there are archaeological evidence to indicate the existence of common cultural traits in Sri Lanka and India during the pre-historic period. The megalithic and other archaeological sites discovered in Sri Lanka and India indicate that the burial systems, stone technology, and irrigational methods had common features in both these countries. Both seem to have possessed an irrigation agriculture based on a common economic pattern, but more evidence is required to substantiate this view.

Our discussion in this paper confines only to the art traditions developed in these two countries in the course of history. We deal, therefore, only with the arts and crafts traditions which influenced each other. Unfortunately in Sri Lanka the material remains of arts and crafts do not go beyond the third century B. C., the period of introduction of Buddhism into this island. But the principal chronicle of Sri Lanka, *Mahāvaṁsa* claims that the techniques of town planning and building activities both religious and secular and irrigation methods existed in this island during this pre-historic period, but none of the tangible remains of these works except an irrigation work namely the *Abhaya wewa*, also known as *Basavakkulama* assignable to this period remains.

The advent of Buddhism into Sri Lanka from India in the third century B. C. is a landmark in the cultural history of the island. Both the chronicles of the island *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa* claim that the conversion of the country into Buddhism not only marks the beginning of a new life pattern based on the new faith but also paved a way for the gradual absorption of cultural and religious life based on cult-worship hitherto locally existed. Along with the establishment of Buddhism most of the art traditions that India had developed, had also a firm footing in the island. It has to be noted that by the time Buddhism was introduced into this island it had already gained a firm ground on

Indian soil as a strong cultural force. A community of monks well-trained in missionary activities and dedicated to the faith had been well established and they were now cenobitised as a result of which systematically organized monastic complexes had emerged. The immediate effect of the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka was the dawn of a *Bhikkhu-śāsana* (order of monks) which naturally needed a network of monastic establishments. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* it was the Arahant Mahinda who instructed the king of Sri Lanka to erect monasteries on the same lines as those of India. This marks the beginning of the appearance of Indian art in Sri Lanka because monasteries became the art generating and diffusing centres. Paranavitana holds the view that the early Buddhist monasteries, were, no doubt, familiar with the revolutionary changes in building techniques and *plastic* arts that were then being introduced in the Maurya empire. The idea of utilizing stone for building purposes and making rock abodes for monks was introduced to Ceylon from Maurya India.[1] As such the plan and lay-out of the monastic complexes at the early stages may have followed the Indian traditional pattern. No doubt, the local variations in keeping with the local needs may have brought about alterations and modifications in the original plans.

The early monastic establishments in India as laid bare by the excavations, display that they were not merely the dwelling places of the monks but were also the places of worship and cultic centres with the objects of worship such as the Buddhist *stūpa*, Bodhi tree shrines and later image houses and also the chapter houses for the ecclesiastical activities. This pattern of a cluster of buildings concentrated in one site was the concept of a monastery that emerged in India. The remains of early Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka clearly demonstrate that they have adhered to this concept. Moreover, the ancient Indian traditional plan and lay-out of a Buddhist monastery as revealed by the excavated monastic complexes and ancient rock-cut monasteries in India demonstrate that they were built within a square or a rectangular area where all the three gems - Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha were housed. After the demise of the Buddha the same tradition continued with the architecture of *stūpas* to represent the Buddha whose corporeal relics were deposited in them. In building monastic complexes in Sri Lanka the same tradition was followed.

In the early Indian monasteries the most important and prominent ritualistic edifice was the *stūpa* which occupied the central position. The earliest form of the *stūpa* that has come down to us is the form of the Sāñcī *stūpa* in India, constructed by king Aśoka in the third century B. C. Early Sri Lankan *stūpas* have followed the pattern of Aśokan *stūpas* in form and design. The first historical *stūpa* in Sri Lanka, Thūpārāma (Plate 1) in Anurādhapura presents us

an ideal example for this. The alterations and modifications to be seen here have been effected due to local inspirations. The substructure of the *stūpa* has retained more or less the same Indian pattern while the superstructure had been subjected to alterations and modifications. Unlike in India, the *stūpa* in Sri Lanka became the religious monument par excellence of the Buddhists unrivalled by any other religious edifices. The portion above the dome of the *stūpa* assumed a more variegated and elegant form giving it a pleasant aesthetic outlook. Perhaps the reason for deviating from the traditional Indian pattern would be the impact of Theravāda form of Buddhism that inspired the social life of Sri Lanka. The devotees with increasing piety and tremendous attention paid to it gave additional sublimity and sanctity. The early Indian *stūpas* had only three umbrellas on the *Yasti* as the canopy of the *stūpa* but in Sri Lanka it became a *Chatrāvalī* or spire containing a number of umbrellas placed one upon the other in diminishing order. Below the spire there was a portion circular in form on the surface of which the figures of *devatās* were depicted in the attitude of worship and these were named Devatakotuwa in Sinhala. The *stūpa* as a living monument was always embellished with appertunant structures of which one is the Vāhalkaḍa or the frontispiece. Four Vāhalkaḍas were constructed at the four cardinal points of the *stūpa*. It is in the Indian tradition that the concept of demarcating the four cardinal points either by erecting four portals or any such decorative element was first introduced. For instance Sāñcī *stūpa* was adorned with four exquisitely embellished portals and at Amarāvatī the four cardinal points of the *stūpa* were adorned with five pillars on a rectangular projection. Thus the original concept of demarcating the four cardinal points of the *stūpa* had its birth in India and subsequently it came to Sri Lanka where it was developed into a form of a Vāhalkaḍa. However it has to be remembered that the Sri Lankan *stūpa* never adhered completely to the Indian model found either at Sāñcī or at Amarāvatī in its components and features. It retained its local inspirational touch and developed in its own way. As in Sāñcī the Sri Lankan *stūpa* never attempted to embellish its premise with highly decorated portals or as in Amarāvatī tradition it did not try to cover its body with the plastic decorative elements, instead it maintained its simplicity and the plainness as taught in the religion. It is true that the Sri Lankan *stūpa* demarcated its sacred precincts by a wall ornamented with elephant heads (Plate 2) and interspersed with four decorative flights of steps, at the four directions, but this ornamentation did not hamper the simplicity or the plainness of the *stūpa*.

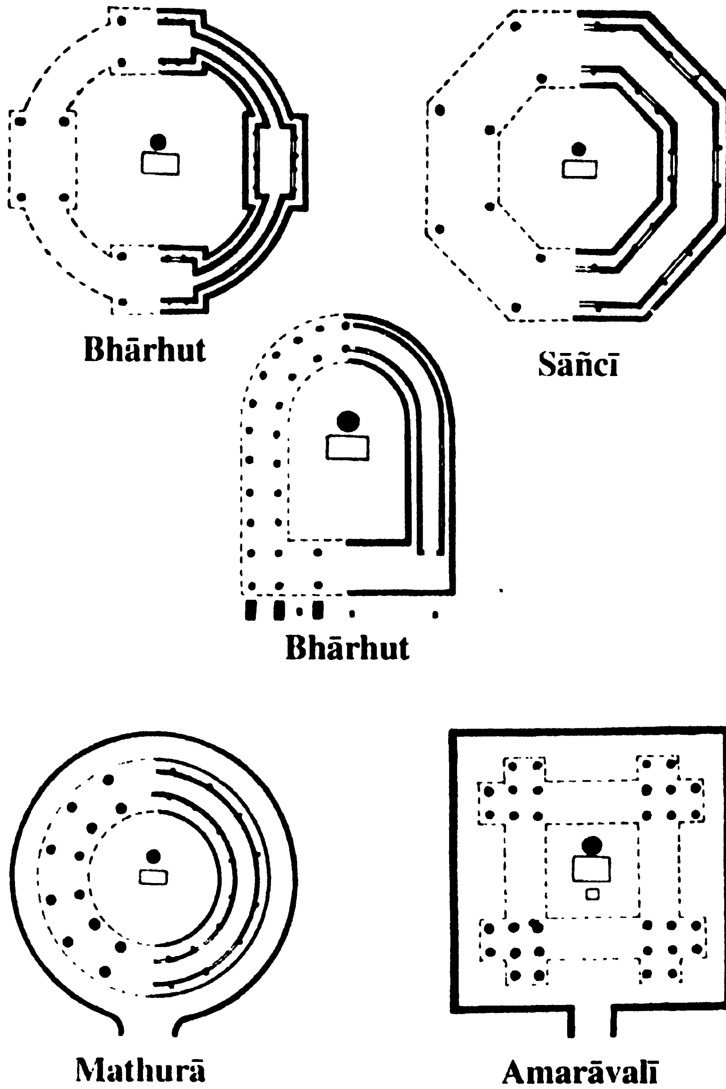


Fig. 1
Bodhighara Plans (not to scale) of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Amarāvatī (After *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* by H. Sarkar)

Apart from this, the *stūpa* considered as the Buddha himself was sheltered in Sri Lanka by erecting a building over it. This tradition too seems to have its origin in India. The concept of sheltering *stūpas* seems to have emerged in India during the pre-Christian centuries during which the rock-cut *caityaśālās* were carved in India. However, the archaeological evidence indicates that the introduction of Thūpāghara architecture had been coeval with the *stūpa* architecture for the brick and timber structure at Bairat is datable to the Maurya period during which the *stūpa* attained its final form. Sarkar observes that the exchange of foreign ideas and wide contacts with the outside world during the Maurya period may have been responsible for the assimilation of peripheral circular temple conception from some foreign source and the circular plan of Bairat temple seems to be an outcome of such fusion.[2] Some scholars have tried to trace the origin of the circular Thūpāghara to the circular huts of some tribes of India.[3] The similarity of the Guntupalli cave to those of the primitive huts of Andhra Pradesh has induced some to think of its indigenous origin.[4] However it must be added here that almost all the architectural patterns for the use of the Buddhist monuments were primarily tribal architecture of India. The structural example of Bairat can be compared with the brick wall and the peripheral circle of pillars in line with railing panels to those of Madirigiriya in Sri Lanka. Consequently the traditional pattern and the fundamental design of the Thūpāghara might have come to Sri Lanka from India, but the architects of the island evolved an indigenous form with additions and modifications.[5]

The *Bodhighara*, a structure encircling the Bodhi tree was the next important religious building which too appears to have followed the Indian tradition. With the arrival of the southern branch of the sacred Bodhi tree from India the conception of the *Bodhi-vṛkṣa-prāsada* would have come to the island. There are several sculptural representations of *Bodhigharas* (Fig.1) in Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā and Amarāvatī.[6] Coomaraswamy has collected some important archaeological materials of ancient *Bodhigharas* which evince that they were no less elaborate structures than the *stūpas*.[7] The few ground-plans identified as the *Bodhigharas* in Sri Lanka display some affinity to Indian *Bodhigharas*. Paranavitana states that architectural features of the *Bodhigharas* in Anurādhapura have followed in general the arrangement of the *Bodhimaṇḍa* in India.[8] The remains of the definitely identified *Bodhighara* found at Nillakgama in Kurunagala district in Sri Lanka allows us to form a rough idea of its plan and lay-out.[9]

The *Patimāghara*, a later addition to the Buddhist monastery, after the appearance of the Buddha image in Sri Lanka, is another important religious

monument which displays its affinity to the Indian tradition. In Sri Lanka there are four types of *Patimāgharas*—i.e. *Gandhakuṭī* (fragrance chamber), *Gynjakavasatha* or *Geḍige*, *Pāsāda*, and cave type. *Gandhakuṭī* type was so named because it was a representation of the *Gandhakuṭī* of Jetavanarama in Sāvatthi where Buddha lived most of his life-time.[10] The proto-type of this plan could be traced back to Bhārhut reliefs in India where it is depicted as a building consisting of a *garbhagṛha* preceded by an entrance *maṇḍapa* both square in plan.[11] It is considered that this design was the plan of the *Gandhakuṭī*, the private abode of the Buddha in the Jetavana monastery at Sāvatthi as mentioned above.[12] The temple at Sāñcī no.17 datable to the early fifth century possesses the features similar to the model of the Sāñcī representation and again its plan agrees well with the *Patimāghara* at Anurādhapura.[13] The only difference between the two is that the *maṇḍapa* of the latter is enclosed by a brick wall while the former has an open *maṇḍapa*. *Kiribat-Vehera Patimāghara* may well be later in date than the Sāñcī temple no. 17 because the image of the Buddha according to the archaeological evidence seems to have appeared in Sri Lanka later than the Gupta period in India. Moreover, the more developed forms of image shrines (Figs. 2a, 2b, 2c)

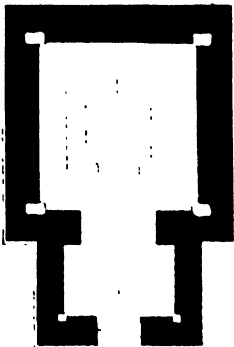


Fig. 2a
Kiribat-Vehera,
Anurādhapura

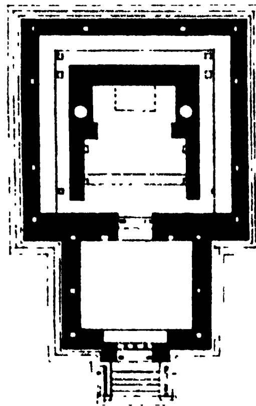


Fig. 2b
Toluvila,
Anurādhapura

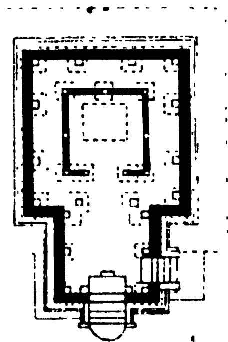


Fig. 2c
Pankuliya,
Anurādhapura

Fig. 2a, 2b, 2c
Ground-plans of shrines, Anurādhapura
(After *History of Ceylon*)

at Toluvila and Pankuliya in Anurādhapura show close affinities to the Gupta image houses at Nachna-Kuthara and Bhumara in India.[14] Therefore it is possible to surmise that the *Gandhakuṭī* type of image houses in Sri Lanka followed the same traditional patterns that of India.

The second type of image houses in Sri Lanka has been named as *Gynjakavasatha* or *Geḍige*, the term which has been applied to a type of image houses, where according to Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries the Buddha lived in sometimes during his life time.[15] According to Buddhaghoṣa the Buddha resided in a house entirely built of bricks (*itthikāmaya āvāsatha*). *Rupasiddhisanne* explains this as equivalent to *Geḍige*.[16] The edifices built entirely of bricks or stone are found in Anurādhapura, Nālandā and Polonnāruva, in Sri Lanka. Paranavitana suggests that the *Gynjakavasatha* type of image houses may be a form imported to Sri Lanka by the earliest missionaries from India.[17] The remains of Indian temples such as Bhītārgāon belonging to the Gupta period show close similarities to this type.[18] These findings tend to establish the view that this type of image houses was built in Sri Lanka following the Indian tradition.

Next type of image houses found in Sri Lanka is cave shrines which could be classified mainly into two types as rock-cut and natural cave shrines. The rock-cut type found no favour in Sri Lanka due to various reasons among which the most important are the non-availability of suitable rocks in the areas congenial for monk's dwellings and the hardness even of the few rocks available. The other factor that discouraged the excavation of rock-cut caves appears to be that in Sri Lanka the Buddhist monks preferred to live in villages with the people. By about the first century B. C. the primary objective of monastic life underwent a structural change which resulted in the emergence of the two factions in the Order viz. *Granthadura* (pursuit of scriptural education) and *Vipassanadura* (duty in meditation life). This division in course of time came to be known as *Grāmavāsī* and *Vanavāsī*—village dwellers and forest dwellers respectively. The majority of the monks preferred to live in villages engaged in *Granthadura*. Consequently the monks began to abandon the forest life. As such the rock excavations of caves for monastic life was not followed in Sri Lanka. The second type of natural caves was utilized to fashion out image houses in which the sculptural and painting works were carried out as in India. For instance the natural rock shelters of Dambulla were adorned with sculpture and paintings emulating the rock-cut caves in India.

In building Kuṭīs or cells for the Buddhist monks it appears that the same Indian plan and concept have been followed in Sri Lanka. In the earliest Indian

tradition the concept of a plan of a cell of a Buddhist monk was the strict adherence to the special dimensions, either square or rectangular, sufficient only for one individual monk to live in. The dormitory type that meant for collective life had not been in vogue due to perhaps its possibility of frustrating the spiritual development. This Indian tradition of solitary life in a small sized cell was continued in Sri Lanka too. Moreover in locating the sites for monasteries it appears that monks followed the same tradition of selecting hillocks, mountains and rock outcrops as in India. Mihintale (Plate 3), Ritigala and Situlpavva are good examples.

So far we have been discussing the Indian architectural traditions that influenced the Sri Lankan architectural patterns. Now let us switch over to sculptural traditions to assess how far the Indian traditions were at work in moulding the Sri Lankan sculpture. For the easy treatment of this subject we propose to categorize the most important art objects found in Sri Lanka as Buddha and Bodhisattva images, gods and other human figures, decorative members of the flights of steps, ornamentations and embellishments, and other sculptural slabs and plaques.

In India several art traditions emerged in different regions and at different times. Each tradition has been designated either by the name of the dynasty under which it flourished or by the name of the region where it was produced. These traditions though possessed a common identity in theme and content had to be differentiated due to their distinctive features and characteristics in their presentations and expressions. Thus we call them as Maurya tradition, Gandhāra tradition, Mathurā tradition etc. In Sri Lanka the date of the first appearance of the Buddha image is still a matter of dispute. Some scholars express the view that the earliest Buddha image was created in Sri Lanka.[19] However according to the archaeological evidence the date of the first appearance of the Buddha image seems to be the 5th/6th century A. D. The earliest Buddha images found in Sri Lanka, no doubt, assimilated almost all the iconographical features of the Indian image, but the Sri Lankan artists expressed them in a different perspective to comply with the local requirements and sentimental demands. This resulted in introducing very important deviations in posture, *mudrās* and other bodily appearances. For instance the Sri Lankan Buddha images display quite a different sitting posture called *Virāsana* and in different hand *mudrās*. The seated Buddha images in India were always in *Padmāsana* or *Vajrāsana* which was a strict Yogī posture. Perhaps the tendency in Indian craftsmen to create the posture of the sitting Buddha image in that manner may be due to the age-old ascetic tradition existed in India. But the

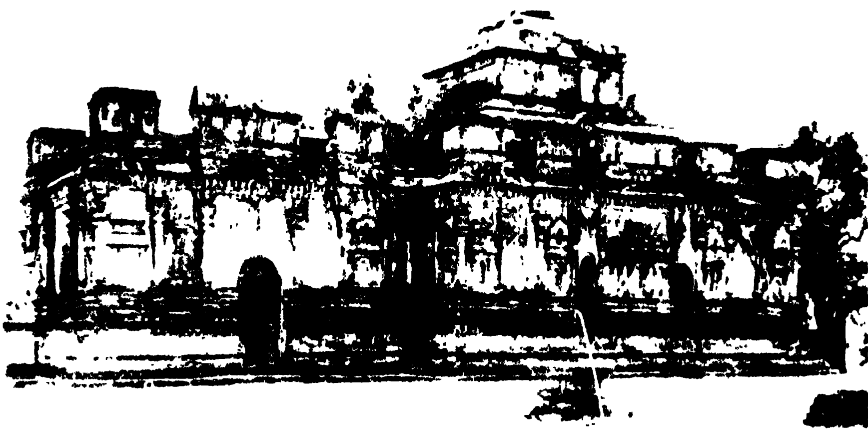


Plate 1 Thuparama, Polonnaruva General View [illegible] A.D. [illegible]

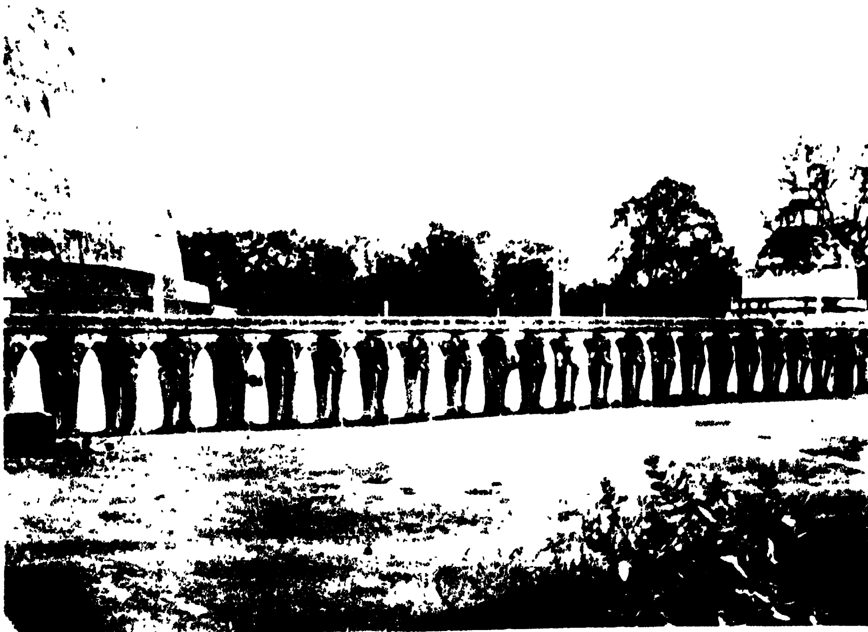


Plate 2 Elephant wall, ornamented [illegible] Elephant [illegible] R[illegible] Dagaba

Anuradhapura [illegible] D



Plate 3 Indikatusaya Mihintale, Vijayarama, to the north of Anuradhapura, about c. 8th century A.D.



Plate 4 Buddha in meditation at Abhayagiri in Anurādhapura, Ceylon, c. 3rd/4th century A.D.



Plate 5 Standing Buddha of white marble at Maha Illuppallama Anuradhapura, c. 2nd 3rd century A.D.





Plate 6 Rock [illegible] A.D.



Plate 7 Apsara. Fresco on rock face, wall painting. Sigiriya, Ceylon, c. 5th century A.D.



Plate 8 Interior mural, Tivanka Image House. Fresco from Tivanka Shrine at Polonnaruva, late c. 12th century A.D.

Sri Lankan artists understanding the personality of the Buddha evolved the iconographical feature of the sitting posture in a more natural manner. Even in the depiction of the protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) and the hand *mudrās*, the Sri Lankan artist followed a distinctive method of his own. But there are certain characteristics which bear the stamp of the Indian influence. For instance the depiction of the drapery has followed the Indian style. The well-known Samādhi Buddha image at Abhayagiri (Plate 4) in Anurādhapura depicts its robe as a thin transparent cloth clinging to the Body. This is a characteristic displayed in the Gupta Buddha images. The drapery of the Aukana standing Buddha image depicts affinities to the Gandhāran images. Some scholars are of opinion that the Sri Lankan Buddha images clearly depict the characteristics of the Amarāvatī tradition. Paranavitana points out that a life-size Buddha image made of Amarāvatī marble has been found from Mahā Illuppallama (Plate 5) in Anurādhapura district. Fragments of bas-reliefs in Amarāvatī marble have been discovered at various other sites. These pieces are products of ateliers in the Andhra country that may have been brought to Ceylon.[20] But Siri Gunasingha expresses the view that the Sri Lankan Buddha image was not an imitation of the Andhra Buddha image.[21] The same scholar further states that the practice of making images with relics enshrined in them was introduced to the Andhra country by the monks of the Mahāvihāra in Sri Lanka and mentions about a Buddha image with relics enshrined found at Nagerallobodu in Andhra Pradesh. He further says that we can conclude that around the 2nd century A. D. a group of Sri Lankan monks from Abhayagiri resided in a monastery in Andhra and through their influence the Amarāvatī art tradition floated into the island.[22] Most of the iconographical features of the Amarāvatī standing Buddha images such as the left shoulder covered, the left hand appearing to grasp the robe, right shoulder bare, right hand in *Abhaya mudrā*, hair two inches long and curled, and the robe showing swag at the bottom left, all these features are found common to both the standing images of Amarāvatī and some of the Buddha images in Anurādhapura. Hence we see that Amarāvatī art tradition had influenced the Buddha images of the early Anurādhapura period. The Buddha image from Ruvanvālisāya in Anurādhapura and Buddha image from Amarāvatī in the Madras museum are fine examples to compare with. Ven'ble Vanaratana says that when we examine the characteristics of the standing Buddha image at Ruvanvālisāya we see that it possesses the features of the Andhra style.[23] The Buddha images of Polonnāruva vatadāge display Mathurā characteristics. As such the Sri Lankan Buddha images apart from taking the iconographical features of the Indian image, had assimilated various features that are found in different Indian traditions.

In producing the Bodhisattva figures the craftsmen both in India and Sri Lanka have followed the same principle. The figure has been created to express the combination of ideals of a prince and an ascetic. Considering the antiquity of the Bodhisattva images of India one can conjecture that it could have had its impact on the Sri Lankan images as well.

Sri Lankan craftsmen in making the portraits of kings appear to have followed the Indian traditions. For example the figure believed to be of king Bhatiya discovered in Anurādhapura displays the features of the Yakṣa figures belonging to the Maurya period. Another figure believed to be that of the king Dutugemunu bears the features of the Gupta art. One among the sculptural slabs now deposited in the precincts of the Isurumuniya temple in Anurādhapura depicts a Mithuna couple which manifests refinement and gracefulness found in Gupta figures. Therefore one could surmise that the Gupta art tradition has been at work in Sri Lanka in the field of sculpture. Similarly another slab which depicts a head of a horse and a figure of a man showing the characteristics of the Pallava tradition clearly indicates that the Pallava art style has influenced the Sinhalese art. During the 8th and 9th centuries Sri Lankan rulers had closer connections with the Pallava rulers in South India. Consequently Pallava art tradition has exerted immense influence on Sri Lankan art and architecture. Some monuments such as Nālandā Gedige, the sculptures at Buduruvegala (Plate 6), and the sculptural slabs referred to above show the impact of Pallava art. Some scholars are of opinion that during the latter half of the 7th century there evolved a new art tradition in Sri Lanka which can be termed as Pallava-Sri Lanka art tradition.[24]

Not only the Buddhist art traditions exerted their influence on Sri Lankan art but also the Hindu art traditions had its share of command. The Hindu shrines, the figures of gods and goddesses and saints found in Sri Lanka provide ample evidence to show that how far the Hindu art traditions played its role. Cola rule over the island for more than seven decades during the 11th and 12th centuries facilitated the easy establishment of Hindu art traditions in Sri Lanka. Even prior to this date it seems that the Hindu art influence prevailed in the country due to the influx of Hindus from the sub-continent as immigrants, mercenaries and merchants. The establishment of Hindu shrines all over the island amply vouch for the presence of a numerically strong Hindu population in Sri Lanka. The Hindu shrines presently well preserved in Polonnāruva demonstrate that they belong to the Cola art tradition. They were built entirely of dressed stones and in plan and lay-out they bear the same characteristics of those of Cola shrines in South India. The figures of bronze cast Hindu gods and saints found from these shrines bear the Cola stamp. Coomaraswamy states that though they may have

cast in Ceylon they belong to the prolific South Indian school of medieval bronzes represented by the Madras Naṭarājas and Tanjore Śiva.[25]

In the field of paintings too we notice that the Indian painting tradition had its unavoidable influence. The oldest and the best preserved paintings well authenticated in date ascribable to the 5th century A D are found in Sīgiriya (Plate 7) the theme of which appears to be non-religious and is highly controversial. Some hold the view that these paintings resemble those of Ajantā in their refinement and gracefulness. The paintings of religious inspiration found in the Hindagala cave in the Kandy district, according to Paranavitana, is seen to be akin to the later work at Ajantā.[26] The wall paintings in Tivaṅkapatimāghara (Plate 8) in Polonnāruva take a different turn in theme, content, method and technique, from that of the Sīgiriya paintings. In theme and content, Polonnāruva paintings depict the life incidents and the past birth stories of the Buddha. In method and technique it has adopted the device of continuous narration and the method of medallions which were the devices first introduced by the artists of Bhārhut and Sāñcī as far back as the pre-Christian centuries. According to the literary sources painting was an art practised by the people of ancient Sri Lanka. Unfortunately no remains of ancient paintings exist, perhaps due to the perishable materials used. It is quite possible that these devices of continuous narration and depiction in medallions may have been in vogue during the early Anurādhapura period. Therefore one can surmise that the Bhārhut and Sāñcī traditions of art may have played a considerable role in fashioning and formulating the art of paintings in Sri Lanka. Moreover it should be noted that the same method of continuous narration and medallion system prevailed up to the Kandyan period in Sri Lanka (17th and 18th centuries).

In summing up it could be concluded that various art forms and traditions that periodically and regionally evolved in India had their effects and impressions on Sri Lanka either iconographically, technically or ideologically. But it has to be noted that these Indian traditions were not faithfully followed by the Sri Lankan artists. Local inspirations, and dynamics of the times contributed immensely for the modifications and alterations of these art forms. From the above analysis one can form the idea that the Sri Lankan artists were free to select what they wanted and to reject what was not compatible with local inspirations and demands. That is why we see today some remains which can claim to possess an obligation and independence equally.

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